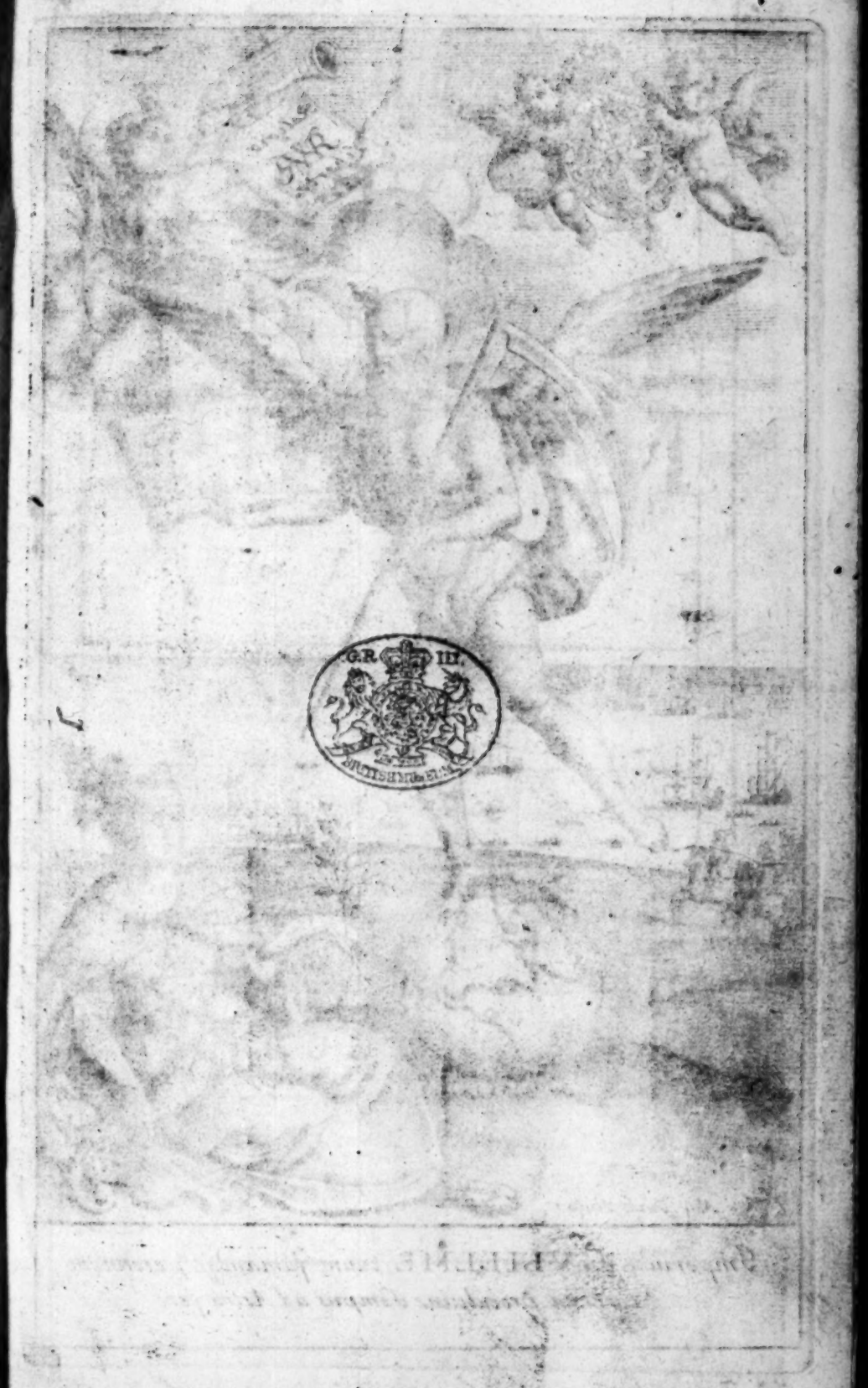

G.R. III.



Imperium, GVLIELME, tuum famamq; perennem
Cætera proculcans Tempus ad Astra fero

29 g 13

THE HISTORY Of KING WILLIAM The THIRD.

by Abel In III Parts. Boyer.

Τοιοῦτός μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω ἄφοβος, ἀδέκαστος, ἐλεύθερος, παῤῥησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος.

Talis mihi Historicus esto, ut metu careat, muneribus non corrumpatur, liber sit, dicendi verum libertatem amet. *Lucianus de Conscribendâ Historiâ.*

LONDON:

Printed for *A. Roper*, at the *Black Boy* in *Fleet-street*; and *F. Coggan*, in the *Middle Temple Lane*, 1702.

THE

HISTORY

OF KING

WILLIAM

THE THIRD.

TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

AMidst the Joyful Multitudes that crowd Your Palace, to Congratulate Your MAJESTY's auspicious Accession to the Throne of Your Glorious Ancestors, *HISTORY*, Madam, makes bold to approach Your Sacred Person, and to lay at Your Feet the *LIFE and REIGN of King* William *the Third:* A Prince, whose Heroical Actions have fill'd the World with Admiration, and whose Memory will ever live in the Records of Fame.

The ſudden Death of that great Man, ſtruck a general Conſternation among thoſe who look'd upon him, as the only Support of the Liberties of *Europe*, againſt the Growing Power of *France*: But ſuch as had fix'd their View upon Your Majeſty, a long time before Your Exaltation, were already fenc'd againſt that Accident, being ſecure of an infallible Reſource, in an Exigency which to others ſeem'd Deſperate.

Your Majeſty was no ſooner plac'd on the Throne, but You have made Good thoſe great Expectations: Your firſt Speech to Your Council has ſettled a perfect Tranquillity throughout all Your Dominions; and Your Voice has given freſh Vigor to the Reſolutions of Your Parliament, as that of Your Ambaſſador has recover'd the fainting Spirits of Your Allies.

By

By theſe Maſterly Beginnings of Your Majeſty's Reign, all the World is convinc'd, that You had a Title to the Crown, even in Nature and Superior Merit, before You wore it: And this Hiſtory will inform them, that when Your Majeſty yielded that Right, which was inſeparable from Your Perſon, 'twas a Sacrifice You made to the Liberties of Your Country, and to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, whoſe Welfare You generouſly preferr'd to the Powerful Allurements of a Diadem.

This Sacrifice, as it is the greateſt that a Chriſtian Princeſs can make, ſo it is now Recompens'd by the choiceſt Bleſſings that Heaven can beſtow on a Lawful Sovereign: The Love and Union of Your Subjects. All former Jealouſies are remov'd, all Fears diſpell'd, all Diviſions reconcil'd, ſince an *Engliſh Proteſtant Queen* fills the *Engliſh* Throne.

The fatal Cauſe of *Popular Diſcontents*, during the preceding Reigns, has chiefly been the Choice of Suſpected, or Self-Intereſted Miniſters: And ſo far Your Majeſty is ſecur'd againſt all manner of Diſaffection in Your People, ſince the Perſons You admit to Your Confidence, and on whom You recline Part of the Weight of Affairs, are ſuch, as, in the moſt difficult Times, have ſignaliz'd their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*, and whoſe Valour, Experience and Capacity, ſet them above Competition.

The Unanimous Concurrence of Your Parliament, in Enabling Your Majeſty to maintain the Dignity of the Crown, and to hold the Ballance of *Europe*, are certain Pledges of the future Glories of Your Reign: And which of Your Subjects will not chearfully Contribute towards the Publick Neceſſities, when

when their Sovereign, by a Bounty as much above Praiſe, as it is without Precedent, Aſſeſſes Herſelf at a Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

One thing more will certainly diſtinguiſh Your Majeſty's happy Government, and tranſmit Your Name to the Admiration of After-Ages; and that is, the generous Support all *Liberal* SCIENCES will find in Your Majeſty. The late Reign was altogether a Reign of Iron and Tumult, wherein ſcarce any but Soldiers were regarded. But now *Merit*, in all Capacities, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, will be more maturely weigh'd and conſider'd; and even *Hiſtory*, *Poetry*, *Painting*, *Muſick*, *Architecture*, and all the Entertaining and Uſeful Train of Peaceful Arts, will exert themſelves in favour of a QUEEN, who has a true Taſte of all Performances of *Wit* and *Induſtry*, and who loves to Encourage Both.

That Your MAJESTY's Reign may be as Long, as 'twill be Glorious, and that You may leave a Lineal Succeſſor to Inherit Your Royal Virtues, is the moſt ardent Wiſh of,

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful,
moſt Obedient, and
moſt Devoted Servant

THE

THE

PREFACE.

I *Shall not Amuſe the Reader with Extolling the* Uſefulneſs *of* Hiſtory; *nor tell him how much the Knowledge of Things paſt is Beneficial and Delightful: This Common-Place has been already exhauſted; and to endeavour to perſwade People of what they are fully convinc'd, is altogether impertinent.*

Neither is it proper for me to enumerate the Qualifications *which* Tully, Lucian, Quintilian, Rapin *and* Le-Moine, *require in an* Hiſtorian; *ſince it were either Folly in me to pretend to be Maſter of them all, or Preſumption to write without claiming ſome of them. And when all is done, let an Author ſpeak well, or indifferently, of himſelf, the World will ſtill truſt to their own Judgment alone, in the Cenſure of his Performance.*

It were likewiſe ſuperfluous to excite the Curioſity of the Reader, by laying before him the importance of the ſubject Matter of this Work: Every Body muſt needs expect, with impatience, the Hiſtory of a Prince, who, for theſe thirty Years paſt, has been a Conſtant Check to the Formidable Power of France, *and who has fill'd this* Weſtern *Part of the World with Terror and Amazement.*

So great an Object, as it naturally beſpeaks the Attention of our Age; ſo it is like to employ the Pencils both of this, and other Nations, in order to Tranſmit it to the View and Contemplation of Poſterity. But as all Painters differ, both in their Manner of Drawing, and in the Laying of their Colours; ſo Authors generally Vary, not only in their Stile and Way of Writing, but alſo in the Accounts They give of Things,

Some Writers barely relate the Actions of Men, without ſpeaking of their Motives, and, like Gazeteers, *are contented to acquaint us with Matter of Fact, without Tracing it to its Spring and Cauſe; others, on the contrary, are ſo full of Politicks and* Fineſſe, *that they find Cunning and Deſign in the moſt natural and innocent Actions. Some, to make their Court to the Powerful debaſe the* Dignity *of Hiſtory, by* Cringing *and* Adulation; *whilſt others to ſerve a* Party, *or Faction, or meerly to gratify their ill-*

nature

nature, rake up all the ſcandal of Men's Lives, give a malicious Turn to every Thing, and Libel every Body, even without Reſpecting the Sacred Majeſty of Princes. Another ſort moralize upon every petty Accident, and ſeem to ſet up for Philoſophers, inſtead of Hiſtorians. And laſtly, others are Peremptory in their Deciſions, and impoſe on the World, their Conjectures for real Truths.

Theſe Faults I have endeavour'd to avoid. When I relate Matters of Fact, I deduce them, as far as my Informations permit me, from their true Cauſes, without making Men more Politick, or Subtle, than Nature has made them. I commend what, in Conſcience I believe, deſerves to be commended, without any Proſpect of Favour, or private Intereſt; and I cenſure what I think deſerves to be blam'd, with the Liberty that becomes a Faithful unprejudic'd Hiſtorian, tho' with due Regard to Perſons, whoſe Birth, Dignity and Character command the Reſpects, even of thoſe who diſapprove their Actions. I am ſparing of Reflections, unleſs it be upon thoſe remarkable Events from which they naturally reſult; and I never Biaſs the Render's Judgment, by any Conjectural Impoſitions of my own.

Yet after all theſe Precautions, I am not ſo vain as to expect to pleaſe All: For how were it poſſible to gain the general Approba-

tion,

tion, when People differ so much in Opinion about the Prince, *whose History I have attempted to Write? Some Esteem the late King to have been a Tutelar Angel, appointed by Providence to Support the Protestant Religion, and Assert the Liberties of* Europe; *and with almost the same Veneration which is only due to the Deity, extol every Action of his Life: Whereas others look upon him as an Ambitious Prince, who has had the Cunning to raise and foment Popular Discontents, and has attain'd Sovereignty by seeming to decline it, and by pretending to redress those very Grievances, he had, in some measure occasion'd. Nay, a Prince who aim'd at making himself an Absolute Monarch, in order to destroy Monarchy, and who by Tolerating all Religions, intended to over-turn the Establish'd Church.*

These different Thoughts, which People entertain of King William, *cannot but render my Undertaking extreamly arduous and difficult. An infatuated, Whiggish Republican, or a virulent Non-juror, would, I confess, find no manner of difficulty in Writing either a fulsom Panegyrick, or a Scandalous Satyr, upon this Occasion; and many such the World may reasonably expect to see, e're it be long. But an Historian, who embraces no Party, but that of Impartiality (if I may so speak without a* Point) *who loves Truth, and looks upon it as the most eminent Attribute of God Almighty, and therefore pays it a*

Kind

Kind of Adoration, such an Historian, I say, cannot but be very much embarrast, when he relates it to People almost invincibly prepossest against it.

Notwithstanding these Difficulties, I have attempted to Write the nicest Part of the English *History, wherein I have endeavour'd to find out Truth, and made bold to speak it, without any other Design than to do Justice to whomsoever it is due.*

It is confest on all hands, even by the worst of King William's *Enemies, that He was the greatest Politician, as well as the greatest Commander of his Time; undaunted in the most imminent Dangers; firm and steddy in his Resolutions; neither elevated with Prosperity, nor dejected by Adverse Fortune: In a word, that he was Master of the chief Virtues which make up the Character of a Heroe. That he had Ambitious and aspiring Thoughts, all the Actions of his Life sufficiently evince: But certainly no Prince ever chose a more plausible and justifiable Pretence for his Ambition, since he aim'd at making himself Great, by freeing Nations from Oppression; and by procuring to all Christians the Liberty of Serving God, according to the Dictates of their Consciences.*

I have divided this Piece of History into three Parts, according to the three Remarkable Periods of the Prince of Orange's *Life. The first comprehends all the Time from*

from his Birth to the Beginning of King James's *Reign: The ſecond contains the Reign of that unfortunate Monarch; and the third that of King* William.

In the firſt Part the Reader will ſee the Prince of Orange, *brought out of his Obſcucurity; Heading the* Dutch, *and Confederate Armies at one and Twenty Years of Age; Putting a ſtop to the Torrent of the Conquering Arms of* France: *Giving Life and Vigor to all the Reſolutions and Enterprizes of* Germany, Spain *and* Holland: *Holding ſecret Correſpondences with the Diſcontents of* England, *both to deprive* France *of a Powerful Ally, and to Marry a Princeſs of the Royal Blood, (thereby, to ſtrengthen his Title to the Crown of* Great Britain, *which he had early in View) and Managing a Treaty of Peace, at the ſame time that he carries on a vigorous War.*

The Second Part *gives the Reader a full and diſtinct Proſpect of King* James *the Second's Reign, and of the Great Revolution which follow'd upon his Receſs. A ſubject which has hitherto been treated, by the* Boutefeux *of the late Reign, with a great deal of Partiality, Prejudice, and Malice againſt that unfortunate and deluded Prince. For my own Part, tho' I am far from juſtifying the irregular Proceedings, or ſo much as Palliating the Faults of his Government, yet the Force of Truth obliges me to ſay; That as he was a* Kind

Father

Father, *a* fond Husband, *and a* generous Maſter, *ſo he would have been a* Good King, *if he had not had* ill, deſigning *and* jarring Miniſters; *and if the Fury of a certain Party had not ſhewn him the Way to unwarrantable Violences, and exaſperated his Temper, naturally Debonair. This* ſecond Part *was entirely finiſh'd and Printed before the Death of King* William, *which Circumſtance alone is ſufficient to confirm my Title to Impartiality.*

The Third Part *contains King* William's *Reign, with the Auſpicious Beginning of that of our Gracious and Lawful Sovereign Queen* ANNE, *which I deſign to carry as far as her Majeſty's Coronation. This Part being yet unfiniſh'd, tho' in great forwardneſs, I ſhall ſay no more of it in this Place.*

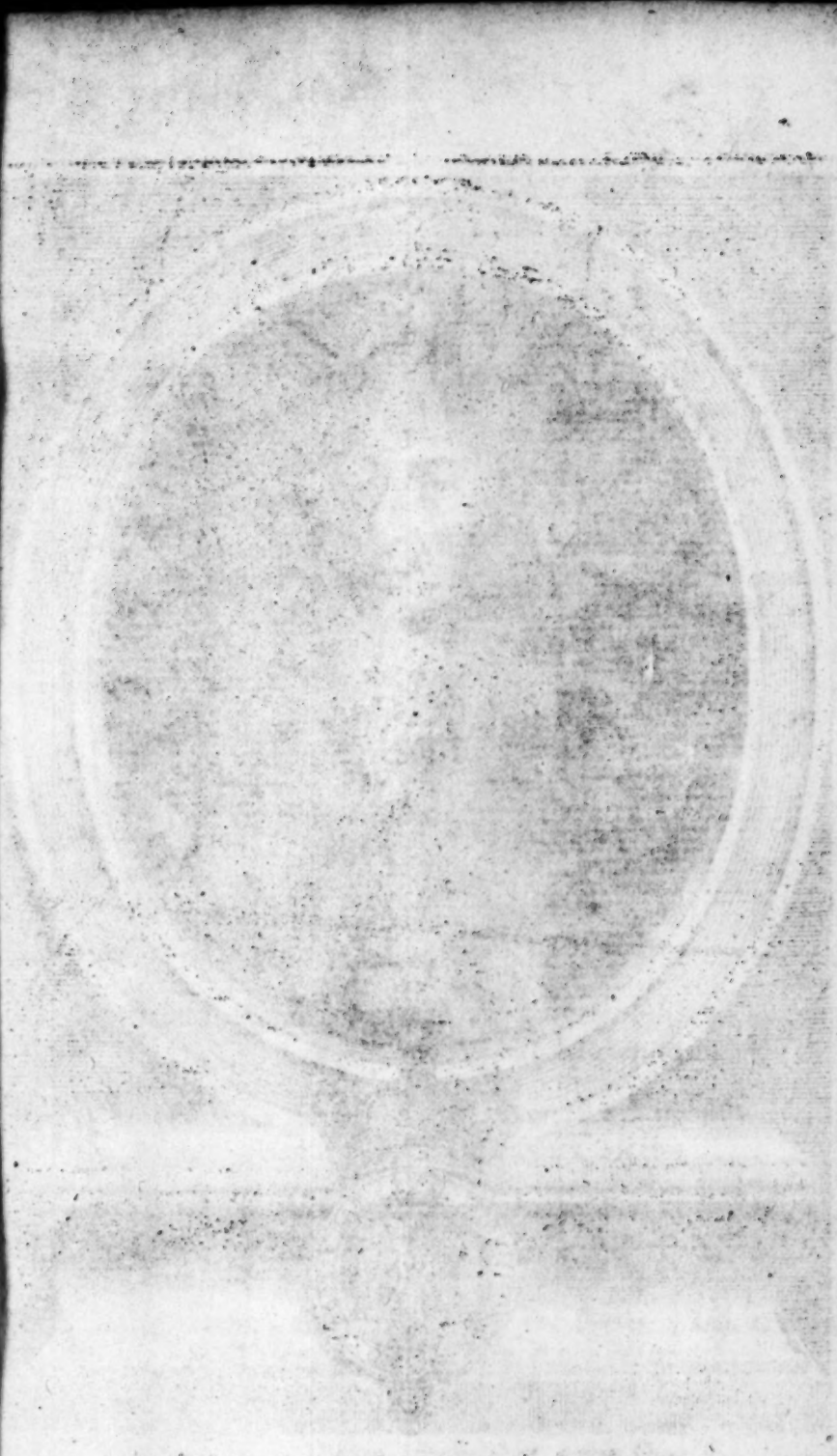
The Reader, may perhaps expect to know where I had my Materials? Let this ſatisfy him, that in the Firſt Part, *I have made uſe of* De Maurier's *Memoirs, the Lives of the* Princes *of* Orange, *the Lord* Arlington's, *and Sir* William Temple's *Letters and Memoirs: And in the* Second *and* Third, *tho' I have not neglected the Aſſiſtance of Printed Books; yet, for the moſt Part, I have had Recourſe to Publick and Authentick Records, and conſulted Perſons of unqueſtion'd Probity and Honour, who have themſelves been concern'd in the Paſſages I relate. Not to mention my particular Obſervations,*

ſervations, upon Things of which I have been an Eye-Witneſs. The Third Part *not being yet compleated, as I ſaid before, if any Perſon will favour me with the Communication of any* Memoirs, *or Authentick Pieces, relating to King* William's *Reign, he may be pleas'd to direct them to my Bookſeller, and I will endeavour to acknowledge the Obligation, as far as the Sincerity and Candor of Hiſtory will permit.*

ERRATA.

Page 27. l. 8. *and* p. 28. l. 4. for *Naerden*, read *Woerden.*

THE





Hostis erat CÆSAR, *Vindex* NASSOVIUS *Heros*
Est Libertatis: Quidni Sit ille Minor?

THE HISTORY OF King *WILLIAM* III.

PART I.

Comprehending the time from his Birth, to the Beginning of King James *II. Reign.*

THE Houſe of *Naſſau*, is without Diſpute one of the moſt conſiderable in all *Germany*; whether we conſider the Ancientneſs of its Extraction, the Multiplicity of its Noble Branches, or the Grandeur of its Potent Alliances. Some Hiſtorians deduce the Antiquity of the Name of *Naſſau*, from one * *Naſua, who*, according to *Julius Cæſar*, * *with his Brother* Cimberius, *led a Body of* Germans *out of* Suabia, *and ſettled upon the Banks of the* Rhine, *near* Triers. This is the more Worthy Obſervation, in that beſides the Affinity of the Names, which only differ in the Tranſpoſition of a Letter, there is an Eſtate upon that very ſpot of Ground mentioned by *Cæſar*, which belongs to the *Naſſovian* Family to this Day. But without having Recourſe to a dubious Derivation, it ſuf-

Conſiderableneſs of the Houſe *of* Naſſau.

Antiquity of its Name.

Cæſar's *Comm.* Lib. 1.

A. C. fices to say that this Illustrious House has been established by an undeniable and uninterrupted Succession of Ten entire Centuries, and that it had the Honour about Four Hundred Years ago, to be grac'd with the Imperial Dignity in the Person of *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, Emperor of *Germany*, and Successor to *Rodolphus* of *Habsburg*.

The Pedigree of the Princes of Orange. *See History of* William *Prince of* Orange.

To come closer to the Pedigree of him who is the Subject of this History, OTHO, Count of *Nassau*, who lived above Six Hundred Year ago, had two Wives, the first of which brought him in Marriage the Country of *Guelderland*, and the other the Province of *Zutphen*, which remain'd for above three Centuries in the Possession of the House of *Nassau*. Afterwards, about Three Hundred Years since, another Count OTHO of *Nassau*, married the Countess of *Vianden*, the Heiress and Mistress of several other considerable Territories in the *Low Countries*.

His Grandchild ENGILBERT, the first of that Name, Count of *Nassau*, espoused the Heiress of *Loeke* and *Breda* in 1404. and was Grandfather to ENGILBERT the Second of *Nassau*. He was a Prince no less experienc'd in War, than in Politicks; he won the Battel of *Ginnegate*, suppress the Rebellion of *Bruges*, and was Governor General of the *Low-Countries* for the Emperor *Maximilian* I. He died without Issue, leaving to his Brother JOHN of *Nassau* the Inheritance of all his Possessions.

This Count *John* had two Sons, HENRY and WILLIAM. To his Eldest Son *Henry*, he gave all his Territories in the *Low-Countries*; and to *William* all his Demeans in *Germany*. This same *Henry* of *Nassau* it was to whom *Charles* V. was beholden for his Advancement to the Empire, by means of his active and prevailing Solicitations against *Francis* I. of *France*; and who upon the day of the Emperor's Coronation, set the Imperial Crown upon his Head. Nevertheless, after the Peace was concluded between those two Potent Princes, when the Emperor sent him into *France*, to do Homage for the Counties of *Flanders*,

ders and *Artois*, King *Francis*, out of an unparallel'd Generosity, forgetting what had past, Matched him to *Claudia de Chalons*, the only Sister of *Philibert de Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, and who had been bred up under Queen *Anne* of *Bretagne*, her Mother-in-Law. By Virtue of which Marriage, his only Son *Reneus* of *Nassau* and *Chalons*, came to be Prince of *Orange*, after the Decease of his Uncle by the Mother's side, who died without Issue. A. C. 533

WILLIAM Count of *Nassau*, Brother to Count *Henry*, embrac'd the Reformation, and expell'd the *Roman* Catholick Religion out of his Dominions in *Germany*. He had Five Sons and Seven Daughters by *Juliana*, Countess of *Stolburg*. His eldest Son was the *GREAT WILLIAM* of *Nassau*, who attain'd to be Prince of *Orange*, and Lord of all the Possessions of the House of *Chalons*, by the Last Will and Testament of *Reneus de Nassau*, his Cousin *German*, who was killed at the Siege of St. *Disier*, and left no Children behind him. The youngest was *John* of *Nassau*, who left behind him a numerous Posterity. His three other Sons were *Lodowick*, *Adolphus*, and *Henry* of *Nassau*, who signaliz'd themselves as well in the Civil Wars of *France*, as of the *Low-Countries*, and who having never been Married, all three died in the Field, generously Fighting for the Liberty of their Country, and seconding the noble Designs of their Eldest Brother: As for the Seven Daughters of *William* Count of *Nassau*, they were Married the one to the Count of *Bergues*, and the other Six to Sovereign Counts of *Germany*.

WILLIAM of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, was taken away from his Father by *Charles* V. and deliver'd to that Emperor's own Sister *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*, to be bred up in the *Roman* Religion; which he therefore profest, in outward appearance, so long as *Charles* V. liv'd; and for some time after during the first Years of King *Philip*'s Reign. Assoon as his Age permitted *Charles* V. made him Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, in

William *of* Nassau *Prince of* Orange, *Born in* 1533.

A. C. which Station he continued Nine Years, always near the Emperor's Perſon, who all along admired the Excellency of his Wit, accompanied with an extraordinary Modeſty; and who confeſt to his moſt intimate Favourites, that the Young Prince would often furniſh him with Notions and Hints, which otherwiſe he never ſhould have thought of. And to ſhew what Opinion he had of his Courage and Conduct, the Emperor (in the abſence of *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Anjou*, General of his Armies, advanc'd him to the place of *Generaliſſimo*, preferably to Count *d'Egmont*, who was Twelve Years his Senior, the Prince of *Orange* being then but Twenty Two Years of Age. Theſe Marks of the Emperor's Confidence and Favour, were the Occaſion of his glorious Misfortunes. For tho' the Emperor upon his abdicating the Empire, had particularly recommended him to King *Philip* his Son, yet the *Spaniards* who Govern'd him, bearing a mortal Envy to the conſtant Proſperity of the Young Prince, by their continual Calumnies and Accuſations, rendr'd him ſo ſuſpected to King *Philip*, that when His Majeſty was at *Fluſhing* ready to Embark for *Spain*, with a Countenance full of Indignation, he upbraided him for having hindred the States from complying with his Demands by his private Cabals. This publick Reproach made ſo deep an Impreſſion in the Mind of the Prince, that he afterwards openly aſſerted the Liberties of the *Netherlands*, in Conjunction with Count *d'Egmont*, and Count *Horn*; He raiſed ſeveral Armies both in *France* and *Germany*, which tho' often defeated, or disbanded for want of Pay, yet he ſtill return'd into the Field with greater Force, till he had laid the Foundation of the Commonwealth of the *United* Provinces. He was unhappily Aſſaſſinated at *Delft* the 51ſt Year of his Age, by one *Balthaſar de Guerard*, a Gentleman of the *Franche Comté*, with a Piſtol loaded with three Bullets. His Motto was *Sævis Tranquillus in Undis*, intimating the compoſedneſs of his Soul, amidſt the

the greateſt Storms and Dangers, to which he was expos'd. A. C.

This Prince made more noiſe in the World than all the Crown'd Heads of his Time put together, and left behind him a renowned Poſterity, who purſuing his Glorious Example have amaz'd all *Chriſtendom* by their Immortal Actions. He had four Wives, of which the firſt was *Anne d' Egmont*, Daughter to *Maximilian d' Egmont* Count of *Buren* and *Leerdam*, a great Heireſs, whom he Married by the favour of *Charles* V. and had by her *PHILIP WILLIAM* Prince of *Orange*, and a Daughter nam'd *Mary de Naſſau*, who was Married to *Philip* Count *de Hohenlo*, commonly call'd *de Holac*, a great General.

His Second Wife was *Anne* of *Saxony*, Daughter to the Great *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he had the Famous Count *MAURICE*, and a Daughter Nam'd *Emilia de Naſſau*, Married to *Emanuel*, Son of *Anthony*, King of *Portugal*.

His Third Wife was *Charlotte de Bourbon*, of the Houſe of *Montpenſier*, who had been a Nun, and by whom he had Six Daughters. 1. *Louiſe Julienne de Naſſau*, Married to *Frederick* IV. Elector Palatine, Father to *Frederick* V. Elected King of *Bohemia*, who Married the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Siſter to *Charles* I. King of *England*; by whom amongſt other Children he had the Princeſs *Sophia*, now Dutcheſs of *Hannover*. 2. *Elizabeth de Naſſau*, Wife to *Henry de la Tour*, Duke *de Bouillon*, a Famous General in the Wars of *Henry* IV. of *France*. 3. *Catherine Belgique*, or *Catherina Belgica*, Married to *Philip Lewis* Count of *Hanau*. 4. *Charlotte Brabantine*, or *Charlotta Brabantina*, Wife to *Claude*, Duke *de la Trimouille* and *de Thouars*, and Count *de la val*. 5. *Charlotte Flandrine* (or *Charlotta Flandrina*) *de Naſſau*, who turn'd *Roman* Catholick, and died Abbeſs of St. *Croix* in *Poictiers*. 6. *Emilia de Naſſau*, Married to *Frederick Caſimir*, a Branch of the Houſe of *Deux-Ponts*, call'd Duke of *Lanſberg*. This is the Illuſtrious and great Poſterity of that Fruitful Nun.

A. C.

His Fourth and last Wife was *Louise de Coligny*, the Relict of Monsieur *de Teligny*, and Daughter of the Great Admiral *de Chastillon*, by whom he had only one Son, the Famous *HENRY FREDERICK*, Prince of *Orange*.

PHILIP WILLIAM of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, was a Prince of excellent Natural Parts; but being carried into *Spain* at 13 Years of Age, where he was a close Prisoner, and debarr'd the benefit of all manner of Education, he retain'd the *Roman* Catholick Religion. After a tedious Imprisonment King *Philip* restor'd him to all his Demeans in the *Spanish* Low-Countries, and in *Franche-Comté*; but the States of the United Provinces conceiv'd such a distrust of him, that they would not suffer him so much as to visit (much less to reside in) their Provinces. He Married *Eleonor de Bourbon*, Sister to the Prince of *Condé*, but had no Children by her. After his Death, which happen'd in 1628. Count *Maurice* his Brother took upon him the Quality of Prince of *Orange*, and inherited his whole Estate, whereas before he was contended with the bare Title of *Count*.

Prince Maurice. *See* De Maurier *History of Princes of* Orange.

MAURICE of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, not only equal'd his Father in his Prudence and Greatness of Soul, but even surpass'd him in Martial Performances. For from the Year 1584. when he came first into Action, to 1625. when he died, Prince *Maurice* was never mention'd without Admiration and Astonishment. He took for the Body of his Device the Trunk of a Tree, cut off so as to seem about two Foot high, from whence there grew a Vigorous Sprout; with this Motto, *Tandem fit surculos Arbor*, *At last the Sprout becomes a Tree*: To show that he would revive the Glories of his Father. He took 39 or 40 Towns, and more Fortresses; defeated the *Spaniards* in open Field at three Signal Battles, and obtain'd several great Victories at Sea, as well upon the Coast of *Flanders*, as upon that of *Spain*, and the *Indies*, by the Valour of his Lieutenants and Vice-Admirals. The great Differences which happen'd between him and *Barnevelt* (upon account of a Truce offer'd

fee'd by the *Spaniard*, which *Barnevelt* was for accepting) went near to overturn the Commonwealth of *Holland*, by an inteſtine Diviſion that ended in the Death of *Barnevelt*. This Execution ſullied the great Character of Prince *Maurice* in the Opinion of ſome Perſons; for 'twas thro' *Barnevelt*'s Intereſt, (who had been one of the Principal Miniſters and Confidents of Prince *William*) that Prince *Maurice* obtain'd the Soveraign Command both by Sea and Land, immediately after his Father's Death. This Prince was never Married, but had ſeveral Natural Children, the moſt Conſiderable of whom was Monſieur *de Beververt*, a Noble Man of great Courage, and well Accompliſh'd. He died in 1525. when the Marquiſs of *Spinola* Beſieg'd *Breda*; and as ſome pretended for Grief, becauſe he could not relieve that Place; or as others ſaid, becauſe he could not make himſelf Soveraign. A. C.

HENRY FREDERICK of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, Born in 1584. was one of the moſt Renowned Captains of his Time, and no way inferiour in Fame and Military Atchievements to his Brother *Maurice*. He took ſeveral Important Places from the *Spaniards*, and by his Vice-Admirals defeated their Fleets at Sea; for which great Services the States General conferr'd the Survivorſhip of all his Dignities and Employments on his Son *William*. Thus *William* I. Prince of *Orange* laid the Foundation of the Powerful Republick of *Holland*; his Eldeſt Son *Maurice* fix'd and eſtabliſh'd thoſe Foundations by his Victories, and *Henry Frederick* the Younger Brother, by the Continuation of their Conqueſts, at length forc'd the *Spaniards* to renounce their pretended claim to the United Provinces, and to acknowledge them as a *Free State*. Prince *Henry Frederick*'s Motto was *Patriæque Patrique*, intimating thereby, that he thought of nothing but Saving his Country, and Revenging the Death of his Father. By the Advice of Prince *Maurice*, when he drew towards his End, he Married *Emilia de Solms*, Daughter to *John Albert* Count of *Solms*, who came with the Queen of *Bohemia* into *Holland*, *Prince Henry Frederick.*

A. C. *Holland*, and was a Lady of surpassing Beauty, and graceful Behaviour, accompanied with no less Modesty and Prudence. By her he had one Son and four Daughters, of which the Eldest *Louise* was Married to *Frederick William* Elector of *Brandenburgh*. The 2d. *Henrietta Emilia* to the Count of *Nassau*. The 3d. *Henrietta Catherina* to *John George* Prince of *Anhalt*; and the 4th to the Duke of *Simeren*. He died in 1647. leaving behind him his Son,

Prince **William.** *WILLIAM* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, was naturally Ambitious, and of great Courage, so that his Enemies reported of him, That tho' he was Young, yet he aim'd at the Execution of that design which had been laid to Prince *Maurice*'s Charge by *Barnevelt* and his Adherents. In 1641. he Married *Mary Stuart*, Eldest Daughter to *Charles* I. King of *Great Britain*, by Madam *Henrietta* of *France*; an Illustrious Birth, Interest of State and Glory, the three ordinary Motives which sway Princes in the choice of their Alliances, concurring together in the making this Match. The Propositions were no sooner made, but they were accepted, and the Marriage was Celebrated at *London* with great Magnificence. From this Marriage was Born *William Henry* Prince of *Orange*, and King of *Great Britain*. Prince *William* was Born in 1626. and died in the 24th Year of his Age, on the *6th of *November* 1650. being seiz'd with a violent Small Pox, after his unsuccessful Attempt upon *Amsterdam*. His sudden Death chang'd the whole Face of Affairs in the Low Countries, for he had great Prospects from his Alliance with *England*.

* N. S.

William Henry *Prince of* **Orange** *Born* Nov. 14. N. S. 1650.

The untimely and unexpected Death of *William* II. threw the Court and Friends of the Family of *Nassau* into such a Consternation, as is easier to be imagin'd than expres'd. But to moderate their just Affliction. the Princess Royal, within eight Days after, though but seven Months gone with Child, was happily deliver'd of *WILLIAM HENRY*; a Prince who afterwards prov'd the *Restorer* of that Flourishing State, whereof his Illustrious Ancestors were the Architects and Founders.

ders. He was Born on the 14th of *November*, 1650. and had for his God Fathers the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the Cities of *Delft*, *Leyden* and *Amſterdam*. A. C.

As it was his Misfortune to come into the World at a Juncture when his Enemies were furniſh'd with a fair Pretence to deprive him of thoſe Dignities which his Anceſtors had enjoy'd; ſo the States General finding themſelves now at Liberty by the Death of *William* II. and concluding from the late Deſign upon *Amſterdam* what they might expect from a ſingle Governour, or Stadt-holder, reſolv'd to obviate all Inconveniences that might for the future happen upon this Occaſion, and ſo appointed a General Aſſembly to meet at the *Hague*. In the firſt * Seſſion of this Aſſembly it was reſolv'd: *That ſince the Country was now without a Governour, by the Death of the Prince, the Choice of all Officers and Magiſtrates for the time to come, ſhould be in the Diſpoſal of the Cities; and that not only the ordinary Soldiers, but even the Guards of the Deceaſed Prince ſhould take an Oath of Fidelity to the States of* Holland. This fatal Reſolution was unanimouſly carried, notwithſtanding all the Repreſentations made by the Princeſs his Mother, who ineffectually endeavour'd to preſerve him in thoſe great Employments, which the States themſelves had made *Hereditary* in his Family. The Royal Family of *Great Britain*, from whom principally ſhe could expect any Aſſiſtance, being at that time under an Eclipſe, through the Trayterous Cabals of thoſe execrable Parricides, who after they had barbarouſly Murther'd *Charles* I. by a Train of Hypocriſie, and other Villanies, ſhar'd his Sovereignty among themſelves, and Perſecuted his Sons in thoſe very Places where they had taken Sanctuary.

He is deprived of his Predeceſſors Dignities.

* Jan. 18. 1651.

Prince *William Henry* from his Childhood diſcover'd the paſſionate Deſire he had to follow the glorious ſteps of his Predeceſſors: And * indeed tho' Nature does ſeldom produce great Men in the ſame Family and Succeſſion, yet the great Actions of the Fathers are powerful incentives to ſtir up their Children to imitate them; the Glory of their

His Noble Inclinations.

* De Maurier's *Reflection.*

A. C. their Anceſtors being a Light, which directs their Poſterity to March in thoſe Generous Paths which they have trod before them; and if the Virtue of Strangers has often prompted ſome Couragious Souls to Noble Enterprizes, (as that *Greek* whoſe Reſt was diſcompos'd by the Trumpets of *Miltiades*:) ſure Domeſtick Examples muſt be much more prevailing, that they may not incur the Shame of having degenerated.

The two diſtinguiſhing Qualities of our Young Prince were his *Reſervedneſs* and *Moderation*. His Prudence encreas'd as he grew up, and ſuch People as were nice Obſervers of Merit, and took great Notice of him have affirm'd, That never Prince gave greater Hopes than he, even in his moſt tender Years. Among the reſt the Famous Mr. St. *Evremont*, then an Exile in *Holland*, ſpeaks thus of him in a † Letter wherein he gives an Account of the *Hague* to a Friend in *Paris*: *We go now and then to make our Court to the Young Prince, who ſhall have Reaſon to Complain of me, for telling you only, that a Perſon of his Age and Quality was never Maſter of ſo good* a turn *of Wit.*

† *See Mr. St.* Evremont *Eſſays. 1ſt. Part.*

His Sufferings.

Our Prince, who like *Hercules* was to Encounter Snakes in his Cradle, ſuffer'd a great deal from the Intrigues and Contrivances of *Barnevelt*'s Party, now reviv'd, as it were out of its Aſhes, in the Perſons of the two *De-Wits*. But he bore all with an admirable Temper, ſtill waiting for a favourable Opportunity to be reſtor'd to his Father's Dignities. Among the many Injuries which his Emies did him, we may reckon the impoſing upon his Highneſs a Governor intirely devoted to *John de Wit*, Penſioner of *Holland*; and who inſtead of Cultivating the Excellent Endowments which the Prince had receiv'd from Nature, endeavour'd to break his Generous Spirit; ſcarce affording him a Tutor that had any Tincture of good Literature, or any tollerable Knowledge of the World. Notwithſtanding this unfortunate Education, he Learn'd in his Youth thoſe Parts of the *Mathematicks*, which have an immediate Relation with the Military Art; and ſpoke *Engliſh*, *French* and

His unfortunate Education.

and *High-Dutch*, almoſt as readily and fluently as his Mother-Tongue. A. C.

In the Year 1668, there were ſome faint ſteps made by his *Britannick* Majeſty towards the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*; for Sir *William Temple* His Majeſty's Ambaſſador, being at the *Hague*, to carry on the Negotiations in purſuance of the Treaty at *Breda*, the Triple Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix la Chappelle*; his Excellency told Monſieur *De-Wit* in a long Conference he had with him, * "That it was true, "that there wanted not ſome amongſt the *Engliſh* "that would be ſo Wiſe to know, that it was "impoſſible for *England* to fall into any firm Con- "fidence with the States upon their preſent Con- "ſtitution, nor particularly with him, upon the "Prince of *Orange*'s Occaſion; that for his Ex- "cellency's part, he was not at all of that Mind, "that tho' the King could not loſe the Affection "he had for his Nephew, yet he was of Opini- "on he could not Expreſs it better than by in- "fuſing into him the Belief, *That he could make* "*himſelf no way ſo happy as in the Good-Will of the* "*States, and truſting wholly to them in the Courſe* "*of his Fortunes, and not to Private Factions, or Fo-* "*reign Intrigues and Applications.* That His Ma- "jeſty was of Opinion himſelf, *That Princes were* "*not apt to do themſelves more Hurt, and make them-* "*ſelves leſs, any way than by affecting too much Power, or* "*ſuch as was directly contrary to the Stomach and* "*Genius of the Country which fell to their ſhare.* That "beſides this, he knew His Majeſty was ſo juſt "and ſo reaſonable, that tho' he ſhould take kind- "ly of the *States* any Reſpects they ſhould ſhew "his Nephew; yet his Excellency did not be- "believe he would offer that to any other King "or State, which he ſhould not take well that "any other ſhould offer to him, or ever be put "upon any ſuch Deſigns by his Council, or his "People's Inclinations: *For they who look'd upon the* "*Prince in a poſſibility of one day to be their King;* "*and that lov'd a Prince who grounded his Power in* "*the Affections of his People, and lov'd to Rule by* "*Laws,*

Faint ſteps made by Charles II. *K. of* B. *for the Reſtoration of the P. of* Orange.

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Letters. Vol.* 2. *P.* 12, &c.

Golden Maxims of Sir. W. Temple.

A. C. "*Laws*; *had rather perhaps see the Prince of* O-
"range *happy in the Good-Will of the States, and*
"*such Moderate Power as they should think Consistent*
"*with their Government, than of a Humour and Aims*
"*at any thing that might tend to subvert their Civil*
"*Constitutions*: So that his Excellency saw nothing
"of Danger to them upon this Chapter, either
"from the Judgment or Disposition of His Ma-
"jesty, or the Humour of the Nation. Monsieur
"*De-Wit* seem'd very much pleas'd with what Sir
"*William Temple* had said on that Subject, both
"of the King's Dispositions, and the People's Hu-
"mours and Thoughts, especially that of the
"King, of *doing as he would be done by*: He added,
"That the States Intentions were, to make the
"Prince of *Orange* Captain General of their Forces,
"and Admiral too, tho' it was not mention'd; and
"to this purpose they would already have brought
"him into the Council of State, in Order to fit
"him for those Charges, had it not been for some
"of the Provinces that had hindred it, upon Pre-
"tence of more kindness to him, and Designing
"greater Matters for him. That it was indeed a-
"greed those Charges were Inconsistent with that
"of *Stadtholder*, which gave as much Authority
"in the Civil, as the others in the Military part
"of the Government. That, Considering the smal-
"ness of their State, and greatness of their Militia,
"there was an end of their Republick when both
"was in one Hand. That for his Part, if he had
"been Born under a King, he could never have
"consented to what his Ancestors did towards
"the King of *Spain*; but being Born under a
"Commonwealth, and Sworn to maintain it, he
"could Consent to nothing that should destroy it,
"and he wondred how it had subsisted so long in
"that Danger; which was to be attributed to
"their constant Wars abroad, and to the great
"Moderation of those Princes, among whom none
"had Thoughts of it but the last, *Nor would he e-*
"*ver have fallen into them, without having been put*
"*upon them by the* French, *who had his Breeding and*
"*his Education:* That if he had liv'd he would
have

" have been the ableſt of all the Race. And from hence fell into Commendations of this Young Prince's Parts and Diſpoſitions: And ſo this matter ended. A. C.

Towards the end of the Year 1669, there happen'd a Diſpute among the States, which gave our Prince ſome Hopes of being reſtor'd: The City of *Amſterdam*, upon account of their Paying half of all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland*, as *Holland* does of all that is Levied on the Seven Provinces, did juſtly believe they ought, at leaſt in ſome degree, be conſider'd in the *Province*, as *Holland* is in the *State*,; which made them uſe their utmoſt endeavours to Oppoſe the Faction of *Leyden*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, &c. who under Penſioner *De-Witt*'s influence carried all before them in the Elections, both of Civil and Military Officers. In order to favour the Demand of the *Amſterdamers*, there were ſome Overtures made about creating a new Miniſter, under the Name of *Secretary of State*, whoſe Province ſhould have been to receive the Addreſſes of Foreign Miniſters; which Office was ſuppos'd to be deſign'd for Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, a Perſon well affected to the Prince of *Orange*, who had underhand a great ſhare in all the Councils and Motions of his Town of *Amſterdam*. The Penſioner had too much Penetration not to ſee into the Conſequences of this Project, and too great an Intereſt not to quaſh it; but nevertheleſs Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* ſtirr'd ſo much in Favour of the Prince, that the States of *Holland*, after the warmeſt Debates that had been known among them for many Years, * Reſolv'd by a Plurality of Voices: *That the Prince ſhould have Seſſion in the Council of State with a deciſive Voice; and ſhould have the ſame Place his Anceſtors had formerly had.* However, after this was reſolv'd on, that Party which the moſt oppos'd the Prince's intereſt, ſtarted two new Points: The Firſt, That no Captain-General ſhould be choſen otherwiſe than from Year to Year, but by Unanimity of Voices; and Secondly, That in Caſe the Prince ſhould be choſen Captain-General for Life

Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, *Vol.* 2. *Pa* 151.

* May 1670.

A. C. Life, then it ſhould be again Debated and Reſolved by Plurality of Voices, whether he ſhould continue his Seſſion in the Council of State. Theſe two Queſtions were agreed to by all the Towns excepting four or five, in which Number were *Amſterdam* and *Haerlem*, who maintain'd, That they were not to be Reſolved till thoſe Matters came in Queſtion.

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange*, either out of his own Motion, or thro' the Suggeſtion of the Princeſs Dowager, form'd the Deſign of going over to *England*; and was very earneſt with Sir *William Temple*, to know whether he was like to procure any Satisfaction in his Pretenſions there? Adding induſtriouſly, that all his beſt Friends in *Holland* were of Opinion, that in Caſe that ſhould wholly fail him, his Journey into *England* would prove of great Prejudice to his Affairs; by letting his Friends ſee how little he was regarded by His Majeſty, whoſe Countenance would be a great Support to him in the Courſe of his Fortunes. Sir *William Temple*, told his Highneſs that he was wholly Ignorant of his Maſter's Affairs, beſides what related to *Holland*; and particularly of the preſent State of his Revenue, or how much the late Supplies had contributed towards the Eaſe of it. Upon this his Highneſs deſir'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to touch upon this Point to the Lord *Arlington*, Secretary of State to King *Charles* II. but finding no Encouragement from his Lordſhip, his Highneſs put off the the Thoughts of his Journey till towards the Sitting of the Parliament; having aſſur'd Sir *William Temple*, that he reſolv'd to ſteer by his Maſter's Advice in the Courſe of his Affairs and Motions relating to *England*. So that all that Sir *William Temple* pretended to have done in Favour of the Prince, during his firſt Embaſſy to the States, was only not to have ſpoil'd his Buſineſs; which it had been the eaſieſt thing in the World for an *Engliſh* Miniſter at the *Hague* to have done. For that great Politician did wiſely conclude that the beſt part the *Engliſh* could play, was to ſeem no

Sir W. **Temple's** *Letters, Vol.* 2. *P.* 201.

no further concern'd in the Affairs of *Holland*, than their Wiſhes for the perfect Union of a State, they were ſo near Allied to; tho' at the ſame time, he did not fail to inſinuate by the by, that ſuch an Union would never be compaſſed, but by taking in the Prince's intereſts as far as could conſiſt with the Liberty of the State: And making ſuch a Perſon of him, as might in Title, Expence and other Circumſtances repreſent the Dignity of their Commonwealth. A. C.

About this * time a violent Humour ran a- * June
gainſt Monſieur *De-Wit*, in the City of *Amſter-* 1670.
dam, upon Pretence of his growing too far into the Sway of all Affairs by ſo long a Miniſtry, and of advancing his own Creatures into Offices and Places of Truſt, with too much Induſtry. "The "bottom of this Sir *William Temple* ſuppos'd to "be the ſame with that of all Popular Humours; "that is, a Deſign in the Leaders to change the "Scene, that thereby thoſe who had been long "employ'd might make room for thoſe who had "been long out. And he was not of Opinion "they would ſucceed to prejudice him ſuddenly; "both becauſe his chief Enemies acknowledg'd "his great Abilities, and Uſefulneſs to the State; "and becauſe he would always have it in his "Power, to fall in very conſiderably with the "Prince's Intereſt, which the other Party pretend- "ed to promote. Tho', he thought in ſuch a Caſe "his Highneſs would have a hard Choice which "Wind to Sail; as indeed he was likely to fall "into Conjunctures that would require all his "Prudence.

Theſe Conjectures of that able Miniſter were grounded on Solid Reaſons; for indeed, Monſieur *De-Witt*'s Intereſt was ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, that nothing leſs than the Irruption of the whole *French* Power, was able to ſhake it. Wherefore it muſt be confeſt, that *France*, in ſome Meaſure, contributed to the Reſtoration of the Prince of *Orange*, altho' without the leaſt Deſign to favour him: Providence ſo ordering it, that that Monarch ſhould ravage, and almoſt deſtroy this flouriſhing Republick

A: C. publick, to make the *Hollanders* ſenſible of their Ingratitude, by convincing them, that only the Family of the Founders of their Commonwealth, was capable to prevent its total Ruin, and to reſtore it to its former Grandeur.

Dover *Treaty.* 1670. King *Charles* II. both by the ſubtle Negotiation of Monſieur *Colbert*, His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Ambaſſador, the prevailing inſinuations of his *French* Miſtreſs, and the preſſing Inſtances of the Duke of *York*, Sign'd a ſecret Treaty with *France*, which was afterwards Ratified at *Dover*, at an Interview between his *Britannick* Majeſty, and *Madame*, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* his Siſter,; whom the King of *France* had purpoſely ſent over. King *Charles* was the more eaſily drawn into this Treaty, in that, beſides large Subſidies, the *French* flatter'd him with the enſnaring Hopes of Arbitrarineſs; a Bait which few Princes are able to reject. Purſuant to this Alliance, the King of *Great Britain* abandon'd the glorious Work he had undertaken of ſettling the Peace of Chriſtendom, by giving ſtop to the *French* Career, which was in a fair way to over-run all *Europe*; Sir *William Temple* was recall'd from the *Hague*; the *Triple League*, which that great Miniſter had taken ſo much Pains to cement, was ſuddenly broken; and the Deſign was laid of making War upon *Holland*, in Conjunction with the *French*.

Dutch *War in* 1672. As King *Charles* had entred into the Project of this War without the Advice of his Parliament, ſo His Majeſty was oblig'd to carry it on without their Aſſiſtance; and to depend upon the Purſe of the King of *France* for the fitting out his Navy. Monſieur *Colbert*, to eaſe his Maſter of part of that great Charge, adviſ'd King *Charles* to ſeize the *Dutch Smyrna*-Fleet, which would Supply him with more Money than the Houſe of Commons was ever like to give him at once. His Majeſty approv'd this Overture, and the World was aſtoniſh'd at the *Engliſh* Declaration of War againſt *Holland* in 1672; Firſt by Matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet, and in Conſequence of that (however it fail'd) by a formal Manifeſto, in

in which they gave Reaſons for their Quarrel; whilſt the *French* contented themſelves to give no other for their part of it, than only the Glory of their Monarch. The *Dutch* could never be poſſeſt with a Belief that the *Engliſh* were in Earneſt, till the Blow was given, but thought His *Britannick* Majeſty's Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late, would end at laſt either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtitution to the Authority of his Predeceſſors; nor could the Princes concern'd in their Safety, believe that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of the *French*, His Majeſty would ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger. But then the *French* immediately ſet out their Declaration, and began their Invaſion, which was the moſt ſucceſsful, as it was the leaſt expected. A. C. 1672.

'Tis ſcarce to be imagin'd with what a prodigious Torrent the Victorious Arms of *France* over-ran all the United Provinces. * Of all the Towns and Fortreſſes on the *German* ſide (held impregnable in all their former Wars.) not one, beſides *Maeſtricht* made any ſhew of Reſiſtance, and the *French* became immediately Maſters of all the Inland Places, in as little time as Travellers uſually employ to view them. Among the reſt, *Utrecht* and *Zutphen* open'd there Gates at the firſt approach of the Enemy; for altho' there were numerous Garriſons in both theſe Places, yet being compos'd of Burghers, and commanded by Officers of little or no Experience, they were frighted at the ſight of a well Diſciplin'd, Couragious Army, headed by a Monarch that knew how to make the beſt advantage of his Victory, and the Alarm he had ſtruck amongſt the *Hollanders*. The King of *France* fixt his Camp and his Court at *Utretcht*, and from thence began to conſider the ways how to Poſſeſs himſelf of the other Towns, which were defended not only by their Situation on ſome flat Lands; that, as they had by infinite Labour and vaſt Expence in Canals and Dikes, been either gain'd or preſerv'd from Inundations, ſo they were ſubject to them

Great Preſs of the French, 1672.

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs*, *pag.* 19.

A. C. 1672. upon opening the Sluces, whenever the *Dutch* found no other way of *Saving* their Country, but by loſing it. This was the Preſervation of the State: For His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty unwilling to venture the Glory and Advantage of ſuch Conqueſts, as he had made that Summer, upon the hazards of a new ſort of War, with an uncontroulable Element, where neither Courage nor Conduct were of Uſe, reſolv'd to leave the reſt to Negotiations of Peace with the States, upon the Terms he ſtood in, and the ſmall diſtance of Place between them; or, if theſe ſhould prove ineffectual, then he truſted to the Froſts of the following Winter, which ſeldom fail in that Country, to make all paſſable and ſafe for Troops and Carriages, that in the Summer would be impaſſable, either from the Waters, or the looſeneſs of the Soil.

The *Dutch* thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſecured by the Treaty of *Munſter*; and that no Body could hurt them, but the too great Power of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, by Reaſon of its Alliance with *France*, and particularly with *England*, had made no Proviſion for their Defence, either at Home or Abroad; and the Empire, *Spain* and *Sweden* ſtood at a Gaze upon the opening of the War, not knowing upon what Meaſures between *England* and *France* it was begun, nor how far the *Engliſh* would ſuffer it to go on upon the *French* Conqueſts. Beſides, the Animoſities of the Parties in *Holland*, long expreſs'd under their new Conſtitution, and *De-Witt*'s Miniſtry, began to flame again upon this Misfortune of their State. The Prince's *Friends* talk'd loud and boldly, that there was no other way to ſatisfie *England* but Reſtoring his Highneſs; and that the baſeneſs and Cowardiſe of their Troops, were the Effects of turning out all Officers of worth and bravery for their Inclinations to the Houſe of *Orange*, and mean Fellows brought in upon no other Recommendation than their Enmity to it; adding, that as his Highneſs's Illuſtrious Predeceſſors had formerly deliver'd them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*,

Spaniards, ſo he alone could ſtop the Fury and Progreſs of the *French*. Upon this all Men expected a ſudden Change, the States were in Diſorder, and Irreſolute what to do: The Troops were without a General, and which is yet worſe, without Heart; and though *De Ruyter*, by admirable Conduct, kept the Infection of thoſe Evils out of his Fleet, which it was the *Engliſh* part to deal with, yet Faction, Diſtruſt and Sedition caus'd a Diſmal Diſtraction both in the State and in the Army. A. C. 1672.

In the mean time the Princeſs Dowager, Grand-Mother to his Highneſs, a Lady of incomparable Prudence, and Maſculine Courage, who ſufferr'd with Impatience the Eclipſe of the Houſe of *Orange*, which ſhe had beheld in its Splendor, was not a little induſtrious in awakening thoſe Perſons that were in her Intereſts, and who were very numerous. Nor could it be thought a Crime for her to ſeek the Advantage of her Grand-Child, by the Preſervation of his Country, when ſo many ſtrive to raiſe themſelves by the Ruin of their Native Land. They therefore rous'd up, and diſdaining to ſee themſelves deſpis'd, or that all the Employments of the Common-wealth ſhould be beſtowed on the Sons of Burgo Maſters: And at the ſame time making uſe of the Fury and Diſcontents of the People, who juſtly alarm'd to ſee a Victorious Army in the Bowels of their Country, ſpoke of nothing but Sacrificing the *De-Witts*, managed their Affairs ſo dextrouſly, that they compaſt their Deſigns. For after the Prince had made a Journey towards the beginning of the Year 1672. to viſit the Fortifications of ſome Places, the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland* being Aſſembled, it was unanimouſly agreed, that he ſhould be choſen Captain and Admiral General of the United Provinces, which was notified next day to the States General; and on the 24th of *February* Monſieur *De Beverning*, *John De-Witt*, and *Gaſpar Fagel* were deputed by the States to Inveſt his Highneſs in thoſe Ancient Dignities belonging to his Anceſtors. The Prince had no ſooner accepted their Offer, and taken the

The Prince of Orange *is made Captain and Admiral General* Feb. 24. 1672.

A. C. 1672. usual Oaths before the States, but he immediately repair'd to the Army, which was then Posted near *Nieukop*; where all his Highness could do against the whole Power of *France*, Commanded by the King in Person, was to keep his Post. This he perform'd with so much Conduct, that the Enemy, as Powerful as he was, could gain no Advantage on that side; and having attempted to force the Prince out of his Retrenchments, they were compell'd to retire with loss, and to abandon their Works.

Repairs to the Army.

Insurrection at Dort. All this while the Frontier Towns and Garrisons in the Province of *Holland* falling every Day into the Hands of the Enemy, the People complain'd aloud and openly of those that Govern'd. The Inhabitants of *Dort* were the first that rose, and sent one of their Captains to the Magistrates to know whether they were resolv'd to defend the City or sit still? The Magistrates Answer'd, that they were ready to resist the Efforts of those that should attack them, and to do all that could be expected from them for the security of the City. This Answer did not entirely satisfie the People, who demanded at the same time to see the Magazines. But the Keys being missing, this put the Mob into so great a Ferment, that there were a Thousand Voices crying out, That there was Treachery in the Case; and that they would have the Prince of *Orange* to be their *Stadtholder*; threatning to Murder the Magistrates upon the spot, if they did not immediately comply with their Demands. These Menaces so terrified the Magistrates, that they dispatch'd Commissioners that very Moment to his Highness, beseeching him to hasten to their City, to appease the Commotions of the People. The Prince alledg'd several Reasons to convince them how Dangerous it was for him to leave the Army; but all was to no purpose; and his Highness was forc'd to yield to their Intreaties and Importunity. Being therefore with great Solemnity conducted to the *Town-Hall*, the Magistrates desir'd him to signifie his Pleasure to them; to which his Highness answer'd, That it was their

Part

Part to make Propoſals to him, ſince they were the occaſion of his coming. After ſome Demur, they requeſted him, that for the ſatisfaction of the People, he would be pleas'd to view the Fortifications and Magazines of the City, without making the leaſt mention of the *Stadtholderſhip*; to which the Prince readily Conſented, and to that Effect, made a Tour about the City. But at his return the People ſuſpecting that the Magiſtrates had deluded both them and the Prince, flock'd in great Numbers about his Highneſs's Coach, and boldly ask'd him, but with a great deal of Reſpect to his Perſon, whether the Magiſtrates had made him *Stadtholder*, or no? To which, when his Highneſs had Modeſtly Anſwer'd, That he was contented with the Honour they had already done him; they unanimouſly declar'd, That they would not lay down their Arms till they ſaw that Truſt conferred upon him. So that at laſt, the Magiſtrates terrified by the Threats of the People, and not knowing what other Meaſures to take in this preſſing Exigency, were conſtrain'd to lead the way for others to accompliſh, what had only been by halves as yet perform'd. Upon this they paſt an Ordinance to Repeal the perpetual Edict; which the Prince refus'd to own, unleſs they would Abſolve him of the Oath he had taken, when he accepted the Office only of Captain General, which they gave him likewiſe by this Ordinance; ſo they immediately made another Act, by which the Magiſtrates Declar'd his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* to be *Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General of all their Forces, as well by Sea, as by Land*; and gave him all the Power, Dignity and Authority which his glorious Predeceſſors had enjoy'd. After this the whole City rang with joyful Acclamations, and the Arms of the Houſe of *Orange* were immediately placed upon the Towers, and Ramparts.

A. C. 1672.

His Highneſs made Stadtholder at Dort.

The only Perſon in *Dort*, that did not Concur with the Magiſtrates, was *Cornelius De-Witt*, (Brother to *John De-Witt*, the Penſioner) who coming from the Fleet, Sick and Indiſpos'd, ſaid, he would never

A. C. 1672. never Sign the Act. He was preſt to do it after an extraordinary Manner, but neither the Perſwaſions of the Chief Men of the City, nor the Threatnings of the People, who were ready to Plunder his Houſe; nor the Tears of his Wife, who was ſenſible of the great Danger he was in, could prevail with him to alter his Reſolution.

And by the States General. *Dort*, was not the only place that roſe up after this manner; all the Cities of *Holland* and *Zealand*, where the Burghers took notice of the ill Conduct of their Magiſtrates, did almoſt the ſame thing. So that upon a Report made by the Deputies of the Reſpective Cities, the States of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Frizeland*, did not only Confirm what had been done by the City of *Dort*, but in a full Aſſembly of the States General, they preſented the Prince with ſome Publick Acts that were thought neceſſary to a full Reſtitution of his Highneſs, now at the Age of Twenty One Years, to the Office and Power of *Stadtholder*, with all Advantages and Prerogatives, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exercis'd by his Anceſtors. In Conſequence of which his Highneſs in the Hall of Audience, took the place of *Stadtholder* with the uſual Solemnity, and afterwards return'd to the Army that lay encamp'd at *Bodegrave*.

The French *repulſed before* Ardemburgh From this very Moment, as if the Reſtoration of the Prince had inſpir'd the People with new Courage, a Body of Five Thouſand *French* were Twice repuls'd before *Ardemburgh*, and beſides the Slain, were forc'd to leave Five Hundred Priſoners behind them; all this was effected by the Bravery of no more than Two Hundred Burghers, aſſiſted by the Women and the Boys; which did rather heighten the Diſgrace of the Beſiegers, than diminiſh the Glory of the Beſieg'd.

The Bp. of Munſter *Beſieges* Groningen *without Succeſs.* The Burghers of *Groningen*, with the joint-aſſiſtance of the Scholars of that Univerſity, did not Defend themſelves with leſs Vigour and good Fortune againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*, than thoſe of *Ardemburgh* had done againſt the King of *France*. For that Biſhop having ſat before this City, with an Army of near Thirty Thouſand Men, he

was

was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, with the loſs of almoſt half his Soldiers, after he had been at a prodigious Expence in order to make himſelf Maſter of that Important Place. A. C. 1672.

In the midſt of this Extraordinary Zeal the People ſhew'd for the Prince, Monſieur *De-Witt* and his Brother, were Maſſacred by the ſudden Fury of the Mobb at the *Hague*, and by the Fate of Miniſters that Govern by a Party, or Faction, who are uſually Sacrificed to the firſt great Misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general Diſcontents at Home. This Memorable Accident which ſerv'd to Confirm his Highneſs in his Dignities, and in the Affections of the People happen'd in this Manner. *Cornelius De-Witt* Bailiff of *Putton*, had been accus'd of a Deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money to engage a Surgeon belonging to his Highneſs in that wicked Attempt. But no other Witneſs appearing, and *Cornelius* recriminating upon his Accuſer, he was only baniſh'd out of the Territories of *Holland* and *Frizeland*; at which the People ſhew'd great Diſatisfaction, being poſſeſt with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Priſon, Penſioner *De-Witt*, (againſt the Advice of his Friends) would needs go himſelf to bring him out, with more Honour, and carry him out of Town; and to that Purpoſe, went with his Coach and Four Horſes to the Court. This Equipage being not uſual to this Miniſter, made the People take more Notice of it, and gather together tumultuouſly, firſt in the Streets where he paſt, and then about the Court where the Priſoner was kept: Some of the Train'd Bands of the *Hague*, that were upon the Guard, mingled among them and began to rail aloud againſt the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of the one Brother, and the Inſolence of the other, who pretended (as they ſaid) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midſt of this Heat and Paſſion rais'd by this kind of Diſcourſes among the Populace, the two Brothers came out, ſome of the Train'd-Bands ſtopt them, and one of the

The Tragical end of the two De-Witts

Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs p.* 21, &c.

A. C. 1672. Burghers dropt these Words among the People: *Now the two Traitors are together, and it is our fault if they escape us.* From this ill Language they immediately advanc'd to Blows; upon which, *John De-Witt* foreseeing how the Tragedy would end, took his Brother by the Hand, and was at the same time knock'd down, with the But-end of a Musquet. They were presently laid Dead upon the spot, then dragg'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and torn in Pieces. Thus fell one of the greatest Polititians of that Age, after having serv'd or rather administred the Commonwealth of *Holland* as Pensioner, for about Eighteen Years, with great Honour to his Country and himself. 'Tis commonly thought that he was the Author of these Resolutions, *viz.* The Exclusion of his Highness from all his Offices, of the perpetual Edict, and of the Qualities requisite for a *Stadtholder.* * At the same time, *Myn Heer Fagel* was made Pensioner of *Holland*, whose Love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be saved by any other Hands; and whose Zeal to his own Religion, made him an Enemy irreconcileable to *France*, whose Professions as well as Designs were to destroy it.

* *Note that Sir* W. Temple *plaies the Death of* De-Witts *before the P. of* O.... *was made* Stadtholder.

This Revolution as it calm'd all at Home, so it made the first Appearance of Defending what was left in in the Country. The State grew United, the Army in Heart, and Foreign Princes began to have Confidence in the Honour and Constancy of the Young Prince, which they in a manner wholly lost upon the Divisions and Misfortunes of the *State.* Among the rest the Elector of *Brandenburg* writ a Letter to the States in Favour of the Prince, telling them: "That since he "heard his Highness was restor'd to the Dignities of "his Ancestors, he did not doubt but Heaven would "Prosper a Resolution so advantagious to the Pub-"lick, especially since he knew the Prince inherited "the Virtues of his illustrious Predecessors; pro-"testing besides, that he found himself oblig'd up-"on his Elevation, to Contribute all that lay in "his Power to Assist his Highness, to Recover

and

" and Preſerve what his Anceſtors had acquired, A. C.
" at the Expence of their own Blood, with ſo 1672.
" much Reputation to themſelves. † The *French*
themſelves turn'd all their Applications towards † *Sir* W.
the Prince, and made his Highneſs all the Offers Temple's
that could be of Honour and Advantage to his *Memoirs.*
Perſon and Family, provided he would be content-
ed to depend upon them. The Bait they thought could not fail of being ſwallow'd, and about which the greateſt Artifice was imploy'd, was the Propoſal of making the Prince Sovereign of the Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And to ſay Truth, at a time when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo eminent Danger upon the firſt Froſts of the Winter, this ſeem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might very well ſtoop. But his was above it, and his Anſwers always firm, *That he never would betray his Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberties of his Country, that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended.* Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo Deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants asking him how he pretended to Live after *Holland* was Loſt? The Prince told him, That he was reſolv'd to Live upon the Lands he had in *Germany*; and that he had rather paſs his Life in Hunting there, than Sell his Country or his Liberty to *France* at any Rate. About this time King *Charles* II. ſent an Embaſſy to the King of *France*, then at *Utrecht*, where the Ambaſſadors, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, found him in his higheſt Exaltation. 'Twas commonly believ'd in *England* and *Holland*, that the true End or Subject of this Embaſſy was the Jealouſie the *Engliſh* had of the *French* Conqueſts going on ſo faſt, whilſt their own went ſo Lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent; but theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken between the Two Crowns. And the Ambaſſadors were Content as they paſt

thro'

A. C. 1672. thro' *Holland*, that the firſt ſhould be thought; which gave Occaſion for a very good Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who paid her a Viſit at the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, ſhe told him, That was more than they ask'd, which was only, that they ſhould be *good Engliſhmen*. He aſſur'd her they were not only ſo, but good *Dutchmen* too; that indeed they did not uſe *Holland* like a Miſtreſs, but they lov'd her like a Wife; to which the Princeſs replied: *Truly, I think you love us, juſt as you do Yours.*

Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs, p.* 26. When *France* loſt all Hopes of ſhaking the Prince of *Orange*'s Conſtancy, they bent all their Thoughts upon ſubduing and running the remainder of the Country. They had advanced as far as *Worden*, and from thence they made their Ravages within two or three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more Violences and Cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or the States from their Obſtinacy of their Defence. His Highneſs encamped his Army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Worden*, and being reſolv'd to diſlodge the advanc'd Guards of the *French*, made a Detachment of Horſe and Foot, and with them gave an Alarm to the Enemy, whom he chas'd as far as their Trenches before *Utretcht*, diſheartned with the loſs of their own Men before *Cronemburgh*. While both Armies were thus buſied in the Field, great Change was made in the Magiſtracy in moſt Cities to the general Satisfaction of the Inhabitants; and his Highneſs not being any longer able to ſuffer the Corruption of Military Diſcipline, which of late had been ſo Fatal to the Republick, order'd ſeveral Officers to be puniſh'd for their Remiſſneſs in their Duty. As for the *French*, the Winter prov'd not favourable to their Deſigns, and ſome promiſes of Froſt inveigled them into Marches that diſappointed their Hopes by a ſudden Thaw. This frightned them into Cautions, perhaps more than were neceſſary, and gave the Prince and States leiſure to take their Meaſures for a following Campaign, with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Dukes

Dukes of *Brandenburgh*, and *Lunenburg*, which proved a Diverſion to the Arms of *France*, and turned part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, ſo as to give over the Progreſs any further in *Holland*. Upon the approach of the Winter, the Prince of *Orange* being ſenſibly touched to ſee the Seaſon almoſt paſt without any conſiderable Action, reſolved to Attack *Narden*. For this purpoſe he Commands Coll. *Zuyleſtein* and Count *Horn* to Advance: the firſt to take his Quarters between *Utrecht* and *Narden*, and the other to Intrench himſelf at *Polanen*, on the Saw-Mill-ſide, whilſt His Highneſs ſat down with four Regiments on that ſide next *Bodegrave*. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* with all imaginable ſpeed haſten'd to the Relief of the Beſieg'd, and with about Eight or Nine Thouſand Men, fell upon Collonel *Zuyleſtein*, but was repulſed with loſs, and forc'd to retire. The Town was afterwards batter'd in a very furious manner, and reduc'd to ſuch Extremities, that they ſent to Catipulate. In this Interval, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* receiv'd a Reinforcement; march'd by a hollow Way full of Water, by the help of ſome Guides; attack'd once more at unawares, the very ſame Quarters of Coll. *Zuyleſtein*, from whence he had been beaten the Night before, and after a Bloody Obſtinate Diſpute, wherein the Colonel was Slain, (having refuſed Quarter) the Duke, at laſt, threw a Relief of Three Thouſand Men into the Town; but nevertheleſs he was Beaten back the Second time by Count *Horn*, and forc'd to leave his Priſoners behind him. Of the *French*, there were Two Thouſand kill'd, and Fifty Officers who died of their Wounds, after the Engagement; which caus'd a great Conſternation among the *French* that were at *Utrecht*; the *Hollanders* loſt Six or Seven Hundred Men, beſides Colonel *Zuyleſtein*, a Lieutenant Colonel, and ſome other Officers. His Highneſs ſeeing the Town had receiv'd ſo conſiderable a Relief, retir'd to his own Quarters, and rais'd the Siege with the comfort however of having cut in Pieces almoſt Five entire Regiments of the Enemy, and of having twice repulſed an Old

A. C. 1672.

The P. of **Orange** *Beſieges* **Narden.**

Raiſes the Siege.

A. C. 1672. Old Experienc'd General, who had never ſucceeded in his Deſign, had it not been for the Treachery of the Peaſants.

After this unſucceſsful Attempt upon *Naerden*, the Prince having Commanded the Horſe that were Quarter'd at *Helden* to hinder the *Engliſh* Merchandiſe from being Tranſported from *Rotterdam* and *Brabant*, march'd himſelf to *Roſendael*, which was the place of the General Rendezvous, from whence with an Army of 24000 Horſe and Foot, he bent his March towards the Country of *Liege*. At his approach the Count *de Duras*, who encamped at *Maſeyk*, retir'd with his Army to *Vaſſemburgh*, and higher to the River *Roer*. His Highneſs's chief Deſign was to drive the *French* from their Quarters near the *Meuſe*, and to engage Count *de Duras* in a Battle, in Caſe he found a favourable Opportunity to do it. To Effect this, having paſſed his Army upon a Bridge of Boats near *Navagne*, and join'd the Auxiliary *Spaniards*, he march'd directly to *Tongres*, and inveſted it on all ſides, with the *Spaniſh* Horſe and his own. He had no ſooner done this, but News was brought him that Count *de Duras* had decamp'd, upon which repaſſing the *Meuſe*, between *Sittart* and *Maſeyk*, he pitch'd his Camp near *Ainsbergh*, where he continued two Days, to ſee if he could draw the Count to a Battle; but the River which was ſwell'd with the late Rains, not favouring his Deſign, he return'd the ſame way to *Maeſtricht*; from whence he ſent a Detatchment of Horſe and Foot to make themſelves Maſters of the Caſtle of *Valcheren*. This Caſtle was ſtrongly Fortified, but after ſome Reſiſtance ſurrender'd at Diſcretion. After this his Highneſs march'd to *Lowick*, ſtill in hopes of Engaging the Enemy; but the Count *de Duras* had retir'd with mighty ſpeed, and was got at ſuch a diſtance, that 'twas impoſſible for the Prince to come up to him.

At laſt perceiving that the Enemy had no mind to hazard a Battle, his Highneſs order'd the Count *de Marcin* to Inveſt *Charleroy* with the Van-Guard, whilſt he himſelf follow'd with the main Body of the Army;

Army; but the cold Weather rendring the opening of the Trenches impracticable, he abandon'd the Deſign of a Siege; and having made himſelf Maſter of *Bins*, taken ſeveral Priſoners, pillag'd and demoliſh'd the Town, he march'd back the ſame way, and diſpos'd his Army into Winter Quarters, with the glory of having penetrated, in the midſt of a violent Winter, into the Enemies Country, hunted an Old General from Place to Place; alarm'd the Count *de Montal*, who ſometimes ſhut himſelf in *Tongres*, ſometimes in *Charleroy*, becauſe he was afraid of both theſe Places; then to return home with abundance of Priſoners, and the Booty of two Fortified Places, and all this within the compaſs of nine Days, without the loſs of ſcarce any of his Men. Not to mention the Terror he put the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne* in, who neither thought himſelf ſafe at *Bonn*, or any other Place within his own Territories, whilſt the Prince was ſo near him. A. C. 1672.

During his Highneſs's Expedition, the Duke of *Luxemburg* aſſembled an Army of 14000 Horſe and Foot, with a Reſolution to Conquer the Province of *Holland*; and hoping to enrich himſelf and his Men with the Pillage of *Leyden*, and the *Hague*, deſign'd to march upon the Ice with the Flower of his Troops, towards the end of *December*, but being arriv'd at *Slinwetering* he found the Waters ſo high, that only 3500 Foot could paſs, the reſt being oblig'd to return to *Naerden*. This Party firſt attack'd *Newcrop*, but were beaten off by the Peaſants, ſo that finding themſelves repuls'd on that ſide, they directed their March towards *Swammerdam*, where the Garriſon were the firſt that Fled, leaving the Inhabitants to the Mercy of the Enemy. Nevertheleſs Count *Koningſmark*, who Commanded at *Bodegrave*, upon Advice of the coming of the *French*, marched with all imaginable haſte to *Leyden*, and poſted a Regiment at *Gourſluys* to hinder their Incurſions on that ſide. **Luxemburgh's unſucceſsful Expedition.**

This unexpected march of the *French* at firſt put the People into a great Conſternation, particularly thoſe of the *Hague*; but nothing diſheartned them ſo

A. C. 1672. ſo much, as to hear, that while the State took all poſſible Meaſures to cut off the Enemies Retreat, Collonel *Painvin* had abandon'd his Poſt at *Niewerburgh*, and retir'd to *Tergow*. By this means the *French* had a free Paſſage to go home when they pleas'd, whereas otherwiſe they muſt either have periſh'd in the Water, or elſe Surrendred themſelves at Diſcretion, by reaſon of the Thaw which follow'd ſoon after. But all their Fears vaniſh'd at the Prince's return, who having at *Breda* receiv'd advice of this Enterprize of the *French*, march'd with incredible ſpeed to *Alfen*, and in a ſhort time re-eſtabliſh'd every thing as before by his Preſence: All this while the Duke of *Luxembrug* ravag'd the Heart of the Country, where he had like to have loſt his Life by a fall from his Horſe into the Water; but though he made a ſhift to eſcape, it fared no ſo with 600 of his Soldiers who were drowned; which put an end to this bold and hazardous Expedition.

Coeverden *Recover'd.*

The *French* committed unheard of Barbarities at *Swammerdam*, and all other Places of which they made themſelves Maſters; but theſe Loſſes were in ſome meaſure Recompenſed by the taking of *Coeverden*, at that time one of the ſtrongeſt Cities of the *Low Countries*, and the Key of *Friezeland* and *Groningen*. This Place fell into the Hands of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, in the fatal Year 1672. not without ſuſpicion of Treachery. But Fortune now declining to eſpouſe the *French* Intereſt any longer, ſince his Highneſs's Reſtoration, it was re-taken by Aaſſult, by a Party of 1000 Men, Commanded by Mr. *de Rabenhaupt*, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as it had been loſt with Diſhonour and Cowardice. The Biſhop of *Munſter* had plentifully ſtor'd that Place with a Prodigious Quantity of Proviſions and Warlike Ammunitions, with deſign to make it a Magazine for thoſe Parts, and therefore the loſs of it extreamly mortified the Enemy, and put them into ſuch a Conſternation, that they immediately abandon'd ſeveral other Places. All theſe Succeſſes did not a little contribute to raiſe the Reputation of the Prince of *Orange*, for the People

People obſerving how much all Affairs went for the better, ever ſince the Management of them was lodged in his Highneſs's Hands, they eaſily enclin'd to aſcribe this unexpected Proſperity to his Bravery and Conduct. A. C. 1673.

Diviſions in Frizeland made up by the Prince of Orange.

At this time the Diſputes between the new and old Magiſtrates of *Friezeland* were maintain'd with that Heat and Animoſity, that they held their Aſſemblies apart, and thwarted each other by their oppoſite Reſolutions. This Diſorder, which might in time have proved Pernicious to the Publick Repoſe, could never be determin'd by the Government of that Province, nor by the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*; but no ſooner did his Highneſs interpoſe in this Affair by his Commiſſioners, but all theſe Breaches were repair'd, and the Country once more ſettled in Order and Union. After this his Highneſs went in Perſon to *Zealand*, where the ſame Diviſions reign'd as in *Friezeland*; and at his firſt Appearance in the Aſſembly of the States of that Province at *Middelburgh*, all the Differences vaniſh'd, to the great Satisfaction of the People and Magiſtrates, and to the Praiſe of our Illuſtrious Prince. From thence his Highneſs took occaſion to go and view the Frontiers and Fortifications of *Fluſhing*, *Sluys*, *Ardenburgh*, *Aſſendyk*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, *Breda*, *Boiſleduc*, and other Places; and then return'd to the *Hague*.

And in Zealand.

The Spring was by this time well advanc'd, and the *Hollanders* had buſineſs enough on their Hands; for on one ſide they were aſſaulted by the King of *France* in Perſon with a Powerful Army, and the Prince of *Condé*, with the Duke of *Luxemburgh* were at *Utrecht* with great Forces, watching an opportunity to throw themſelves into the Heart of the Country; and on the other ſide the King of *Great Britain* vigorouſly attack'd them at Sea, with his Fleet, in Conjunction with that of *France*. For theſe Reaſons the Prince of *Orange* could not ſtir abroad, being conſtrain'd to keep his Poſt, as well to have an Eye upon the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, as to prevent the Landing of the *Engliſh*.

On

A. C. 1673. On the 10th of *June* 1673. the King of *France* sat down before *Maestricht* with an Army of 40000 Horse and Foot; the Garrison of the Place consisting of about 4000 Foot, and 8 or 900 Horse, under the Command of Monsieur *de Farjaux*, a brave experienced Captain. The Siege was carried on with all that Vigour and Ardour which a well Disciplin'd Army shew when they Fight in the Presence of a great King, as Generous in Rewarding Courage, as Severe in Punishing Cowardise: On the other hand, the Resistance of the Besieged was answerable to the Attacks of the Besigers; till after a stout Defence, which lasted near three Weeks, the Garrison being reduc'd to one half, and the rest wanting Provisions and Ammunition, the Governour was forc'd at last to Capitulate, at the repeated Instances of the Magistrates, or, as some pretend, by the Treachery of some Ecclesiasticks of the *Romish* Perswasion. However, upon a Faithful Relation which the Governour gave the Prince of all that had happen'd, his Highness was so well satisfied with his Conduct, that he made him Major General of his Army. The taking of this important Place cost the King of *France* 9000 of his best Soldiers, all his Musqueteers except Seven, and an infinite number of brave Officers. Therefore his Majesty thinking he had done enough for this Campaign, having caus'd the Fortifications of *Tongres* to be Demolish'd, immediately divided his Army, part of which he sent to the Marescha *de Turenne*; another Body was appointed to ravage the Country of *Trier*, because the Elector of that Name had taken the Emperor's side; and three Brigades march'd to Reinforce the *French* in *Holland*.

Maestricht Besieg'd and taken by the King of France.

During this Interval a Squadron of *French* Men of War having * joyn'd the *English* Navy, Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the whole Fleet weigh'd Anchor on the 31th of *May*, and steer'd towards the Coast of *Holland*. On the 8th and 14th of *June* there happen'd two Engagements between the *English* and the *Dutch*, wherein the first had some small Advantage, and forc'd the latter to Retreat among their Shallows. On the 26th of *July* Prince *Rupert*

* *The* English *and* French *Fleet joyn, May* 26. N. S.

Rupert ſet Sail again from the *Buoy* in the *Nore* in queſt of the Enemy, whom he Engaged a third time, and after a ſtout and valiant Conteſt obtain'd a dear-bought Victory, and came to an Anchor near *Harwich.* A. C. 1673.

And Engage three times the Dutch *Fleet.*

The *French* Army being diſpers'd, and the *Engliſh* Fleet after the laſt Engagement leaving the Coaſt of *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* found himſelf more at Liberty, and longing to be in Action, he recall'd all the Troops that were in *Zealand*, to come and joyn the reſt of his Army, and march'd all on the ſudden to Beſiege *Naerden* with 25000 Men. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* with a Body of 10000 Men, beſides 4 Regiments of *Munſterian* Horſe, advanc'd as far as the Prince's Intrenchments, but not daring to relieve the Town, his Highneſs purſued his Enterprize, took the Counterſcarp by Aſſault, and the Ravelin before the *Huyſerport* after three hours Reſiſtance, forc'd the Beſieg'd to retire into the Town in great Diſorder, and obliged them the Day following to Capitulate. In ſhort, after a Siege of four Days, the Town was Surrendred, on Condition the Garriſon ſhould march out with Colours flying, Drums beating, and with two pieces of Cannon; but notwithſtanding this honourable Capitulation, the *French* Governour being tried at *Utrecht* by a Court Martial, was Ignominouſly Degraded, and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. What ever was the reaſon of the Garriſon's defending themſelves no longer, his Highneſs who, to encourage the Soldiers by his own Example, expos'd himſelf to all dangers, both in the Trenches, and upon the Batteries, carried the Town with the loſs only of 100 Men Kill'd, and 200 Wounded; whereas the Enemy loſt abundance more, which is quite contrary to what happens in all other Sieges. The Prince having given the neceſſary Orders to repair the Fortifications, and left a ſufficient Garriſon in the Place, under the Command of Count *Koningſmark*, a Brave Experienc'd Captain; his Highneſs return'd to the *Hague* to prepare himſelf for ſome greater Deſigns.

The Prince Orange *Beſieges and takes* Naerden.

A. C. 1673.

Upon the Approach of the Winter his Highneſs * reſolved, like another young *Scipio*, to ſave his Country by abandonning it, and avoid ſo many Sieges, as all the Towns they had loſt would coſt to recover; therefore after the States had made a ſtricter Alliance with the King of *Spain* and the Emperour, the Prince of *Orange*, to perform ſomething Remarkable before the Seaſon was over, advanc'd to *Roſendael* in *Brabant* with his Army, and joyn'd the Count *de Monterey*, who without the leaſt Difficulty yielded to him the Command of all the Confederate Forces. But finding the Prince of *Condé* had chang'd his Poſt upon the News of the two Armies being joyn'd, and that he had ſo well Intrench'd himſelf that it was impoſſible to attack him, he advanc'd higher and joyn'd the Imperial Army, Commanded by *Montecuculi*, between *Andernack* and *Bonn*. In his March he Summon'd *Rhinback* to Surrender, which through the Perſwaſion of a Burgher, who encourag'd the reſt to make Reſiſtance, being refus'd, he commanded the Sieur *de Walkemburg* to Storm the Town, which was perform'd with that Fury, that the Soldiers upon their firſt Entrance put all to the Sword; and, amongſt the reſt, hang'd up the Burgher who had ſo ill advis'd them as to make an Oppoſition.

* *Sir. W. Temple's Memoirs.*

Bonn *Beſieged and taken by the P. of* Orange.

The Confederates being now joyn'd, it was reſolv'd to Beſiege *Bonn*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* at the beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of *Cologn*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* had enter'd joyntly with *France*. The Boldneſs of this Action amas'd all Men, but the Succeſs extoll'd the Prudence as well as the Bravery of it, for the Prince took *Bonn*, notwithſtanding the Reſiſtance of a numerous Garriſon, reinforc'd by Mareſchal *d' Humieres*, and by it open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*.

Bonn being taken, his Highneſs retir'd to *Veſſeling*, and from thence marching lower with his Army, and that of the Imperialiſts, (which he alſo Commanded in the Abſence of *Montecuculi*) he took the Cities of *Brevel* and *Schwich*. All this while Mareſchal

Mareſchal *Turenne* kept himſelf at a diſtance, for although he receiv'd the News that *Bonn* was Beſieg'd, and had a great deſire to attempt the raiſing of the Siege, yet knowing that the Duke of *Lorrain* lay upon the Banks of the *Moſelle* to obſerve him, he mov'd up and down in the Electorate of *Mentz*, being very much concern'd that he was no ſooner inform'd of the Conjunction of the Confederates. A. C. 1674.

This ſucceſsful Expedition of the Prince of *Orange* gave ſuch a damp to the Deſigns and Enterprizes of *France*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland*, in leſs time than they made them, retaining only *Maeſtricht* and the *Grave*. *Woerden* was the firſt Place they quitted, as it was the firſt that ſuffer'd under their Tyranny, the Governour having receiv'd Orders from the Duke of *Luxemburgh* to diſmantle it, to carry away with him all the Ammunition and the heavy Cannon, and to exact the Summ of 20000 Livers from the Inhabitants to ſave their Houſes from Plunder. *Harderwick* was alſo diſmantled; yet for all that the *French* had the good manners to demand 12000 Livers of the Inhabitants, but the richeſt Burghers having long before quitted the Town, they were forc'd to go without it. The Fort of *Crevecoeur* was utterly Demoliſh'd; nevertheleſs the *French* made an offer to ſave the Church and the Governour's Houſe for the Summ of 3000 Piſtols, to be paid by the Inhabitants of *Boiſleduc*, but their Propoſal being rejected, they neither ſpar'd the Houſe nor the Church. *Bemmel*, a Fortreſs of great Importance, upon the Fortifications of which Place the King of *France* had expended the Summ of 20000 Livers, was alſo deſerted, the Inhabitants giving at the ſame time 12 Hoſtages for the Payment of 6000 Livers to ſave their Houſes from being Pillaged. *Utrecht*, where the *French* had always between 6 or 7000 Men in Garriſon, was likewiſe abandon'd, the Burghers having given Hoſtages for the Payment of 100000 Crowns. Upon the Retreat of the *French* from this Place the Burghomaſters were Abſolv'd from the Oath

The French leave their Conqueſts in Holland.

A. C. 1674. they had taken against the Restoration of the Prince of *Orange*, and sent their Deputies to his Highness to acknowledge him for their Stadtholder in the Name of the Province. *Elburgh* upon the South Sea, *Campen* in *Overyssel*, and *Hattem* were also quitted by the *French*, as was *Steenwick* and *Weppel* by the *Munsterians*.

In Consideration of this great and unexpected turn of Affairs, which was entirely owing to the Wisdom, Conduct and Valor of the Prince of *Orange*, the States General, to Testifie how sensible they were of the Services he had done the Republick, not only Confirm'd the High-Office of Stadtholder of the Provinces of *Holland* and *West-Frizeland*, in the Person of his Highness during Life, but settled it likewise upon the Heirs Male of his Body, Born in Lawful *Wedlock*, by a Decree, dated *Febr.* 2. 1674. not to be left out in this Place, as being a Monument erected to his Highness's Honour.

A Decree of the States General constituting the Prince of Orange *Hereditary Stadtholder.*

"Having taken into Deliberation, by way of "Resumption, what the Lord's Deputies of the "City of *Haerlem*, propos'd to the Assembly the "23d of *January* last past, Whether it would not "be Expedient that the Charge of *Stadtholder*, and "Captain and Admiral General of the Provinces of "*Holland* and *West-Frizeland*, and Captain and Ad-"miral General of the United Provinces, should de-"scend upon the Heirs Male of his Highness the "Prince of *Orange*, Begotten in Lawful Marriage, "as by the Rolls of the same Date, more amply "may appear. We, the Body and Nobility, and "the Deputies of the Cities, in the Name, and "on the Behalf of the Burghers and Commonality "of the said Cities, have Declar'd, and do De-"clare by these Presents, That having deliberate-"ly considered the State and Constitution of the "Government of these Countrys, as it was in for-"mer times, by the Blessing of God, under the "most Illustrious Princes of *Orange*, of Glorious "Memory, his Highness's Predecessors, and whate-"ver has befallen this Republick, for these Twenty "Three or Twenty Four Years last past, till now,

"we

"we have obſerv'd this Republick has been af- A. C.
"flicted with ſeveral Calamities and Diſaſters, 1674.
"as well Domeſtick as Foreign, ever ſince the ſad
"and unfortunate Year 1650. That as to our
"Foreign Calamities, we have never been with-
"out Wars, or fears of Wars: More particularly
"one moſt dreadful War between the Kingdom
"of *England* and theſe States, which ſhook the ve-
"ry Foundations of the Government of theſe
"Countries, ſo that hardly it has recover'd Wealth
"ever ſince the ſaid War; and another againſt
"the Crown of *Portugal*, in the Year 1656, and
"1658, and 1659, and another occaſion'd by the
"Intereſt of the Northern Crowns. That in the
"Year 1664 they had another new War with the
"King of *Great Britain*, and now this preſent War
"more ſad and fatal than all the reſt. And that
"during the whole Courſe of the ſaid War, this
"Republick has been conſtrain'd to ſuffer many
"Affronts from her Neighbours, to whom ſhe
"was before a Terror. That as to our Domeſtick
"Affairs, we have been overwhelm'd with Inte-
"ſtine Diviſions and Factions. That from the
"Year 1650, to the Year 1660, ſeveral Members
"of this Republick have had a particular Averſi-
"on to the Perſon of the preſent Prince of *Orange*,
"the only Son of that Illuſtrious Family; and
"that others on the contrary have zealouſly main-
"tain'd, that the ſaid Prince ought not to be un-
"gratefully abandon'd. That the King of *Great*
"*Britain* being recall'd to the Government of his
"Dominions, and paſſing thro' theſe Countries, in
"order to his Embarking for *England*, this Re-
"publick Teſtify'd, as well to His Majeſty, as
"to the Princeſs Royal and Dowager, that they
"would take particular Care of the Intereſt and
"Education of his Highneſs, and to Reſtore him
"to the Dignities which his Illuſtrious Anceſtors
"of glorious Memory, had enjoy'd. But that af-
"ter the Death of the ſaid Princeſs Royal, all
"good Will, and Affection towards his Highneſs
"was loſt, and no farther Notice taken of him,
"till of late, that ſome Care was taken of his E-

A. C. 1674.

"ducation, and that at length towards the end of "1671, or 1672, great Conteſts aroſe about the "Election of his Highneſs to be Captain Gene- "ral of the Militia of this Country. That we "have found by ſad Experience, that the ſaid "Inteſtine Diviſions and Factions have given an "Occaſion to the Enemies of this Republick to "Affront us every Moment, as knowing well that "they render us uncapable to mind our own "Defence, by the Violation of the Union which "laid the Foundation of this Republick, and which "God has ſo miraculouſly Bleſſed. And that the "differences which aroſe every Day about the E- "lection of a Captain General of the Militia, and "the Diſcords which happen'd among the Prin- "cipal Members of this Republick were the Oc- "caſions that retarded and hindred the Delibera- "tions and Reſolutions, which of Neceſſity ought "to have been taken, to repel Foreign Force, and "make us ſpend in idle Diſputes, that precious time, "which ought to have been better Husbanded. "That the ſaid Diviſions were the Reaſon, that "toward the Year 1671, when the King of *France* "openly Declar'd that he would make a War a- "gainſt this Country, we conſum'd whole Months "together in Deliberating about the Election of "a Captain General, and whether to pitch upon "the Perſon of his Highneſs, which time ought "to have been ſpent in providing for the Defence "of the State. And that for the ſame Reaſon it "was, that the King of *France* invaded this Coun- "try by Force of Arms, in the Year 1672. and "reduc'd us to the laſt Extremities and Hazard of "total Ruin. That therefore the Lords, the "States of *Holland*, have deem'd it neceſſary, as "the only Expedient that they can imagine or "hope for, abſolutely to pluck up by the Roots "the Occaſions of the ſaid Factions and Diviſi- "ons, to prevent their falling any more into Mis- "fortunes and Miſeries to which they have hi- "therto been expos'd, and on the other ſide, to "acknowledge the great Services which the moſt "Illuſtrious Houſe of *Orange* has from time to

"time

" time perform'd for the Preſervation and Eſtabliſh- A. C.
" ment of this Republick. For theſe Reaſons the 1674.
" Lords of the Body of the Nobility, as alſo the
" Deputies of the Cities, have unanimouſly Con-
" ferr'd, and by theſe Preſents do confer in the
" Name, and on the Behalf of the Burghers and
" Commonality of the ſaid Cities upon his High-
" neſs and his Heirs Male, Begotten in Lawful
" Matrimony, the Charge of *Stadtholder*, Captain
" and Admiral General of the Provinces of *Hol-*
" *land* and *Weſt-Frizeland*, with all the Dignities,
" Preheminences, Prerogatives, Rights and Privi-
" ledges, thereto belonging without any Excep-
" tion or Reſervation, in as ample and in the
" ſame manner, as the ſame Charge is at preſent
" executed by his Highneſs. And conſequently,
" that after the Deceaſe of his ſaid Highneſs (to
" whom nevertheleſs the States of *Holland* wiſh a
" long and happy Life, in all Health and Pro-
" perity) the ſaid Charge of *Stadtholder*, Captain
" and Admiral General of the Provinces of *Hol-*
" *land* and *Weſt-Frizeland*, with all the Dignities,
" Preheminences, Prerogatives, Rights and Privi-
" ledges thereunto belonging, without any Excep-
" tion or Reſervation, ſhall devolve and deſcend
" upon his Heirs Male, Begotten in Lawful Wed-
" lock. In purſuance of which Reſolution, the
" ſaid Lords of the Body of the Nobility have or-
" der'd Letters Patents to be drawn up, and ſeal-
" ed with the Great Seal of the ſaid Provinces.

The ſame Day alſo the States of *Zealand* confer-red the ſame Dignities upon his Highneſs, and Declar'd him withall Chief Hereditary Nobleman of their Province.

It was now high time to deliver the United Provinces from thoſe Confuſions and Diſorders which the *French* had Occaſion'd in the Government. To effect this, the Prince went to *Utrecht*, and having Aſſembled the States, his Highneſs ſettled the Government of that Province upon the Ancient Foot; and choſe new Members to Compoſe the Body of the Nobility and Magiſtracy. In return of this Care, the States of *Utrecht* Confer-

A. C. 1674.

red upon his Highneſs the Hereditary Charge of *Stadtholder* of their Province.

Advances towards a Peace between England *and* Holland.

About this time, after two Summers ſpent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with ſeveral Engagements at Sea, but no Deciſive Action; both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Neceſſities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being Angry, and the Quarrel had been thought on both ſides, rather of the Miniſters than the People's. The *Dutch* believ'd it at firſt intended only againſt *De Wit*'s Faction, in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England* ſome laid it to the Corruption of the Miniſters by the Money of *France*; and ſome who pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper Deſigns. The Lord *Clifford*'s Violence in beginning it gave an ill Air in general; and the Diſuſe of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

The Subſidies from *France* bore no Proportion to the Charge of the *Engliſh* Fleet: And the Naval Strength of *England* ſeem'd rather leſſen'd than encreas'd by the Conjunction of that of *France*. The *Engliſh* Seamen Fought without Heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and the Diſcontents were ſo great at Land, that the Aſſembling of the Militia to defend the Coaſts, was thought as Dangerous as an Invaſion. But that which moſt preſt his *Britannick* Majeſty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Reſolution of *Spain* to Declare War with *England*, as they had done already with *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unleſs the Peace were ſuddenly made, which would have been ſuch a Blow to the *Engliſh* Trade, as could not eaſily have been fenc'd: So as the Neceſſity of this Conjuncture was only kept off by the Honour of the Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furniſh Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppoſe the calling one upon this Occaſion. When the Parliament met, tho' they ſeem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War: And upon his Majeſty's demand-

manding their Advice, they gave it unanimouſly, That the Peace ſhould be made. A. C. 1674.

On the 12th of *February* (New Stile) 1674. His Majeſty of *Great Britain* receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having paſs'd a Reſolution, That the Charges and Dignities Poſſeſs'd by the Prince of *Orange* and his Anceſtors, ſhould become Hereditary to his Children. And at the ſame time he alſo receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the deſire of Paſſports for the Ambaſſadors whom they were reſolv'd to ſend to His Majeſty with Inſtructions and Powers to Treat and Conclude a Peace; and, in the mean time, they offer'd a Suſpenſion of Arms. This offer coming upon the Neck of the Parliament's Advice to His Majeſty to enter into a Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon the Propoſitions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be ſent to the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Miniſters that a Treaty could be refus'd without drawing too much *Odium* upon themſelves, and Reflection upon the Government. On the other ſide, it was ſuſpected what Practices might be ſet on foot by *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, upon the general Diſcontent reigning againſt the preſent War. Therefore that very Afternoon a Reſolution was taken at the Foreign Committee, to ſend, rather than to receive an Embaſſie upon this Subject, and that Sir *William Temple* ſhould be the Perſon employ'd; and accordingly the King gave him his Commands, with many Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Confidence. Sir *William* told the King, he was ready to Obey him, with a great deal of Pleaſure to ſee His Majeſty returning to the Meaſures upon which he had formerly ſerv'd him; but that he might do it the better, he Begg'd of His Majeſty that he might go over without the Character of Ambaſſador, which would Delay or Embarraſs him with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unneceſſary to ſo ſudden a Diſpatch. His Majeſty thought what Sir *William Temple* ſaid very Pertinent, and ſo order'd that he ſhould go as Plenipotentionary; but that he ſhould have

in

A. C. 1674. in all kinds the Appointment of Ambaſſador, and that he ſhould take upon him the Character too when the Peace was Concluded.

Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs, p.* 7. &c. Within three Days Sir *William Temple* was ready; and the Morning his Diſpatches were ſo too, the Marqueſs of *Frezno*, *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſent My Lord *Arlington* word, that he had receiv'd full Power from the States to Treat and Conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever His Majeſty pleas'd. The Lord *Arlington* ſurpriz'd, was at firſt of Opinion the King ſhould go on in his own way, and give the *Spaniards* no part in this Affair; Sir *William Temple*, who happen'd to be with the Lord *Arlington* when the Meſſage came, was of another Mind, and that beſides the Point of Honour which was clear, in having the Peace made rather at *London* than at the *Hague*, he thought that of Intereſt might be better purſued. Beſides, he believ'd the *Spaniard* would Play fair in a Game, that he thought ſo much his own, and not ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſtop at any ſmall Points, eſpecially thoſe of Honour, whereof that of the Flag (tho' ſuch) was one His Majeſty ought to lay moſt to Heart. The Lord *Arlington* agreed with Sir *William*; who having acquainted the King with it, His Majeſty ſeem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told him, That ſince he did not Treat of the Peace at the *Hague*, he ſhould however at *London*, and bid him go and Acquaint the Marquiſs of *Frezno* with his Reſolution.

Peace concluded between England *and* Holland. Feb. 1674. Sir *William Temple* having receiv'd his Inſtructions, went to the Marquiſs of *Frezno*, and at three Meetings concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to His Majeſty, and Tranſport to the Marquiſs, upon ſo great an Honour, as he thought it, to himſelf, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Maſter. The two Points of greateſt Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all *Engliſh* Troops from the *French* Service. This laſt was compos'd by private Engagements to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame time to give leave for ſuch Levies

vies as the States ſhould think fit to make in His Majeſties Dominions, both of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag was carried to all the height His Majeſty could wiſh, and thereby a Claim of the Crown of *England*, the acknowledgment of its Dominion in the Narrow Seas, allow'd by the Treaty to the *Engliſh*, from the moſt powerful of their Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded by the weakeſt of them. The Sum of Money given His Majeſty by the States, tho' it was not conſiderable in it ſelf, and leſs to the King, by the greateſt part of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange*'s Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion, that had never been Paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Eaſe of it. A. C. 1674.

After the Peace was made, King *Charles*'s firſt Care was to ſoften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France*, which was done by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it, (that wanted no falſe Colours) and, at the ſame time, to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining ſtill in War, in Caſe *France*, either deſir'd or accepted of it.

The *French* who began to wiſh the War well ended, thought fit to accept and approv'd the King of *England*'s offer of Mediation; that of *Sweden* being ended by the Aſſembly at *Cologne*'s breaking up, in Expoſtulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's ſeizing the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Furſtemburgh*, a Subject of the Empire. Thereupon His *Britannick* Majeſty diſpatch'd Sir *William Temple* to *Holland*, with the Charge of his Ambaſſador Extraordinary, to offer his Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common Councils, and by their Means to endeavour the Acceptance of it by the reſt of the Princes concern'd in the War.

Sir W. Temple *goes over Ambaſſador to* Holland. July 1674.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in *England*, General *Rabenhaupt* with the Militia of *Frizeland* and *Groningen*, made himſelf Maſter of *Northorn*, and from thence advancing to *Tuvent*, took ſeveral

A: C. 1674.

ral other Places of leſs Importance, deſigning to drive all the *Munſterians* out of that part of the Country, and to that end marched as far as *Nienhuys*. The Enemy was no ſooner inform'd of his March, but they inveſted *Northom*, and beat the advanc'd Guards back into the Town. Of which General *Rabenhaupt* had no ſooner receiv'd Intelligence, but he haſten'd back to the Relief of the Place, and forc'd the Enemy to a ſwift Retreat. The next Day he return'd to *Nienhuys*, took the Town by Aſſault, and forc'd the Caſtle to Surrender at Diſcretion. After this Happy Succeſs General *Rabenhaupt* put his ſmall Body of an Army into Winter Quarters, which News being brought to *Nagel*, General of the *Munſterians*, he came back again, and retook the Place for the Biſhop his Munſter.

The Biſhop of Munſter *makes Peace with the Emperor.*

However, the Biſhop of *Munſter* apprehending the doubtful Iſſue of the War, or rather fearing the Approach of the *Imperialiſts*, prevented the impending Danger by a timely Peace with the Emperor; which ſo alarm'd the *French*, who were ſtill in Poſſeſſion of their Frontier Towns in the *Low-Countries*, that the Marquiſs *de Bellefonds*, who ſucceeded the Marſhal *d'Humieres* in the Government of the Conquer'd Provinces, reſolv'd to abandon the reſt, pretending he had occaſion for the Men to keep the Conqueſts they had upon the *Rhine*. Beſides, having receiv'd Information that the Prince of *Orange*, upon the Strength and Heart of the Peace with *England*, had concerted with the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops to begin an Offenſive War, and at the Head of an Army of near 50000 Men to March into *France*, inſtead of Fortifying the Places of his Government, he began to Demoliſh them. *Thiel* Compounded for 22000 Florins, to preſerve themſelves from Fire and Plunder and ſave their Fortifications; the Town of *Zutphen* promis'd 70000, and deliver'd Hoſtages for the Security of the Payment. *Arnheim* Paid a Ranſom of 26000 Florins, and 4000 Sacks of Corn and Meal; and *Deventer* Paid 6000 Rix Dollars to the Biſhop of *Munſter*. Thus the whole

Whereupon the French *quit the Province of* Overyſſel.

whole Province of *Overyſſel* regain'd its Ancient Liberty, and return'd to its Natural and Lawful Soveraigns. After which the Prince of *Orange* ſent Commiſſioners thither to make ſome neceſſary Changes, and regulate Affairs, till ſuch time as he had an Opportunity to come himſelf in Perſon, to make a laſting Settlement. A. C. 1674.

The King of *France* ſeem'd highly diſpleas'd with the Conduct of the Marquis *de Bellefonds*, whom therefore he Baniſh'd to *Bourges*, although all the World knew this was only a meer pretence to conceal his preſent Neceſſities, and that he was forc'd to drain his Garriſons in the *Low-Countries* to Reinforce his Army, which he intended for the Conqueſt of the *Franche-Comté*, reſolving to gain in one place what he had loſt in another. Accordingly his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty entred the *Franche-Comté* with a Prodigious Army, which joyning with another that was Commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, became ſo formidable, that in a ſhort time he made himſelf Maſter of *Beſançon*, *Dole*, *Salins*, in a Word, of the whole Province. While theſe two Armies were thus joyn'd, the Prince of *Orange* repair'd with his Army to *Bergen-op-zoom*, from whence he march'd to *Mechlin*, and kept himſelf on his Guard all the time the King of *France* was in the Field. But this Monarch being return'd to *Paris* after his new Conqueſts, which coſt him many brave Officers, the *Imperialiſts* threw themſelves into *Namur*, took the Caſtle, and *Dinant*, and by this means the Paſſage of the *Meuſe* being open'd, they went to joyn the Army of the Confederates towards the end of *July*. The three Generals, after a ſhort Conference, order'd that the Count *de Souches*, with the *German* Troops, ſhould lead the Van; the Prince of *Vaudemont* and Count *Monterey*, with the *Spaniards*, the Rear; and Count *Waldeck*, with the *Dutch*, the Main Battle; with whom the Prince march'd, and Commanded the whole Confederate Army. In this order the Confederates, to the Number of near 60000, prepar'd to attack the Prince of *Condé*, who with an Army of 50000 Men was Encamp'd

The French *King ſeizes the* Franche-Comté.

A. C. 1674. Encamp'd on the other side the River *Pieton*, to prevent the Designs of the Enemy.

Negotiation of Sir W. Temple. See his Memoirs, pag. 35. &c.

Sir *William Temple* being arriv'd at the *Hague*, deliver'd his Credentials to the President of the Week, and made a Visit to Pensioner *Fagel*, wherein he discover'd a strong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as the Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them, and was assur'd of the States accepting his Majesty's Mediation. After this, his Excellency went to *Antwerp*, in hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some time, expecting the advance of the Confederate Troops; but his Highness having march'd beyond *Louvain* two Days before, Sir *William* went to *Brussels*, there to desire a Guard to convey him to the Camp. Having sent his Secretary to the Count *Monterey* with his Compliments, and Desires of a Guard, the Count return'd the first very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal. The Truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of his Majesty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace, and of the Offices they thought his Excellency might use to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Prosecution of their present Hopes and Designs, that he found it was resolv'd to delay first, and then to hinder any Interview between the Prince and him, till the Campagne was ended. Sir *William Temple* being sensible of this, very prudently return'd to the *Hague*, where he had long Conversations with the *Pensioner*, by which he gain'd the Lights necessary to discover the whole present Scene of Affairs and feel the Pulses of the Confederates, in what related to the General Pacee. "His Excellency told him, "how much his Majesty was satisfied with that he "had lately made with the States, how much he "was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How "much Reason he had to be content with the Po-"sture that had left him at Peace with all his Neigh-"bours, while they were all at War. That Ad-"vantages of Commerce from it, were enough to

"make

"make him trouble himſelf no farther about the "Peace of *Chriſtendom*, if his Goodneſs and Piety "did not prevail more with him, than his Inte- "reſt. But that theſe, and the deſire of a General "Good, had perſwaded him to offer his Mediati- "on in the preſent Quarrels. That it had been al- "ready accepted by *France*, and that the Empe- "rour and *Spain* had anſwer'd, they would con- "ſider of it, in concert with their Allies. That the "States Ambaſſadors at *London*, had aſſur'd his "Majeſty, their Maſters would be pleas'd with it, "and doubted not their Conſent, that the Treaty "ſhould be at *London*, and that thereupon his Ma- "jeſty had charg'd him with a Letter to the States "to offer them his Mediation. That he could "not doubt their accepting it with the beſt Grace "that could be, for he knew their Intereſt was to "have a Peace, and not to diſoblige the King. "That if his Majeſty were Partial to any ſide, "they ought to believe, it would be to that where- "in his own *Nephew* was ſo deeply concern'd; and "the more becauſe he offer'd his Offices towards "a Peace, at a time when the Advantage and the "Preparations for the War run ſo high on the "*French* ſide, as he doubted the Events might "ſhew if it continued. That they knew his Ma- "jeſty's Intereſt would not ſuffer him to ſee *Flan- "ders* loſt; and that conſidering what had paſt, "his Honour would not ſuffer him to think of pre- "ſerving it any other way than by that of a Peace. "That he would be glad to ſee that Country left "by the next Peace in a better Poſture of De- "fence, than it was by the laſt; and the *Spaniſh* "Territories lie cloſer and rounder than they were "then left. And that when this ſhould be conclu- "ded, his Majeſty would be ready to enter into "the ſtrongeſt Guarantees they could deſire, and "might with Honour enter into a War to preſerve "it, though he would not to obtain it. A. C. 1674.

The Penſioner gave Sir *William* Thanks for his good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Mea- ſures of Friendſhip that had interceded between his Majeſty and them, ſince the firſt Breach; He applauded

A. C. 1674. applauded the King's Resolution in so Pious and Generous an Offer; that he doubted not the States willingness to accept, all the difference would be about the time and the manner of doing it. *As to this,* he said, *they could not do it without the Communication at least of their Allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majesty's Offer, and the States Dispositions to receive it. That for the Terms of Peace, as to their own Parts, they would be content to make his Majesty the Arbiter of it; That they had lately recover'd all the Towns they had lost, except* Grave *and* Maestricht, *the last of which was in some manner engag'd to* Spain, *when it should be recover'd, and for the other they doubted not to have a good Account of it very soon, Orders being already given to Invest it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be so easie in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impossible for the States to leave them, who had sav'd their Country from Ruin, when two so great Kings had Invaded them; nor to break the Treaties which they had made Offensive with the* Emperor, Spain, *and* Brandenburgh. *That the Terms stipulated with* Spain *oblig'd them to reduce* France *to the Treaty of the* Pyrenees; *but only a Reserve was made by one Article, which was, unless it should be otherwise agreed by consent between them. That whatever* Spain *would be content with should satisfie them, though they were both equally sensible of the Designs and Ambition of* France, *as well as of their Grudge to the States. That they could never hope for such another Conjuncture, to reduce them to such Bounds and Measures as might be safe to their Neighbours, and give quiet to* Christendom. *That it was an ill time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between* France *and* Spain, *because they knew they should have ill Grace to demand the Restitution of any Towns the* Spaniards *had lost in* Flanders *by the last War, and given up by the Peace that succeeded it, and yet his Majesty knew as well as they, that without it a Peace could never be safe for* Flanders, *nor for* Holland; *nor consequently for* England. *But he believ'd there would not pass many Days before some decisive Action would happen between the two Armies, now not far distant in the Field, which would make room for the*

Negotiation

Negotiation of Peace that might ſucceed next Winter, in which his Majeſty would find the Intereſts and Humours of a Trading Country, as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpos'd to preſs their Allies, as far as was poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good a Work. And for the reſt of the Allies, beſides Spain, *he had no reaſon to ſuſpect any great Difficulties would ariſe, ſo little having yet paſs'd in the War between* France *and them.* A. C. 1674.

The Penſioner had reaſon to expect ſome ſudden Action between the Armies; for about the middle of *Auguſt* was fought the Battle of *Seneſ*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Prince of *Condé*. But it prov'd not an Action ſo deciſive as was expected from two Armies of ſo great Force, and ſo animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Succeſs of this Fight was ſo differently reported by thoſe that engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each challeng'd, and, perhaps, neither without great Reaſon. The Confederates had for ſome Days ſought an Engagement with great deſire and endeavours, and the *French* avoided it with Reſolution not to fight, unleſs upon evident Advantage; whilſt both Armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far diſtant from one another. The reaſon of this was thought to be on one ſide the Ardour of the Young Prince of *Orange*, to make way by a Victory into *France* it ſelf, and there revenge the Invaſion of his Country, and at the ſame time to make the firſt Eſſay of a pitch'd Battle, againſt ſo great and Renown'd a General as the Prince of *Condé* was. On the other ſide, this Old Captain had too much Honour to loſe, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entring the Liſts with a Prince 23 Years Old, Bred up in the ſhade of a contrary Faction, till he was forc'd into the Field by the *French* Invaſion of the *Low-Countries*. Nor was the Advantage leſs on the *French* ſide, in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General, compos'd of excellent Officers, choſen Soldiers, exactly Diſciplin'd, long

The Famous Battle of Seneſ, Auguſt 1674. Sir W. Temple's Memoirs.

A. C. 1674. Train'd up for Action before they began it, and now fleſh'd by the uninterrupted Succeſſes of two Wars. Whereas the *Dutch* Troops, when the Prince of *Orange* enter'd upon the Command of them, were old or lazy Soldiers, diſuſed with long Peace, and diſabled with young unskilful Officers, (choſen upon no other Merit than that of Faction againſt the Houſe of *Orange*) then fill'd up, when the War broke out with haſty, and undiſtinguiſh'd Levies, and diſheartn'd with perpetual loſſes of Towns, and defeats of Parties, during the two firſt Campagnes. The Prince of *Condé* had another reſtraint upon the uſual Boldneſs of his Nature upon ſuch occaſions, which was the ill Poſture he had been in at Court ſince this King's Reign, and in regard how much more he would have to Anſwer for than another Man upon any great Misfortune to his Army, which muſt have left the way open for the Confederates to enter *France*, unguarded on that ſide by any ſtrong Frontier, ſo as no Man knew what ſhake it might give to the Greatneſs of that Crown, with the help of great and general Diſcontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his ſhare. Upon theſe Diſpoſitions in the Generals, the Battle was for ſome time induſtriouſly ſought and avoided, till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was no way of coming to a General Action, but by the Siege of ſome Place, that might be thought worth the venture to relieve, broke up and march'd towards *Senef*, on the other ſide of *Bins*, his Army being divided and Commanded as I have ſaid before.

The Prince of *Condé* obſerving the march of the Confederates, which was not far from one ſide of his Intrenchments; and that by the ſtraitneſs of Paſſages they were forc'd to file off in ſmall Lines ſtaid till the Van-Guard, with a conſiderable part of the Main Body was over one of theſe Paſſes when he drew out his Men and fell with great Fierceneſs upon the Rear of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great Slaughter, and not much Reſiſtance, took their Baggage, and ſeveral Standards and many Priſoners of Note. The Prince of *Oran*

Orange upon notice of the *French* Attacking Prince *Vaudemont*, had ſent three Battallions of his beſt Foot to their Aſſiſtance, with all the Diligence that could be, but the *Spaniards* already broken brought the *Dutch* into Diſorder, and oblig'd them to retreat, being purſu'd with great Vigour, and overpower'd by the *French*, which was the reaſon that they loſt ſeveral of their Principal Officers; among the reſt Young Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* was taken Priſoner. A. C. 1674.

Aſſoon as the Infantry of the Confederates was retired the *French* fell with redoubl'd Fury upon the *Spaniſh* Horſe, and the Prince of *Condé* began to range his Army in form of Battle, commanding his Foot to march ſecretly under the covert of the Hedges and Buſhes. The Confederate Horſe were order'd to Charge them, but they found the way ſo hollow between the Enemy and them, that they were oblig'd to turn about to the Right, and joyn the reſt of the Army. The *French*, obſerving this, turn'd to the Left, and made ſo much haſte to Charge the Body of Horſe, that Prince *Vaudemont* had ſcarce time enough to range his three Battalions, to endeavour to ſtop the Career of the Enemy. This onſet prov'd fatal to the Confederates, for the three Commanders in chief of this Brigade were made Priſoners, with ſeveral Perſons of Quality, as the Duke of *Holſtein*, the Prince *de Solms*, and Monſieur *de Langerac*, not to mention the number of the Slain. Prince *Vaudemont* gave Proofs of an extraordinary Valour and great Preſence of Mind; but whatever Endeavours he uſed to make his Men rally again, it could not be effected.

If the Prince of *Condé* had contented himſelf with this Succeſs and Execution, he had left no diſpute of a Victory; but lured on by the hopes of one more entire; and believing the *Dutch*, whom he eſteem'd the worſt Troops, would not ſtand, after the *Spaniards* and a great part of their own were wholly Routed, he followed the Chaſe, and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a ſet Battle, which was more than he Intended. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* march-

A. C. 1674. ing to the Relief of the *Spaniards*, and the Battalions he had sent, was at first invelop'd by his own flying Men, whom he could neither stop by Words nor Blows, by Promises or Reproaches, till joyning the rest of his own Troops, and the *Spaniards*, Commanded by the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, that stood firm, and Count *de Souches* coming up with the Imperialists to enforce him, the Battle began with as great Obstinacy and Fury as any was ever Fought, continued so for about eight Hours till Sun-set, and about two Hours after by Moon-light till that failing too, the Fight ended, rather by the Obscurity of the Night, than the Weariness or Weakness of the Combatants

The Prince of *Orange* in the whole Course of this Action, gave all Orders with such Prudence, and Observance of all Advantages, led up his several Squadrons with that Bravery, made such bold stands against his own broken Troops, as well as against the impetuousness of their Pursuers, for six Hours together, in the hottest of Fire; sometimes Charging with the thickest of the Enemies; sometimes over-born by his own that fled, till he rallied them and led them back to the Charge, expos'd to more Danger than most private Soldiers in the Field: So that Count *de Souches* in his Letter to the States upon this Occasion, told them, *That in the whole Course of the Action the Prince had shewn the Conduct of an old experienc'd Commander, and the Valour of a* Cæsar. And indeed his Allies, his Friends, and his Enemies, agreed in giving him equal Glory upon this Adventure: But he had none greater than from the Prince of *Condé*'s Testimony, That *he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young Man.* Yet this old General had done the same in this Day's Action, as much as the youngest Cavalier in his Army could do, when he found the Battle fought so desperately, and all at stake; whereas 'tis certain that nothing could have given Vigour to the Confederate Troops, after the first Rout, but the repeated Examples and Dangers of the Prince, and shame of not following such a Leader,

in

in all the bold Charges which he made that Day, which both the Generals ſeem'd reſolv'd rather to die than to loſe. A. C. 1674.

As the Numbers were not much different when the Fight began, ſo were thoſe eſteem'd that fell in this Battle, and to reach between ſix and ſeven Thouſand on either ſide; but of the *French* many more Officers and Men of Note, than was uſual in Proportion to the Common Soldiers; for among their Slain were reckon'd the Marquis *de Chauvalan*, *de Clemerant*, *de Bourbon* and *D'iliers*; three Counts, two Cornets of the King's Guards; above Forty Officers of the Guards *du Corps*; Forty three of the King's Regiment, and Fourſcore of the Queen's Guards. In the Liſt of the Slain on the ſide of the Allies were the Marquis of *Aſſentar*, Major General *Vane*, the Sieur *de Villamaire*, the Sieur *de Langerac*, five Collonels, four Lieutenant Collonels, and a proportionable number of Captains and Inferiour Officers. When the Night parted the Armies, the *French* retired back to their former Quarters, and next Morning the Confederates march'd to that which they deſign'd when they broke up the Day before. The Allies claim'd the Victory, becauſe they remain'd Maſters of the Field; and the *French* upon the greateſt number of Priſoners and Standards they carried away; but whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loſs.

The Day after the Battle his Highneſs march'd with the whole Army by the way of *Mons*, and put them into Quarters at S. *Guillain*, where he receiv'd five Regiments of new Recruits; and the *Imperialiſts* retired to *Queverain*. * After the repair neceſſary in each Camp, upon this ſharp Encounter, each Army took the Field again, and gave a General Expectation of another Battle before the Campaign ended. The Prince of *Orange* ſought it all he could, but the Prince of *Condé* choſe and fortified his Encampments ſo, as not to be forc'd to fight without apparent odds, and contented himſelf to watch the Motions of the Allies, to preſerve the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders*, and prevent any

* *Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, p.* 26.

A. C. 1674. Irruption into *France*, which was design'd this Summer, with great Confidence, by the Confederates, both on this side, and that in *Alsace*, but with equal Disappointment, unless it were to Monsieur *Starenburgh*, who in the beginning of the Campaign, complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, *He would make them Drink good Wine in* Champagne *before the Summer ended.* He, who lov'd it well, desir'd his Highness to be as good as his Word, was afterwards taken at the Battle of *Senef*, carried to *Rheims*, with several *Dutch* Officers, where sitting down to Dinner, and finding the Wine Excellent, he drank the Prince's Health, and said, *He would trust him as long as he liv'd, for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in* Champagne.

The Prince of Orange *Besieges* Oudenarde. The Prince of *Orange* finding no other way of Action, Decamp'd with the whole Army on the 12th of *September*, pass'd the River *Hayne* near *Tournay* and *Aeth*, sat down before *Oudenarde*, and had his end of drawing the Prince of *Condé* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give any Assault to the Town. Upon the approach of the *French* Army the Prince of *Orange* call'd a Council of War, and propos'd to draw out and attack them immediately, before they had recover'd their Fatigue after their hard Days march. The *Spaniards* were content, but Count *Souches* was not to be found all that Day, or as * others relate it, would not agree to it, and so this Occasion was lost, and with such discontent among the Generals, that next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and march'd away about a League, and left room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to draw off with the rest of his Army, and upon Conferences with *Monterey*, as well as *Souches*, finding he should not be able to effect any thing with the *Imperialists*, his Highness resolv'd to leave the greatest part of the *Dutch* Forces with Count *Waldeck*, and with the rest to go himself and press the Siege of *Grave*.

* *Sir* W. Temple.

Raises the Siege.

And

And here began those Dissentions among the Confederates, that prov'd so fatal to them in the whole Course of the War. Yet these first Divisions were endeavour'd to be cur'd by the Emperor's recalling Count *Souches*, and *Spain* the Count of *Monterey*, who were both thought not to have Seconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange's* Vigour in pursuing the Actions of the Campagne. His Highness having fail'd of what he purposed in favour of the *Spaniards*, was resolv'd to free his own Country from the last mark of their intended Servitude, before this Season ended. *Grave* was the last Town the *French* retain'd in the United Provinces, and had been preserv'd as a Magazine of what had been taken in the other Places, and was easily carried away when they quitted them, so as there was above four hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Town, a very full and brave Garrison, and all the Improvements the *French* were able to make to the Fortifications of the Place, though it was before counted one of the strongest the *Dutch* possest. It had been Invested a Month before by General *Rabenhaupt*, yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival, and the *Dutch* Soldiers so disheartned by the stout Defence from within, that nothing could have carried the Place at this Season, but the same humour of leading on his Men himself whenever they shrunk, * which can never be too much prais'd, nor too much blam'd in this Prince; because, as his Country and Allies would have had no General if they had lost him, so they would have had no Army if they had not ventur'd him. In short, by this and his usual Application and Vigour he reduc'd the Marquis *de Chamilly*, the Governour of the Place, to such Extremities, that on the 25th of *October* the Town was taken on honourable Terms to the Besieged, and with equal Glory to the Prince, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces. His Highness having dispos'd his Army in their Winter Quarters return'd to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*.

A. C. 1674.

The Prince of Orange *goes to the Siege of* Grave, October 9. 1674.

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs.*

Grave *taken* Octob 25, 1674.

A. C. 1674.

Overtures of a Peace made by Sir W. Temple *to the P. of* Orange.

Assoon as the Prince came to the *Hague*, Sir *William Temple* acquainted him with His *Britannick* Majesty's personal Kindness and Esteem for his Highness; his Resolution to Cultivate his present Friendship with the States, and desire to see a General Peace restor'd to Christendom, in which he intended to Act wholly in Concert with His Highness, whose Opinion as to the thing, and the Conditions most necessary for his Highness to insist on, His Majesty very much desir'd to understand as soon and as fully as he could. The Prince answer'd the *English* Ambassador with Expressions of Duty and Kindness to His Majesty, and Desires of a new Conjunction between the two Nations, *which* he thought *alone could make His Majesty safe at Home and Abroad.* For the Peace he said, *Tho' he could make many Complaints of both* Spaniards *and* Imperialists *Conduct since their Treaties; yet the States could not with any Faith or Honour make any Separate Peace, upon any Terms that* France *could offer them. That a General Peace could not be made without leaving* Flanders *in a Posture of Defending it self, upon any new or sudden Invasion, against which no Guarantees could secure it.* That *Spain could not upon any Terms quit the Country of* Burgundy, *or* Cambray, *or any thing in* Flanders, *beyond the Treaty of the* Pyrenees, *unless it were* Aire *and St.* Omer. *This,* his Highness said, *was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all Consistent with the safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of His Majesties Mediation, which was accepted at* Vienna *and* Madrid. Sir *William Temple* told the Prince: "That the King having been the "Author and Guarantee of the Peace of *Aix-la-*"*Chapelle*, and not having yet seen the *French* "beaten out of any Town that was given them "by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propose "any thing to *France* beyond those Terms, unless "it were upon some Equivalent. The Prince replied resolutely, *'Twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would.*

Difficulties started by his Highness.

That

That His Majeſty might, if he pleas'd induce France *to whatever he thought juſt; and could never ſhew him ſo much Kindneſs, as to bring him out of this War with Honour. If he would not, it muſt go on till ſome Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties to make the Peace neceſſary of one ſide or other. How it would fall out, he could not tell, and muſt leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a Game as the* French. *That he was ſure they might have been abſolutely beaten at* Senef, *if Count* Souches *had pleas'd; and have had a fair Blow for it again at* Oudenarde. *That he was ſure* Germany *could furniſh more and better Men than* France; *and they were now in a manner united in the Common Defence, and he hop'd the Emperor's Councils would not be ſo betray'd as they had been; that however he muſt perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the States was engag'd in to their Allies.* A. C. 1674.

A diſcontented Party in England, *holds Correſpondence with the Prince of* Orange.

There was one Point more Sir *William Temple* entred into with the Prince, which was upon Occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt Miniſtry and War, who were ſuſpected to have tamper'd with *Holland* about raiſing Seditions, and perhaps Inſurrections in *England*, if the War continu'd; and the *Dutch* Fleet ſhould appear upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, that were like to be unguarded the next Summer, by the ſtraights His Majeſty was in for Money to ſet out a Fleet. It was thought among many others, the Lord *Shafsbury* was one, that had of late play'd this Game, who having been as deep as any Man in the Councils of the * *Cabal*, and gone ſo far in the publick Applauſe of them, as in a Speech in Parliament to have applied the *Delenda Carthago*, (*Carthage* is to be deſtroy'd) to the Intereſt of *England* in the Deſtruction of *Holland*; yet when he ſaw the Parliament and Nation ſullen upon it,

* *So was called the Miniſtry of five Men in King* Charles *II. Reign, the firſt Letters of whoſe Names made up the word* Cabal, *that is* Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley *and* Lauderdale. *Theſe Miniſters were wholly devoted to the Intereſt of* France, *and aim'd at making King* Charles *II. Abſolute, and, as ſome ſuſpected, introducing Popery.*

and

A. C. 1674.

and that the King could not purſue it with ſo much ill Humour in both, he turn'd ſhort upon the Court, and the reſt of the *Cabal*, fell in with the Popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, Decried the preſent Deſigns and Conduct, tho' with the loſs of his Chancellor's Place, which was given to Sir *Heneage Finch*, and was believed to manage a Practice in *Holland*. "Sir *William* "*Temple* told the Prince what his Maſter ſuſpected "of ſome of his Subjects without naming any; "how much Service it would be to His Ma"jeſty to know 'em more certainly, and how kind "it would be in his Highneſs to Diſcover them. The Prince was ſtanch, and ſaid, *He was ſure the King would not preſs him upon a thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſt to be his Friends.* The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador gave His Majeſty an Account of all that paſſed between the Prince and him, which was thought at Court both *Cold* to His Majeſty, and *Stiff* to the Peace. Sir *William Temple* had no Returns or Orders upon this Matter, but about the beginning of *December*, the Lord *Arlington*, and the Lord *Offory* arriv'd at the *Hague*, tho' without any Character or ſhew of Buſineſs.

X. Charles *II. grown Jealous of them, ſends my Lord* Arlington *to Expoſtulate the Matter with the Prince.*

My Lord *Arlington* brought Sir *William Temple* a Letter from the King, acquainting him, That he had ſent him to ſet ſome Important Points right between His Majeſty and the Prince, which ought not to be longer in Doubt, and recommending to him all the Aſſiſtance he could give his Lordſhip at the *Hague:*

The Myſtery of this Journey and Affair was this: The Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the Head of thoſe Meaſures that the King entred into during the Miniſtry of the *Cabal*, and the late War with *Holland*, found his Credit ſinking with his Maſter upon the ill Iſſue of that Affair. As this Lord's Favour declin'd ſo the Earl of *Danby*'s encreaſed, who ſucceeded the Lord *Clifford* in the Treaſury, which had ever been the Lord *Arlington*'s Ambition. This gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt the Lord *Danby*, and which

no

no Offices of Friends could ever allay. He was not well in the Nation, for having had ſuch a ſhare in breaking the *Triple Alliance*, and making that with *France* for the Ruin of *Holland*, and as 'twas commonly thought for ſome ends more diſpleaſing at Home; yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Deſigns of the Cabal, My Lord *Arlington* follow'd ſo far the Earl of *Shafsbury*'s Example, as to join with the Duke of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Coventry*, to perſwade the King to remove the Duke wholly from Court and Buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Nation upon ſome Jealouſies of *Popery*, which the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd. By this Advice the Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill with his Royal Highneſs, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Favour with the King; he thought there was no way of retrieving his Credit, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He firſt ſuggeſted to His Majeſty the Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negociation: then that of his being imployed in it, from the Intereſt his Lady's Friends and Relations had in *Holland*; and tho' the profeſt great Friendſhip to Sir *William Temple*, yet he repreſented him as unlikely to be truſted with ſuch a Confidence from the Prince as was requiſite in this Affair, for having been ſo intimate with Monſieur *De-Witt* in his former Embaſſy. He went over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwort* her Siſter, whoſe Converſation was very agreeable to the Prince, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who pretended a great intimacy with Monſieur *Bentinck*; Dr. *Durel*, a Man fit to Practice Monſieur *Du Marais*, a *French* Miniſter in Credit with the Prince; and the Lord *Oſſory* who had a great ſhare in his Highneſs's Kindneſs and Eſteem, as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwort*'s Family, as from his Perſonal

A. C. 1674.

Sir W. Temple's Memoirs.

A. C. 1674. Perſonal Bravery, a Quality lov'd by this Prince even in an Enemy.

My Lord *Danby* had been made to Believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyck*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in *England*, had given occaſion to this Journey, as if the Prince had deſired ſome Perſon at the *Hague* from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt Confidence; but the Prince aſſured Sir *William Temple* that there was no ſuch thing, and that Monſieur *de Ruvigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, had more part in this Journey than he, or perhaps any body elſe; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a Peace came from that ſide.

My Lord *Arlington*, told Sir *William Temple* at their firſt Meeting; "That he came over to ſet "right ſome things between the King and the "Prince, that he doubted were amiſs, and Set-"tle a perfect Kindneſs and Confidence between "them; that to do this he muſt go to the bot-"tom of the Sore, and rake into things paſt, which "was an unpleaſant Work, and which Sir *Willi-*"*am* could not do, as having no part in the King's "Buſineſs during that time wherein the Prince "took his Offence at the Councils of *England*. "That the King had choſen him for this Office, "becauſe he could beſt juſtifie His Majeſties In-"tentions towards his Highneſs in the whole Courſe "of that Affair. That for the Peace, tho' His "Majeſty deſir'd it, yet he would not meddle with "it, unleſs the Prince, of himſelf, made any O-"vertures about it; but would only endeavour "to give the Prince what Lights he could as to "the State of things in General, and what he "might hope from his Allies, as well as from "*France*; that if the Prince made no Advances to "him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it "in his Excellencies Hands. That he knew very "well ſuch a Commiſſion as his might look un-"kind, if not injurious to another Ambaſſador; "and that he would not have come, if any other "had been there; but the King, as well as he, "reckon'd ſo far upon the Friendſhip between

"them

" them, that they were both Confident of Sir *Wil-* A. C.
" *liam*'s being eaſie in it, and giving him his Aſ- 1674.
" ſiſtance. He ſaid beſides, *That after having fought*
" *the King's Battle with the Prince, he muſt fight a-*
" *nother of his own*, who did not deſerve the Cold-
" neſs his Highneſs had of late Expreſs'd to him,
" and when this was done, all his Buſineſs was end-
" ed. That he deſir'd Sir *William* would, accord-
" ing to the Forms, bring him and my Lord *Oſ-*
" *ſory* the firſt time to the Prince, and after that
" he would ſee him no more in Ceremony, nor
" give his Excellency that Trouble.

Sir *William Temple* told his Lordſhip, *He was very glad to ſee him, let his Buſineſs be what it would; that he ſhould be gladder yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhould be done, let it be by whom it would; but much more that it might be by him; that for ſettling Matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the beſt Office could be done them both; that for the way he mentioned of* raking into the Sore, and fighting of Battles *in Defence or Juſtification of what was paſt, he knew not what to ſay to it; but would leave it to his own Prudence; but from what he knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort, he ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep, being of Opinion,* That Expoſtulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends. *That he would Introduce him and the Lord* Oſſory *to the Prince, and deſired no other part in his Affair, then what his Lordſhip thought neceſſary to give him.*

Sir *William Temple* was not the worſe Entertained during the Courſe of this Adventure: For my Lord *Arlington* told him every Day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between them; and his Highneſs told him not only the thing but the manner of it, which was more Important than the Matter it ſelf: For this had no Effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. His Lorſhip told him much of his Expoſtulations, and with what good turns of Wit, he had juſtified both the King's Part in the late War, and his own; but that upon all he found the

Prince

A. C. 1674. the Prince dry, sullen and uneasie. That as to the State of Christendom, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor entred further than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with safety to *Europe*; if not, it must go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing made way for other Thoughts.

Ill Success of the Lord Arlington's *Negotiation.*

The Prince on the other side, acquainted Sir *William Temple* with *what Arrogance and Insolence the Lord* Arlington *had entred upon all his Expostulations with him, shewing not only in his Discourses, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, and could by his Wit, make believe what he pleas'd; but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himself for the Prince of* Orange, *and him for my Lord* Arlington: *That all he said was so Artificial, and giving such false Colours to things every Body knew, that he, that was a plain Man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any Conversation in his Life.* In a Word, by all the Prince told Sir *William Temple* upon it, his Highness looked spighted at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much pleased with the King's Intentions upon this Errand, tho' he said, *He was sure His Majesty never intended he should Treat it in the manner he had, if he remembred that he was his* Nepew, *tho' nothing else.*

The Pensioner and Count *Waldeck*, thought that the Bent of my Lord *Arlington* was, 1. To draw the Prince into such Measures of a Peace as *France* then so much desir'd. 2. Into a Discovery of those Persons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States of raising Commotions in *England*. 3. Into Secret Measures with the King of Assisting him against any Rebels at Home, as well as Enemies Abroad. And, 4. Into the Hopes or Designs of a Match with the Duke of *York*'s Eldest Daughter. Tho' they said, he found the Prince would not enter at all into the First; was Obstinate against the Second; treated the Third as a Disrepect to the King, to think he could be so ill belov'd, or so Imprudent to need it; and upon mention made of the last by my Lord *Ossory*, he took

no

no further hold of it than ſaying, *His fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.* A. A. 1675.

After the firſt Converſations, the Lord *Arlington* ſtaid near Six Weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary Winds to return his Diſpatches, or to carry him away; equally diſappointed and diſcontented with the Succeſs of his Undertaking. At his return to *London*, he was but coldly receiv'd by the King, and ill by the Duke of *York*; the latter being angry that any Mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, tho' it was done by the Earl of *Oſſory*, but whether with any Order from His Majeſty or no, was uncertain.

Endeavours towards a Peace ineffectual.

Whatever was the Occaſion the *French* ſhew'd this Winter an extreme Deſire of a Peace: A talk of a Marriage between *Monſieur*'s Eldeſt Daughter, and the King of *Spain* was ſet on Foot; a Suſpenſion of Arms was propos'd at *Vienna*; Practiſes were uſed to diſjoint the Princes of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunemburgh* from the Confederacy; and great Inſtances made for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that could be to the States in point of Commerce, and all the Perſonal ones that could be deſir'd by a Prince of *Orange*: But his Highneſs was unmoveable in not leaving his Allies, who likewiſe rejected the Overtures of Peace, tho' he began to foreſee he was like to Play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps harder with the People, who grew impatient of Taxes, and felt the decay of Trade.

The P. of Orange refuſes the Sovereignty of Guelderland, &c.

In *February* the Prince went into *Guelderland* to Settle and Regulate the New Magiſtracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilſt he was there the Deputies of that Dutchy, and of the Earldom of *Zutphen*, by unanimous Conſent made him an Offer of the Sovereignty of thoſe Provinces, with the Ancient Title of Duke of *Guelderland*, and Count of *Zutphen*, which they ſaid had been formerly in ſome of his Anceſtors. The Prince told them, *He would give them no Anſwer upon an Affair of ſuch Moment, without firſt adviſing* with

A. C. 1675. *with the other Provinces*; and immediately Writ to those of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, to impart this offer to them, and demand their Advice upon it.

Nothing could more employ the Politick Heads of this time, than the Course of this Affair; some ascribing it to the Ambition of the Prince, and presaging the same Design upon the rest of the Provinces, others laying it to the Charge of his Young Counsellours; others to a Design of sounding the Humour of the Provinces, and of having the Honour to refuse it, after they should have all advis'd him to accept it, as 'twas believ'd they would do. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the Part that was commonly thought in the first Overture, 'tis certain an Interest of the Deputies and Magistrates, as well as Nobles of *Guelderland*, had a share in it too. For whereas this is the first Province of the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the rest, yet by reason of their Poverty from their Barren Soil and want of Trade, they are less regarded than several other Provinces. The Deputies of this Dutchy finding themselves yet less considerable since the War, which had extreamly empoverish'd their Country, thought there was no way of recovering such a Credit in the State, as suited with the Rank they held, but making the Prince of *Orange* their Sovereign; besides many of the Nobles there having Pretences for themselves or their Friends to the Military Employments, thought thereby to make their Court to the Prince upon whom those Charges depended.

In the mean time the Province of *Zealand* sent their Advice to the Prince against his Accepting of the Offer, grounding it upon the Jealousie it might raise in the other Provinces, and Inconsistence of it with the Constitutions of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at Liberty to dispose of their Sovereignty without Consent of the rest. *Utrecht* return'd their Answer with Advice to accept it; in *Holland*, Pensioner *Fagel* and Monsieur *Beverning* advised also the Prince not

to

to refuſe it, but it being long before he could get the Advice of the whole Province, becauſe of the Delays neceſſary in running the Circle of ſo many Towns, his Highneſs excus'd himſelf to the States of *Guelderland* from accepting their Offer; being perſwaded that a Soveraign Prince in *Holland* would certainly and ſoon ruin Trade, and conſequently the Riches and Greatneſs of that State, and leave a Prince of it without Power or Regard in the World; whereas the Princes of *Orange* in the Poſt they had held for four Generations, had entred into Wars and Treaties, with a Weight and Credit equal to moſt of the Kings of *Europe*. A. C. 1675.

At the Prince's return * to the *Hague*, Sir *William Temple* receiv'd a Letter from His *Britannick* Majeſty, telling him of ſome Advices given him, that the Prince intended to come over into *England*, againſt the approaching Seſſion of Parliament, and commanding that Miniſter to prevent it. Sir *William Temple* aſſur'd his Maſter there could be nothing of it, before he ſaw the Prince; but when he did, he pretended not to have had it from the King, but that he heard ſuch a thing had been whiſper'd to His Majeſty. The Prince ſaid, *That Report might come from my Lord* Arlington, *who had ſometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace ſhould be made: That however it came he was Sorry the King ſhould believe it; that he was His Majeſties Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would at leaſt do him no Harm; but if the King would be otherwiſe poſſeſt, he could not help it, yet deſir'd Sir* William *to aſſure him, there had never been any ground for ſuch a Report.* In the Afternoon the Prince came to the *Engliſh Ambaſſador*, and told him in great Heat, *He had ſince he ſaw him, received the moſt Impertinent Letter from the Lord* Arlington, *that ever was upon that Subject; Treating it as a Reſolution certain, and intended for raiſing Heats in the Parliament, and Commotions in the Kingdom, telling him,* 'Twas like to prove but an ill Friendſhip between the King and him, if it was to be made with *Cudgels, and putting him in mind,* That there were ſome Wounds in *Holland* that would bleed ſtill if there was not

March 1675. *K* Charles *II. is Jealous of the Prince's ſuppos'd Deſign of coming over into* England.

A. C. 1675. care taken of them. The Prince ſaid, *He knew well enough what the Lord* Arlington *meant by that Expreſſion, for he had told Monſieur* Read *in* England, *when he went over upon the firſt Motions of the laſt Peace*, That the King could make the Prince be ſerv'd as *De Witt* was, if he would ſet himſelf about it. Upon this his Highneſs fell into a great Rage againſt the Lord *Arlington*, calling this Proceeding Malicious and Inſolent; ſaying, *He would write to him what he deſerv'd, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common Forms. That ſince he knew not how to truſt the King's Miniſters, he would write to the King himſelf, and deſired Sir* William Temple *to Convey his Letters ſo, as they might come to no other hand.*

Soon after Count *Waldeck* was ſent to *Vienna* to concert the Operations of the approaching Summer. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came to *Cleve*, upon the ſame Account, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquiſs *de Grana* the Emperor's Envoy, and an Ambaſſador from *Denmark* arriv'd at the *Hague*, to try what Advantages his Maſter could make of this preſent Conjuncture, by threatning to enter into an Alliance with the *Swedes*, who began to throw off the Mask, and had declar'd in Favour of *France*. All things being thus in the higheſt Fermentation, a ſudden Damp fell upon the whole Maſs of theſe great Affairs by the Sickneſs of the Prince of *Orange*; which ſhew'd him to be the Maſter-Spring that ſet all the other Wheels a going; for while his Illneſs continu'd, all was in Suſpence, and none of the Parties engag'd ſeem'd to have other Motions or Sentiments, than what were raiſed by the Hopes and Fears of ſo Important a Life. After ſome days Fever, the Small Pox appear'd, which had been very Fatal to that Family, in the Perſon of his Father and Mother, and gave the greater Apprehenſions to his Friends, his Country, and his Allies. But by the Care and Prudence of an able Phyſician; the Aſſiſtance of ſome Remedies which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* ſent him, and the great Evenneſs of his Temper, and Conſtancy

The P. of Orange *falls Sick of the Small-Pox.*

ſtancy of Mind, which gave way to no Impreſ- A. C.
ſions or Imaginations that uſe to be of ſo ill Con- 1675.
ſequence in that Diſeaſe, it paſt without any bad
Accidents, and within Twenty Days his High-
neſs went Abroad and fell into the preſent Buſineſs
of the State. From this Fit of Sickneſs we may
Date that intimacy and particular Affection which
his Highneſs ever ſhew'd to Monſieur *Bentinck*,
then Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, who upon
this Occaſion ſignaliz'd his Love for his Maſter
by the apparent Hazard of his own Life. For he
tended the Prince during the whole Courſe of his
Diſeaſe, both Night and Day; nothing he took
was given him, nor he ever removed in his Bed
by any other Hand; and his Highneſs ſaid
afterwards, *That whether Monſieur* Bentinck *ſlept or
no he could not tell; but in Sixteen Days and Nights,
he never call'd once but that he was Anſwer'd by him
as if he had been awake.* The firſt time the Prince
was well enough to have his Head Comb'd,
Monſieur *Bentinck* aſſoon as it was done, begg'd
of his Maſter leave to go Home, for he was not
able to hold out longer; he did ſo, and fell
immediately Sick of the ſame Diſtemper, and was
in great Extremity; but recover'd juſt ſoon enough
to attend his Highneſs into the Field, where he
ever was next his Perſon.

Monſieur Bentinck's *cloſe Attendance upon the P. during his Sickneſs*

In the mean time, how uſeleſs ſoever for the pre-
ſent, yet the Form of His *Britannick* Majeſty's Me-
diation went on. After it had been accepted, the
firſt Point that came to be Conſider'd on, was the
Place of Treaty, about which there was no ſmall
Diſpute, the ſeveral Parties propoſing ſeveral Pla-
ces; but at laſt Sir *William Temple* having nam'd
Cleve and *Nimeguen*, the latter was agreed
upon.

Nime-
guen *cho-
ſen for the
Place of
Treaty.*

No ſooner was the Prince perfectly Recover'd,
but he repair'd to the General Rendezvous at *Ro-
ſendael*: On the other ſide the *French* had begun
their Campaign by the Siege of *Limburgh* with
one part of the Army Commanded by the Marquiſs
de Rochefort whilſt the King, the Duke of *Orleans*
and Prince *Condé*, with the reſt lay Encamp'd in

A. C. 1675.

a Post most convenient to oppose any Attempt of relieving it; to which purpose his Highness parting with his Army from *Duffel*, join'd the Dukes of *Lunenburgh* and *Lorrain* at *Gangelt*. In all probability it had come to a Battle between the King of *France* and the Prince of *Orange*, since His Majesty, who was then at *Maestricht*, having receiv'd Advice of the Prince's March, had repassed the *Meuse* at *Viset*; but after a short and weak Resistance the Town Surrendred before his Highness could approach it: For, besides some delays occasion'd by his Sickness, he began to feel here the Weight that hung about him in all the Course of this War; from the uncertain and slow Marches of the *German* Horse, and the Weakness and Disorders of the *Spanish* Troops.

Limburgh taken by the French.

After the taking of *Limburgh*, the King of *France* encamp'd near *Tillemont*, ravaging all the Country round about *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and *Malines*. He had a mighty Desire to make himself Master of *Louvain*, but the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* observ'd him so narrowly, that he durst not undertake it; neither did either the Confederate or *French* Army seem very earnest to come to a Battle, upon the loss of which so great Consequences depended; so that about the end of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull contemplative Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Condé*, and return'd with his Court to *Versailles*. The same Month King *Charles* II. seeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid asleep for the present, sent for Sir *William Temple*, to give an Account of all the Observations he had made Abroad, upon the present Dispositions and Conjunctures.

The Prince of *Orange* and the Prince of *Condé* watch'd one another so carefully, that they could not gain the least advantage one over the other. Not long after, the Prince of *Condé* left *Flanders* to succeed Monsieur *Turenne*, who was unfortunately kill'd in *Alsace*, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* Commanded the *French* Army in *Flanders*; but with Orders not to Hazard a Battel, but only to have an Eye upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Motions,

ons, and to cover any Town, that was like to be attack'd which he perform'd ſo well, that no further Action paſs'd this Summer in the *Netherlands*, beſides his Highneſs taking and razing of *Binch*, an inconſiderable Town. However his Highneſs had this advantage over *Luxemburgh*, that he hindred him from entring the Territory of *Triers*, ſo that after the fatal and intire Routing of Mareſchal *de Crequi*, that City fell into the Hands of the Imperialiſts This made ſo great a Change in the face of Affairs, that the King of *Great Britain* in a Letter to Sir *William Temple*, in *September* after his return to the *Hague*, order'd him to uſe it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be eaſie in the Buſineſs of a Peace: *That it was now time for him to apprehend again the greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *inſtead of that of* France. To which his Highneſs anſwer'd, *That there was no fear of that till they ſhould go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees; *That whenever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a* Frenchman, *as he was now a* Spaniard, *but not before*; *that for his Part he could never Conſent to any Treaty Separate from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be Reaſonable, and if* France *would be ſo too, the Peace might be made*; *if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reaſon*; *and that this might have done it, if ſome Differences between him and the* Spaniards, *in the Actions propos'd, had not hindred the Succeſſes they hoped for in* Flanders; *and if* Montecuculli's *Impatience to be at* Vienna, *and paſs the Winter there upon the Factions ſtirring at Court, had not made him repaſs the* Rhine, *and take his Winter Quarters in the Circles of the Empire there*; *becauſe if he had done it in* Alſace, *he doubted his Preſence with the Army might be thought neceſſary.* After this Conference Sir *William Temple* bent all his Thoughts upon forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, wherein he found ſuch Difficulties as would have puzzled any States-man of leſs Ability than himſelf. A. C. 1675.

In the mean time there paſt a Sea-Fight between the *French*, *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* near *Meſſina*, where-

A. C. 1675. in *De Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral was ſhot in the Head by a Cannon-Ball, of which he died within few Days after, and determin'd the greateſt loſs to have certainly happen'd on that ſide, by that of the ableſt Sea Commander of his Time; tho' for the reſt the Advantage was not conſiderable of either Part in this Engagement, nor the Conſequence material. On the other ſide the *Swediſh* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, which made them grow very Impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it; They declar'd they diſapprov'd the *French* Pretenſions rais'd to *Lorrain*, which ſeem'd only to obſtruct it; and that they would ſend their Miniſters to the Congreſs; whether the *French* came or no; and their Commiſſary at the *Hague* ſo well ſeconded this new Diſpoſition of his Court, that whilſt the Congreſs look'd Deſperate, Ships and Paſports were diſpatch'd by the States, with the Conſent of the Allies, to fetch the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador. The Confederates were beſides much animated in their Hopes, from the Diſpoſitions expreſt in a late Seſſion of Parliament in *England*, which grew ſo high againſt the *French*, or at leaſt upon that Pretence, againſt the preſent Conduct of His Majeſty or his Miniſters, that the King Prorogued them towards the end of *November* 1675.

The Meaſures that were taken towards a Peace, made the contending Parties the more Diligent in their Preparations for War. The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a numerous and brave Army, threatning ſome great Enterprize. The Prince of *Orange* was alſo preparing to go into the Field, with Reſolution and hopes of having the Honour of a Battle at the opening of the Campaign; all thoughts of the Congreſs Meeting, before the end of it, were laid aſide, when about the middle of *May*, Sir *William Temple* received the *French* Paſports for the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſters, in the Form inſiſted on by the Allies; and hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Paſports were Exchang'd by the end of *May*. About the beginning of *July* that Miniſter

niſter went to the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors being already arriv'd, preſs'd very much for his coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins* the other *Engliſh* Mediator, excus'd himſelf from entring upon any Buſineſs till Sir *William Temple*'s Arrival. A. C. 1676. *Congreſs form'd at* Nimeguen.

The Prince being ready to take the Field, told Sir *William Temple*, his *Britannick* Majeſty's Ambaſſador, that before he went he muſt have ſome talk with him in private, and at leiſure; and for that purpoſe deſir'd it might be in the Garden of *Hounſlardyck*. Being met at the time and place appointed, his Highneſs told the Ambaſſador, That *being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think of Marrying, and had many Perſons propos'd to him, as their ſeveral Humours led them. That for his own part he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the thoughts of it, otherwiſe than in General, till the War was ended. That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to preſs him more earneſtly every Day, and the more in that they ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more Reaſon to do it than any others. That he had at laſt promis'd them he would think of it more ſeriouſly and particularly, and ſo he had reſov'd he would Marry, but the choice of a Perſon he thought more difficult. That he found himſelf inclin'd to no Propoſals made him out of* France *or* Germany, *nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occaſion, by any of his Friends, but that of* England. *That before he concluded to make any Advances that way he was reſolv'd to have Sir* William's *Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unleſs he promis'd to anſwer him as a Friend, or at leaſt an indifferent Perſon.* Sir *William* telling him he ſhould be obey'd, his Highneſs went on and ſaid, *That he would confeſs to him, That during the late Wars, neither the States, nor He in particular, were without Applications made them from ſeveral Perſons, and Conſiderable, in* England, *who would fain have engag'd them to head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation,* July 1676. *The P. of* Orange *opens to Sir* W. Temple *his Deſign of Marrying the Princeſs* Mary.

A. C. 1676.

and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did. That all those Persons who pretended to be very much his Friends, were extremely against any thoughts of his Marrying in England. *Their Reasons were, That he would by it lose all the Esteem and Interest he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Dispositions and Designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the point of Religion. That his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without some great Disturbance, unless they chang'd their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done*; and upon this he desir'd the Ambassador's Thoughts as a Friend. *The next was upon the Person and Dispositions of the Young Lady*; *for though it would not pass in the World for a Prince to seem concern'd in those Particulars*; *yet for himself he would tell him, without any sort of Affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no Circumstances of Fortune or Interest would engage him, without those of the Person, especially those of Humour and Dispositions. That he might, perhaps, be very easie for a Wife to live with, he was sure he should not to such Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he should meet with one to give him trouble at home, 'twas what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the course of his Life: And that after the manner he was resolv'd to live with a Wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Disposition and Education*; *and if Sir* William *knew any thing particular of the Lady* Mary *in these Points, he desir'd to tell him freely.*

Reasons of Sir W. Temple *to confirm the Prince in his Design.*

Sir *William Temple* Answer'd his Highness, "That "he was very glad to find that he was resolv'd to "Marry, being what he ow'd his Family and his "Friends; That he was much pleas'd his Inclina- "tions led him to endeavour it in *Engeand*. That "he thought it as much for his Interest, as others "of his *English* Friends thought it was against it. "That the King and his Highness were able to do "one another more Good and more Harm, than "any

"any other Princes could do either of them, by "being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great "ſtep to be one degree *nearer the Crown*, and in all "appearance the *next*: That for his Friends (as "they pretended) in *England*, they muſt ſee "much farther than he did, to believe the King in "any ſuch Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd. "That the Crown of *England* ſtood upon ſurer "Foundations than ever it had done in former "Times, and the more for what had paſt in the "laſt Reign, and that he believ'd the People would "be found better Subjects, than perhaps the King "himſelf believ'd them. That it was however, "in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, "and to make as ſhort turns to ſuch an end; if "not, yet with the help of a little good Husban-"dry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, though "not perhaps with ſo much Eaſe at Home, or "Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of the "People. That if the Court were of Sentiments "different from thoſe of his Highneſs, yet his "Adviſers might make him a greater Compliment, "in believing him as likely to reduce the Court to "his, as in concluding to bring him to theirs, and "if that ſhould happen the moſt Seditious Men "in *England* would be hard put to it to find an "ill ſide in ſuch a Match. That for the other "Point he could ſay nothing to it, but that he "had always heard his Wife and his Siſter ſpeak "with all the advantage that could be of what "they could diſcern in a Princeſs ſo Young, and "more from what they had been told by the Go-"verneſs, with whom they had a particular Friend-"ſhip, and who, they were ſure, took all the care "that could be in ſo much of the Princeſs's Edu-"cation as fell to her ſhare.

A. C. 1676.

After two Hours Diſcourſe upon this Matter, the Prince concluded he would enter upon this Purſuit, and in order to it would write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their leave that he might go over into *England* at the end of the Campagne: That Sir *William Temple*'s Lady, a Perſon of admirable Senſe and

Addreſs

A. C. 1676. Addreſs, who was then going over upon private Affairs, ſhould carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her ſtay ſhould endeavour to inform her ſelf, the moſt particularly ſhe could, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour and Diſpoſitions of the Young Princeſs, in which he ſeem'd ſo much concern'd. Within two or three Days his Highneſs brought his Letters to Sir *William*'s Lady, went immediately to the Army, and ſhe ſuddenly after into *England* with thoſe important Diſpatches.

In the mean time the Succeſſes of the Campaign, that were expected abſolutely to govern the Progreſs of the Treaty, ran as high to the Advantage of the *French*, as to the Diſadvantage of the *Swedes* their Allies. By force of great Treaſures and good Management of them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, and they able to take the Field aſſoon as they pleas'd in the Spring. Whereas the *Spaniards*, for want of Money and Order, were uncapable either to act by themſelves upon any ſudden Attempt, or to ſupply with Proviſions in their March either the *Dutch* or *Germans* that came to their Relief. Their Towns were ill Fortified, and worſe Defended; ſo that the Mareſchal *de Crequi* having block'd up *Condé*, the King of *France* parted immediately from *Paris*, and in leſs than a Week forc'd the Place to Surrender at Diſcretion, although the Prince of *Orange* was advanc'd as far as *Granville* to Relieve it. In *May* that Monarch ſent the Duke of *Orleans* to Beſiege *Bouchain*, being a ſmall though ſtrong Place, and very Conſiderable for its Situation between *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, to the Defence of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The King with the ſtrength of his Army Poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly as to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from being able to relieve it, or to fight without diſadvantage; and the Armies continued facing one another till *Bouchain* was Surrendred the eight Day of the Siege. His Highneſs retir'd to refreſh his Forces, haraſs'd with ſo haſty a March, upon ſo ſudden Preparations; and the King of *France* return'd to *Paris*, leaving his Troops

Condé taken by the King of **France.** **April** 1676.

As alſo **Bouchain,** **May** 1676

Troops under the Mareſchal *de Schomberg* to obſerve the Motions of the Confederates. A. C. 1676.

The Prince of *Orange* being reſolv'd to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great Action this Summer, took Meaſures with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the lower *Rhine*, for the Siege of *Maeſtricht* which though the ſtrongeſt of the *Dutch* Frontiers when it fell into the Hands of the *French*, had yet receiv'd all the Advantages of Modern Fortification ſince they poſſeſs'd it, and was defended by a Garriſon of Eight Thouſand choſen Men, under *Calvo*, a reſolute *Catalonian*, who Commanded there under Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades* Governour of the Place; but then at *Nimeguen*. About the end of *July* the Trenches were open'd by the Prince, and the Siege carried on with ſuch Bravery, ſo many and deſperate Aſſaults for about three Weeks, that moſt People were Confident that it would be taken. Among the reſt of the Troops that lay before the Town, the *Engliſh* under Colonel *Fenwick*, Colonel *Widdrington*, and Colonel *Aſhley*, to the Number of Two Thouſand Six Hundred Men Petition'd his Highneſs to Aſſign them a particular Quarter, and that they might be Commanded ſeparately, that ſo if they behav'd themſelves like Valiant Men, they might have all the Honour, and, if otherwiſe, all the ſhame to themſelves. This Requeſt his Highneſs readily granted, giving them a ſeparate Poſt; and they made it appear by their fierce Attacks, that they deſerv'd this Diſtinction. Either the Prince of *Orange*, or the *Rhinegrave* (who was deſign'd for Governor of the Town, as his Father had been) were ever Encouraging the Soldiers by their Preſence; many of the Out-Works were taken with great Slaughter on both ſides, but were ſupplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Induſtry of an obſtinate Commander and brave Soldiers within. About the middle of *Auguſt* the Prince Expoſing himſelf upon all Occaſions, receiv'd a Muſquet-ſhot in his Arm, at which perceiving thoſe about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat, with the Arm that was Hurt, and

The Prince of Orange Beſieges Maeſtricht July 1676.

A. C. 1676. and way'd it about his Head, to ſhew the Wound was but in the Fleſh, at which they all reviv'd, and his Highneſs went on without interruption in the Proſecution of the Siege. But a cruel Sickneſs falling into his Army, weakened it more than all the Aſſaults they had given the Town. The Forces he expected from the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, and upon which Aſſurance the Siege was undertaken, came not up to Reinforce him; and the *Rhinegrave*, who, next the Prince, was the Chief Spring of this Action, happening to be wounded ſoon after, was forc'd to retire to a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood, where he died, by all which the Army grew diſpirited and the Siege faint. In the mean time, Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who truſted to a Vigorous Defence at *Maeſtricht* had beſieg'd and taken *Aire*, a Place then of conſiderable Strength, and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd by all the Accidents and Diſappointments of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the Heart of the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*; upon his Approach, and the Reſolutions of a Council of War in his Highneſs's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campaign ended in *Flanders*.

Raiſes the Siege.

From this time, the Prince of *Orange* began to Deſpair of any Succeſs in this War, after ſuch Trials of ſuch Weakneſs in the *Spaniſh* Troops and Conduct, and uncertainty in the *German* Reſolutions. 'Tis remarkable that tho' his Highneſs did afterwards make uſe of Mareſchal *Schomberg*'s Counſels and Experience in his Expedition into *England*, and in the Reduction of *Ireland*, yet he ſtill had a ſecret Pique againſt that great General, for forcing him to riſe from before *Maeſtricht*. 'Tis alſo reported, That at this Siege the Prince of *Orange* gave ſome hard Words to Colonel (afterwards Sir *John*) *Fenwick*, which the Colonel ſtomach'd ſo much, that he ever after profeſt an Enmity to his Highneſs.

Treaty carried on at Nimeguen.

The Campaign being thus ended, the *French* made all the Advances they could towards the Progreſs of the Treaty, and they were no doubt in

in Earneſt being in a Poſture to inſiſt upon their preſent Poſſeſſions: And having made a great Hand of this laſt Summer, were willing, like winning Gameſters, to give over unleſs oblig'd to Play on by the Loſers. * The *Swedes* were more in haſt and in earneſt for the Peace than any; the *Dutch* were grown Impatient for it, finding *France* would make no Difficulty of any thing between them; but *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* were as violent againſt it, having ſwallow'd up in their Hopes all that *Sweden* had Poſſeſs'd in *Germany*; and the Emperor ſeem'd to pretend little more after the taking of *Philipsburgh*, beſides the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, and the Towns of *Alſatia*, to the Poſture they were left in by the *Munſter*-Treaty; yet they were ſo faſt link'd both with their *German* Allies as well as *Spain*, that they reſolv'd to make no ſtep in the Treaty but by common Conſent; and *Spain*, tho' Senſible of the ill Condition of their Affairs, both in *Flanders* and in *Sicily*, yet upon a Deſign then hatching at *Madrid*, for removing the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, to place *Don John* at the Head of the Government, had conceiv'd great Hopes to recover thoſe deſperate Infirmities, that their inveterate Diſorders both in Councils and Conduct, had for a long time occaſion'd; beſides the Aſſurances they had ſtill given them from their Miniſters in *England*, that His *Britannick* Majeſty would not, after all, be contented to ſee *Flanders* loſt, or would be forc'd into the War by the Humour of the Parliament. For theſe Reaſons the Allies ſeem'd to make no haſt at all to the Congreſs: But about the end of *September* the *French* Ambaſſadors gave the *Engliſh* Mediators Notice, That their Maſter was reſolv'd to recall his Ambaſſadors, unleſs thoſe of the Chief Confederates ſhould repair to *Nimeguen* within the ſpace of a Month. This the Mediators communicated to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and they to the States, who after ſome Conference with the Miniſters of the Allies, came to a Reſolution, that they would enter upon the Treaty themſelves, if the Miniſters of their Confederates ſhould not repair to *Nimeguen*, by the

A. C. 1676.

* *Sir. W. Temple's Memoirs. p.* 127.

A. C. 1676. the firſt of *November*, *Old Stile*. This Reſolution had ſo good Effect, that the ſeveral Allies did upon it begin to haſten away one or other of their intended Ambaſſadors towards *Nimeguen*; (as Count *Kinkski* from *Vienna*, Don *Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then reſided as *Spaniſh* Envoy) but not the Perſons principally intruſted, or at the Head of their Embaſſies, nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; and from *Denmark*, Monſieur *Heug* without any News of Count *Antoine*'s Preparation, who was appointed Chief of that Embaſſie; any more than of the Biſhop of *Gurke*, or Marquiſs *de los Balbaces*, the Chiefeſt of thoſe deſign'd from the Emperor and *Spain*. Upon the Delivery of the Reſpective full Powers of the ſeveral Ambaſſadors into the Hands of the Mediators in *November*; the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors made ſeveral Exceptions againſt ſome Expreſſions in the *French* and *Swediſh* Prefaces to their Powers. After much Debate, they all agreed in the Deſiring the *Engliſh* Mediators to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all the Parties, which was done and approv'd by them all, with ſome Reſerve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to mention any Mediation, ſince that of the Pope was left out; and ſome Overtures made to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, whether they would be Content to leave out all Mention of His Majeſties Mediation, as well as that of the Pope. This they excus'd themſelves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congreſs having proceeded from His Majeſties Mediation, without any Intervention of the *Pope*'s; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties which the Pope's had not been, but on the contrary, the very mention of it in the Powers, Declar'd againſt by ſeveral of them. And by Order they received from His *Britannick* Majeſty upon this Diſpute, they Declar'd to all the Parties, That tho' his Majeſty pretended not to Exclude any other Mediation that the Parties ſhould think fit to uſe, yet he could not in any wiſe Act jointly with that of the Pope, nor ſuffer his Miniſters to enter into any Com-

Full Powers deliver'd, Novemb. *the* 21. 1676.

Diſputes about the Pope's Mediation.

Commerce either of Viſits or Conferences, with any of his, that might be employ'd at *Nimeguen*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of deſiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers, or that His *Britannick* Majeſty, in Conſideration of the Peace, would ſuffer his to be left out; but the *Danes* on t'other ſide agreed with the *Dutch* in refuſing to admit any Power with mention of the Pope's Mediation. There aroſe likewiſe another Difficulty from a ſeeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party ſeveral Powers granted for treating with the ſeveral Parties they were in War with, which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies; and in theſe Diſputes the Year 1676 ended. A. C. 1676.

The Prince of *Orange*, about the latter end of *December*, Writ very Earneſtly to Sir *William Temple* to make a ſtep for ſome few Days to the *Hague*: and Sir *William* finding all things without preſent Motion at *Nimeguen*, went thither the laſt Day of the Year. The firſt of the next having attended his Highneſs, they fell into large Diſcourſes of the Progreſs of the Treaty, and coldneſs of the Parties, the affected Delays of the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, the Declar'd Averſions of the *Danes* and *Brandenburghers*, and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal ſteps of this Congreſs. Upon all which the Prince ask'd the *Engliſh* Miniſter, Whether he had heard any more of His Majeſties Mind upon the Peace? Sir *William* told him, that he remembred a ſaying of His Majeſties laſt Letter to him upon that Subject, which was, *That he concluded from the Prince's Diſcourſes to Sir* William, *that he had then no Mind to a Peace; that he was Sorry for it, becauſe he thought it was his Intereſt to have it. That he had try'd to know the Mind of* France *upon it, but if they would not open themſelves further of one ſide, nor his Highneſs on the other, than they had yet done, he would Content himſelf with performing his Part of a Mediator, and in the Commmon Forms.* The Prince told Sir *William*

A. C. 1677.

William, "This look'd very cold, ſince his Ma-
"jeſty was alone able to make the Peace, and
"knew very well what it would come to by the
"Forms of the Congreſs. That for his own Part
"he deſir'd it, and had a great deal of Reaſon,
"both becauſe His Majeſty ſeem'd to do ſo, and
"to think it his own Intereſt as well as the Prin-
"ce's, and becauſe the States not only thought it
"their Intereſt, but abſolutely neceſſary for them.
"That he would, not ſay this to any but the King
"by Sir *William*; becauſe if *France* ſhould know
"it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the
"Terms. That both *Spain* and the Emperor had
"leſs mind to it now, than they had at the end of
"the laſt Campaign, ſo that none of the Allies had
"a mind to it beſides the States. That for his
"own Part, he ſhould always be in the ſame
"Mind with them; and that if His Majeſty would
"let him know freely the Conditions upon which
"either he deſir'd or believ'd it might be made, he
"would endeavour to concert it the beſt he could
"with His Majeſty, and that with all the Freedom
"and Sincereneſs in the World, ſo it might be
"done with any ſafety to his own Honour and
"the Intereſts of his Country. All which he deſir'd
Sir *William Temple* to write directly to His Ma-
jeſty from him.

The Dutch *incline to a Separate Peace.*

Two Days after, Sir *William* had a Conference with Penſioner *Fagel*, wherein the Penſioner told him, *That the States not only deſir'd the Peace from their Hearts, but thought it abſolutely neceſſary for them; nay, that they would not inſiſt upon a Peace according to their Allies Pretentions, nor could he Anſwer that they would not make a Separate one.* Sir *William Temple* reply'd, That was a Matter of ſuch Moment, as he was ſure they would think of it another Year before they did it. With this the Penſioner began a Diſcourſe with more Heat and Earneſtneſs, than agreed well with the Poſture of Health he was in, ſaying, *That they had thought enough of it already, and with thinking much began to find it was without Remedy.* Then he fell into Expoſtulations with their Allies, but principally

the

the *Spaniards*, and concluded, *That tho' he ſhould agree to a Separate Treaty with the greateſt Regret that could be, yet he did not ſee what elſe was to be done, and did not know one Man in* Holland *that was not of the ſame Mind.* Sir *William* ask'd him, "What "he reckon'd would become of *Flanders*, after the "*Dutch* had made their Separate Peace; becauſe "the Fate of that Country was that whereon the "reſt of their Neighbours were concern'd, as well "as they? Monſieur *Fagel*, anſwer'd, *That he believ'd*, Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, *and* Mons *might be loſt in one Summer; that after their loſs the great Towns within would not offer at defending themſelves, excepting* Antwerp *and* Oſtend, *for which, perhaps, they might take ſome Meaſures with* France, *as he knew the* French *had offer'd Monſieur* De-Witt, *upon their firſt Invaſion in* 1667. Sir *William Temple* interrupting him, ask'd him, "How "he reckon'd their State was to live with *France* "after the loſs of *Flanders?* And if he thought it "could be otherwiſe than at Diſcretion. The Penſioner deſir'd him to believe, *That if they could hope to ſave* Flanders *by the War, they would not think of a Separate Peace; but if it muſt be loſt, they had rather it ſhould be by the laſt, which would leſs exhauſt their Country, and Diſhonour the Prince; that after* Flanders *was loſt, they muſt live ſo with* France, *as would make them find it their Intereſt, rather to preſerve their State, than to deſtroy it; That the* French *could make better uſe of the* Dutch *Fleets, than of the few Poor* Fiſher-Towns, *that they ſhould be reduc'd to, if any Violations were made, either upon their Liberties or Religion; That the King of* France *had ſeen their Country, and knew it, and ſaid upon all Occaſions,* That he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects. *That the Separate Treaty was not to be choſen, but to be ſwallow'd like a deſperate Remedy; That for his own Part he had ever believ'd that* England *would cry* Halt, *at one Step or other that* France *was making, and that if the* Engliſh *would be Content to ſee half* Flanders *loſt, yet they would not all, nor* Sicily *neither, for the Intereſt of their Trade in the* Mediteranean; *that the* A. C. 1677.

A. C. 1677.

King of Great Britain *had the Peace in his Hands for these two Years past, and might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon such Conditions as he should think fit for Justice and Safety to the rest of his Neighbour's as well as himself. That all Men knew* France *was not in a Condition to refuse whatever Terms his* Britannick *Majesty resolv'd on, or to Venture a War with* England *in Conjunction with the rest of the Allies. That they had long represented all this in* England *by Monsieur* Van Beuninghen, *and offer'd His Majesty to be the Arbiter of the Peace, but not a word in Answer, and all receiv'd with such coldness as never was, tho' other People thought the* English *had more Reason to be more concern'd: since after a Separate Peace, the Aims of* France *would be more upon* Italy, *or* Germany, *or perhaps upon* England.

The P. of Orange *declares against it.*

The next Morning Sir *William Temple* acquainted the Prince with his Conference with the Pensioner, and how amongst other things he said, *That he saw nothing else to be done, but to make a Separate Peace, and that he knew not a Man in* Holland *who was not of his Mind.* Thereupon the Prince interrupted him, saying, *Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my Self; and I will do it as long as I can.* Sir *William* ask'd him, Whether he was of the Pensioner's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? His Highness answer'd, "The Appearances were ill, but Campaigns did not always end as they began. That "Accidents might happen which no Man could "foresee, and that if they came to one fair Battle, none could answer for the Event. That the "King might make the Peace if he pleas'd, before "it began; but if the *English* were so indifferent "as to let this Season pass, for his Part he must go "on and take his Fortune. That he had seen that "Morning a Poor Old Man, tugging alone in a "little Boat with his Oars, against the Eddy of a "Sluce upon a Canal; that when, with the last "Endeavours, he was just got up to the place intended, the force of the Eddy carried him quite "back again; but he turn'd his Boat assoon as he "could, and fell to his Oars again, and thus three

"or

"or four times whilſt he ſaw him; concluding "this Old Man's Buſineſs and his were too like "one another, and that he ought however to do "juſt as the Old Man did, without knowing what "would ſucceed, any more than what did in the "Poor Man's Caſe. A. C. 1677.

The Reſult of theſe Conferences Sir *William Temple* very particularly repreſented to the Court of *England*, that His Majeſty might want no Lights that were neceſſary upon ſo Nice, and yet ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. The King anſwer'd him in a long Letter of his own hand, Complaining "much of the Confederate Miniſters in *London* Ca- "balling with Parliament Men, and raiſing all Men's "Spirits as high againſt the Peace as they could; "and that they had done it to ſuch a Degree as "made it very Difficult for him to make any "ſteps with *France* towards a General Treaty, "unleſs the *Dutch* Ambaſſador would firſt put in "a Memorial, preſſing His Majeſty from the "States to do it, and declaring, that without it "they ſaw *Flanders* would be loſt. The Prince and Penſioner were both willing that the King ſhould be comply'd with in Relation to the ſteps and Language of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *London*; but his Highneſs preſt Sir *William* to write once more to know His Majeſty's Opinion upon the Terms of the Peace, or elſe, he ſaid, it would be too late, while the Seaſon advanc'd towards the Campaign. Sir *William Temple* deſir'd the Prince to Conſider there would be three Weeks time loſt, and that His Majeſty would take it kinder if his Higneſs explain'd himſelf firſt. The Prince paus'd a while, and then ſaid, "To ſhew the Con- "fidence he deſir'd to live in with His Majeſty, "he would make no further Difficulty of it, tho' "he might have many Reaſons for it. That if "the King had a Mind to make a ſudden Peace, "he thought he muſt do it upon the Foot of *Aix-* "*la-Chappelle*; which he would have the more "Grounds for, becauſe it was a Peace he both "made and warranted. That for Exchanges he "thought there ſhould be no others propos'd up-

Project of a general Peace made by the P. of Orange.

A. C. 1677.

"on it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, for *Aire* "and St. *Omer*; which two laſt, he thought, im- "ported a great deal more to *France* than the o- "thers, unleſs they would Declare, that they in- "tended to end this War with the Proſpect of be- "ginning another, by which they muſt get the reſt "of *Flanders*. That this was all that ſhould paſs "between *France* and *Spain*, and for the Emperor "and the States, that the firſt having taken *Philips- "burgh* from the *French*, ſhould raze it; and the "*French* having taken *Maeſtricht* from the *Dutch*, "ſhould raze it too, and this whole War ſhould "paſs, *like a Whirl-wind that had ceas'd, after it "had threatned much, and made but little alteration "in the World.*

Sir *William Temple* was ſurpriz'd to hear a Pro- poſition ſo on the ſudden, ſo judicious, ſo ſhort and ſo deciſive, and that ſeem'd ſo eaſie towards a ſhort Cloſe, if His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, ſhould give into it. However, his Excellency ob- ſerv'd to his Highneſs, that he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*; and next, whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France* ſhould come to ſuch Reſtitutions of what they had lately acquir'd, without an Equivalent? The Prince reply'd, "Both were explain'd by the "Terms he propos'd of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, that for "*Lorrain*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but "from the laſt Duke only. That *Burgundy* could "not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French* "Reſtoring ſo many Towns for it in *Flanders*, as "would raiſe endleſs Debates, and ſo leave the Bu- "ſineſs to the deciſion of another Campaign. For "the Second, he ſaid, He had Reaſon to doubt it, "and did not believe it would be done, but by "His *Britannick* Majeſty's vigorous Interpoſition; "but if His Majeſty would not endeavour it, the "War muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt de- "cide it. That for himſelf, the King could never "do ſo kind a Part, as to bring him with ſome "Honour out of it, and upon ſome Moderate "Terms, but if he was Content that *France* ſhould "make them Inſupportable, the Allies would

Ven-

"Venture all, rather than receive them. And "for *Holland*'s making a Separate Peace, let the "Penſioner, or any others, ſay what they would, "they ſhould never do it while he was alive, and "was able to hinder it; and he would ſay one "thing more. That he believ'd he was able to hin-"der it. That if he died, he knew it would be "done the next day; but when that ſhould hap-"pen, this Matter muſt be ſome others Care, "and perhaps the *Engliſh* were the moſt concern'd "to look after it. Sir *William Temple* gave an Account of this Diſcourſe to his Maſter, and in the mean time, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* his Colleague at *Nimeguen*, having diſcover'd a Secret and Separate Negociation between the *French* and the *Dutch* Plenipotentionaries, gave Account of it to the Court, and receiv'd an immediate Order from the King of *Great Britain*, publickly to Proteſt againſt it, in His Majeſty's Name; which however was prevented by Sir *William Temple*'s repreſenting the inſignificancy of ſuch a Proteſtation. A: C. 1677.

Sir *William Temple* having * receiv'd His Maſter's Anſwer to his Diſpatches by the Prince's Directions, carried them immediately away to *Dieren*, and there Communicated them to the Prince. The King's Anſwer conſiſted of two Parts; the Firſt, *An Offer of His Majeſty's entring into the ſtrongeſt Defenſive Alliance with the* Dutch, *thereby to ſecure them from all Apprehenſions from* France, *after the Peace ſhould be made*; and the Second was His Majeſty's Remarks, rather than Concluſion upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace. *That he believ'd it might be compaſs'd with* France *upon the Exchange of* Cambray, Aire, *and* St. Omer, *for* Aeth, Charlery, Oudenarde, Condé *and* Bouchain, *That this Scheme was what His Majeſty thought poſſible to be obtain'd of* France, *tho' not what was to be wiſh'd.* Jan. 25. 1677.

The Prince's Countenance chang'd when Sir *William Temple* nam'd *Cambray*, and the reſt of the Towns; nevertheleſs, his Highneſs heard him through, and the many Nice Reaſons of Sir *Joſeph*

A C. 1677. *VVilliamſon* upon the Matter, as of a double Frontier this would give to *Flanders*. After which the Prince ſaid, he believ'd Dinner was ready, and he would talk of it when they had Din'd, tho' he would tell him now, and in few Words, *That he muſt rather Die than make ſuch a Peace.*

After Dinner the Prince told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, "That he had not expected ſuch a Return of the Confidence he had begun towards "His Majeſty. He obſerv'd the Offer of Alliance "came to him in a Letter of His Majeſties own "Hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from "the Secretary only; that it was in a Stile, as if "he thought him a Child, or to be Fed with *whipt* "*Cream*; that ſince all this had been before the "Foreign Committee, he knew very well, it had "been with the *French* Ambaſſador too, and that "the Terms were his, and a great deal worſe than "they could have directly from *France*. That in "ſhort, all muſt be ventur'd, ſince he was in, and "found no other way out; and that he would rather Charge a Thouſand Men with an Hundred, "nay, tho' he were ſure to Die in the Charge, "than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon "theſe Conditions.

Sir *VVilliam* imparted to the Court of *England* what paſt in this Interview, to which he * received an Anſwer from Secretary *VVilliamſon*, which his Highneſs reliſh'd as ill as he had done the former, inſomuch that he told Sir *VVilliam*, "That he "was Sorry to find the King's Thoughts ſo different from his, and that whenever they grew "nearer, he ſhould be glad to know it. But he "look'd now upon the Campagne as begun, "and believ'd at the Time they talk'd, the Guns "were playing before *Valenciennes*. That he ſaw "now no hopes of a Peace, but expected a long "War, unleſs *Flanders* ſhould be loſt, and in that "Caſe the States muſt make the beſt Terms they "could. That he expected a very ill beginning "of the Campagne, and to make an ill Figure in "it himſelf, and to bear the Shame of Faults that "others would make, but if the Emperor per-

* Feb. 24.

"form'd

"form'd what he promis'd, the Campagne might "not end as it began. That however he was in, "and muſt go on; adding, *And when one is at* "*High Maſs one is at it*; meaning one muſt ſtay "till 'tis done, becauſe the Crowd is ſo great one "can't get out. After this Interview, which paſs'd at *Soeſdike*, one of the Prince's Houſes, his Highneſs went immediately away for the *Hague*, and Sir *William Temple* return'd to *Nimeguen*, where tho' moſt of the Preliminaries were already adjuſted, the Pope's Mediation rejected, and that of the King of *Great Britain* only accepted by all Parties, yet all Negotiations ſeem'd wholly at a ſtand, and ſo continu'd till towards the end of *April*. A. C. 1677.

Whilſt the Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs, were contending about Trifles, and amuſing one another with the Ceremonial, the Eſſential Parts of the Treaty were warmly Diſputed with Fire and Sword in the Field. *France* had in the beginnig of the Year, notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Seaſon, over-run all the Country about *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *St. Omer*, and in a manner Blocked up theſe three Important Places, openly boaſting that they would make themſelves Maſters of two of them before the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to take the Field. About the end of *February*, having provided ſufficient Magazines for the Subſiſtance of their Forces, they began to penetrate into *Flanders*, and into thoſe Parts of *Germany* on t'other ſide of the *Rhine*, where they made their firſt Eſſay of burning and ſpoiling defenceleſs Towns and Villages, which they have ſince improv'd to ſo dreadful a Degree. The Confederates complain'd to the King of *England* of this new manner of making War, who employ'd his Offices to hinder ſuch Unchriſtian Devaſtations, while a Treaty was on Foot under his Mediation; but the thing was done, and the *French* had gain'd their Point, which was by an abſolute ruin of the Country to cut off the *Imperialiſts* from all Subſiſtance, if they ſhould March into *Alſatia*, and by that means divert thoſe Troops that *France* reſolv'd to employ in the *Netherlands*, before the *Dutch* could

A. C. 1677. leave their Winter Quarters, and March to the Relief of those Places they intended to Besiege.

Valenciennes taken by the French, March 17. 1677.

About the beginning of *March* the Duke of *Luxemburgh* and Count *de Montal* invested *Valenciennes*, with an Army of between Fifty and Sixty Thousand Men. Four Days after the King of *France* came in Person to the Camp, and by his Presence so animated the Troops, that in few Days the Town was carried by a General Assault; notwithstanding the Difficulties occasion'd by the Season, and a Gallant Defence of a numerous Garrison, Commanded by the Marquis *de Risburg*, Brother to Prince *d'Epinoy*. From *Valenciennes* the *French* King march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. In few Days, from the opening of the Trenches, the Lines of Circumvallation were finish'd, and the King commanded an Assault to be made on the two Half-Moons on the Castle side, which the *French* having soon made themselves Masters of, they immediately began to undermine the Ramparts. This put the Besieg'd into such a Consternation, that they desir'd to Capitulate, and Surrendred the Town of *Cambray* upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for some Days longer, the Governour having taken Advantage of the Cessation of Arms to provide for its Defence.

The Town of Cambray taken.

In the mean time the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* prosecuted their Design upon *Flanders*, whilst the Negotiations of Peace serv'd only to make the *Spaniards* more remiss in their Preparations, resolv'd to go on with another Campagne, being kept up to this Resolution by the Prince of *Orange*'s pressing them to the Observance of their Treaties, and pursuit of their Interest, in the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Upon the first Motion of the *French*, the Prince began to prepare for that of his Troops likewise, and prest the *Spaniards* to have theirs in readiness to join him; and with all imaginable Diligence provided for the Subsistance of his Army in their March thro' *Flanders*, which the

Span-

Spaniards had taken no care of. But with all the Endeavours and Application that could be us'd, his Highneſs could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*, but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or ſo much as Guides furniſh'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards *St. Omer*, fully reſolv'd to raiſe that Siege with the hazard of a Battle, at what diſadvantage ſoever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a ſmall part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before *St. Omer*, marched to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the Way was reinforc'd by Monſieur *de Luxemburgh*, with all the Forces the King of *France* could ſpare out of his Army, leaving only enough to carrry on the Attacks before the Cittadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies encountred, and Fought with great Bravery and Reſolution at *Montcaſſel*, where after a ſharp Diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break. The Prince, perceiving their Diſorder, went immediately to that part where the Shock began, rally'd them ſeveral times, and renew'd the Charge, but at laſt was quite born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies. He fell in among them with Sword in Hand, and cutting the firſt croſs the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Raſcal! I'll ſet a Mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards.* Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example could give Courage to Men that had already loſt it; and ſo the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Torrent of theſe Runaways, that carried him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet made a ſtand; with whom, and what he could gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a Retreat, that came little ſhort of a glorious Victory. However the Natural Conſequence of this Battle was, the Surrender of *St. Omer*, and the Cittadel of *Cambray*, and a more eager deſire in the United Provinces after the Concluſion of the Peace, ſeeing the *Spaniards* were ſo negligent in the Defence of their own Territories; and that they conceiv'd no great hopes of a Conference that had been held at *Weſel*, between the Elector

A. C. 1677.

Battle of Monteaſſel, April 11. 1677. N. S.

St. Omer taken by the French Apr. 20.

A. C 1677. Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, Penſioner *Fagel*, Admiral *Van Trump*, and ſeveral Envoys of *German* Princes, concerning the Operations of the Campagne on the ſide of *Germany*. After the taking of thoſe Places and a Battle won, the *French* thought it Prudence to Play a ſaving Game, and to act on the Defenſive all the reſt of the Summer.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* Reaſoning only from what they thought the Intereſt of their Neighbours, which is generally a fallacious Argument in Politicks, ſupinely abandon'd to their Care the Preſervation of *Flanders*. They knew *Holland* would ſave it if they could; and *England*, they were ſure could, if they would; and believ'd would be brought to it at laſt by the Encreaſe of the Danger, and the Humour of the People. In this Preſumption they were fondly entertain'd by their Miniſters then in *England*, *Don Bernardo de Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonſeca* Conſul there, who very induſtriouſly fomented the Heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Succeſſes of the *French* Arms both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which mov'd them, about the end of *March*, Earneſtly to deſire His Majeſty to put a ſtop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. Don *Bernardo de Salinas* told ſome of the Commons, that the King was incenſed at this Addreſs, calling the *Authors of it, a Company of Rogues*, which made a great Noiſe in the Lower-Houſe. The King reſented it as a piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at beſt a Deſign to inflame the Commons, and Order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Nevertheleſs about a Month after the Parliament Addreſs'd the King upon the ſame Score, deſiring his Majeſty to enter into an Offenſive and Defenſive Alliance with the United Provinces, for oppoſing the Career of the Conquering Arms of *France*. This the King receiv'd as an Encroachment on his Prerogative, made them an Angry Anſwer, and prorogu'd them the Week following.

How-

A. C. 1677.

However the King of *France* obſerving every Motion both of his Friends and Enemies, and more particularly the Temper of the *Engliſh* Parliament, had ſo much Regard to the Jealouſies rais'd both in *England* and *Holland*, of his deſigning an intire Conqueſt of the reſt of *Flanders*, that His Majeſty, after having gain'd theſe three conſiderable Frontier Towns in the Spring, and diſpos'd his Army into Quarters of Refreſhment, went to *Dunkirk*, from whence he ſent the Duke of *Crequi* to Compliment K. *Charles* II. and carry him a Letter containing in Subſtance, *That to ſhew he had no intention to Conquer* Flanders, *but only to make a General Peace, he was contented notwithſtanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at preſent, to make a General Truce for ſome Years, in Caſe his Allie, the King of* Sweden, *would agree to it; which he deſir'd His Majeſty to inform himſelf of, ſince he had not Convenience of doing it, for want of Liberty of Couriers into* Sweden.

The King of France *propoſes a Truce.*

Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs. p.* 263.

There were various Conſtructions made of this Letter, and it was generally look'd upon as a Politick fetch of the *French* King, to put His *Britannick* Majeſty upon waving the Declaration, which his Parliament ſo urgently preſt him to. At *Nimeguen* the *French* Ambaſſadors made a great ſhew of it among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. Monſieur *Beverning*, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, tho' of all others the moſt forward for a Peace, yet reſented it to that Degree, that he ſaid openly, *That the* French *were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of* Importance, *nor ſo much as of* Amuſement. *That* France *had given their Blow, and now would hinder their Allies from giving theirs. That the Reſerve of* Sweden's *Conſent was an eaſie way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhould accept it; that this it ſelf could not be done becauſe* Flanders *would be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallow'd up by the next Invaſion, having no Frontier on either ſide. That the Towns now Poſſeſs'd by* France, *would in the time of a Truce, grow abſolutely* French, *and ſo the harder*

A. A. 1677. *harder to be reſtor'd by a Peace or a War. That, for his Part, he deſir'd the Peace, contrary to the Politicks of Monſieur* Van Beuninghen, *and the other Miniſters of the* Allies *in* England, *affirming always, that notwithſtanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, he, Monſieur* Beverning, *was aſſur'd, That His* Britannick *Majeſty would not enter into the War to ſave the laſt Town in* Flanders. In purſuance of this Confidence of his, he follow'd all the ways imaginable towards a Peace, and by ſuch ſteps as ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion, and very ill concerted with thoſe of the Allies; ſo that about *July* all Points were adjuſted between the *French* and *Hollanders*; and Monſieur *Beverning* began to act the Part of ſomething more than a Mediator, preſſing on his Allies towards a Peace, with great Earneſtneſs, not to ſay Roughneſs; tho' but with very ſmall Effect; for there was little more done of any Moment towards it the reſt of this Summer, ſave the Meſſages that paſt to and fro about the Buſineſs of the Duke of *Lorrain*.

Advances of the Dutch *towards the Peace.*

In the mean time the Miniſters of the Confederates made great Inſtances in *England*, that His Majeſty would recal his Troops that were in the *French* Service, attributing moſt of their Succeſſes in *Germany* to the Bravery of thoſe *Engliſh* Regiments. But His Majeſty excus'd it upon the equality of Mediator, ſince there were likewiſe *Engliſh* Troops in the Service of the Allies, who took this Anſwer, however, for an ill ſign of the Proſecution which they hoped from His Majeſty for the Support of their Languiſhing Affairs. The Expectation of thoſe great Actions promis'd by the Imperialiſts this Campagne upon the *Rhine*, began to wear out, their Troops finding no Subſiſtance in thoſe Countries, which had been wholly ruin'd by the *French* in the beginning of the Year, to prevent their March: The Prince of *Orange* reflecting on all theſe Circumſtances, and foreſeeing no Reſource of the Confederates, unleſs from the King of *England*; and that he was like to ſpend the reſt of the Summer in *Flanders* in Marches and Countermarches, the *French* reſolving not to hazard

zard another Battle, and he not able to ſit before a Town, and oppoſe a *French* Army that ſhould come to relieve it. His Highneſs ſent Monſieur *Bentinck* over into *England*, about the beginning of *June*, to deſire his *Britannick* Majeſty's leave that he might make a Journey thither, ſo ſoon as the Campagne ended, both to purſue his intended Marriage, and to concert Meaſures with His Majeſty to bring *France* to reaſonable Terms. The King return'd him a civil Anſwer, but with wiſhes, that he would firſt think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded. A. C. 1677.

About the middle of *July* Sir *William Temple* went over to *England*, being recall'd by King *Charles*, to enter upon the Secretary of State's Office, which Mr. *Coventry* had offer'd His Majeſty to lay down, upon the payment of Ten thouſand Pounds. When he came to Court, the King fell often into Converſation with him, and generally in his Cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the Duke of *York* and the Lord Treaſurer. The Subject of theſe Diſcourſes were uſually the Peace, and the Prince of *Orange's* Journey into *England*. The King always expreſt a great deſire for the firſt, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He ſaid, "His Parliament would "never be quiet, nor eaſie to him while the War "laſted abroad; That they had got it into their "Heads to draw him into it, whether he would or "no. That they pretended publick Ends and "Dangers from *France*, and there might be both "meant by a great many honeſt Men amongſt "them; but the Heats had been rais'd by ſome "Factious Leaders, who thought more of them-"ſelves, then of any thing elſe; and had a mind "to engage him in a War, and then leave him in "it, unleſs they might have their Terms in re-"moving and filling of Places; and he was very "loath to be ſo much at their Mercy. That be-"ſides he ſaw the longer it continued, the worſe "it would be for the Confederates; and therefore "he wonld fain have the Prince make the Peace "for them, if they would not do it for them-

"ſelves

A. C. 1677.

"selves. That if he and the Prince could fall in-"to the Terms of it, he was sure it might be "done. And after several Conversations upon this Subject, the King told Sir *William Temple*, He had a great mind that he should try if he could perswade him to it. Sir *William* represented to His Majesty, how often he had been employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince; how immoveable he had found him, and how sure he was to find him so still, unless the King would consider of another Scheme for the Peace; That his Majesty would do well to try another Hand, and he would the better know the Prince's mind, if his Answers were the same to both. The King said, "It was an Affair of Confidence between him and the Prince, and must be so treated; and he knew no body he had besides to send. Sir *William* told the King, if he pleas'd he would name one. His Majesty bid him, and he named Mr. *Hide*, whose Choice was approv'd by the Duke of *York*, the Lord Treasurer, and the King himself. Mr. *Hide* was dispatch'd away accordingly, but found the Prince resolute in the business of the Peace, upon the Terms he had propos'd to Sir *William Temple*.

The Prince of Orange *makes a vain Attempt upon* Charleroy

Towards the end of *July* the Prince of *Orange* sat down before *Charleroy*, and would have besieg'd it in form, if, as it had been concerted, the Duke of *Lorrain* could have diverted the *French* Army from relieving it. But Monsieur *Luxemburgh*, with great diligence, leaving the Mareschal *de Crequi* with Force enough to Face that Duke, assembled a great Army for the Relief of *Charleroy*, upon approach whereof his Highness call'd a Council of War to resolve, whether to march and fight the Enemy, or raise the Siege? The last Opinion prevail'd, and was accordingly executed, and therewith ended this Campagne in *Flanders*. But this Retreat of the Prince past not without many Reflections, not only from the *Spaniards*, but the *Dutch* also, as if his Highness had given over the Design upon some Intelligences between him and the King of *Great Britain*, my Lord *Ossory* happening to arrive in the Camp the day before the Council of War, upon which the Siege was rais'd.

The

The Campagne being thus ended the Prince of *Orange* return'd to the *Hague*, accompanied by the Lord *Oſſory*, Don *Carlos*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, and about the middle of *October*, at the preſſing Inſtances of his Friends, rather than upon the faint Invitation of King *Charles* II. Embark'd for *England*, with a Noble Retinue and Magnificent Equipage. His Highneſs, like an eager Lover came Poſt from *Harwich* to *New-Market*, where the Court then was, at a Seaſon and Place of Country-ſports. The Lord *Arlington* receiv'd the Prince at his Alighting, making his pretence of the chief Confidence with him. The Lord Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple* went together to attend him, and he whiſper'd to them both together, ſaying to Sir *William*, *That he muſt deſire him to anſwer for him and the Lord Treaſurer one to another, ſo as they might from that time enter both into Buſineſs and Converſation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance.* This was a wiſe ſtrain of Policy, conſidering the Lord *Danby*'s Intereſt in the Court at that time, and prov'd of great uſe to the Prince in the Courſe of his Affairs then in *England*; and though it much diſpleas'd the Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wondred at by ſuch as knew what had paſt between the Prince and him. His Highneſs was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke of *York*, who both invited him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they were ſurprized to ſee him decline induſtriouſly, ſo as the King order'd Sir *William Temple* to find out the reaſon of it. His Highneſs told Sir *William*, he was reſolv'd to ſee the young Princeſs before he enter'd upon any Conferences about the Peace or War. The King laught at this nice piece of Gallantry; but however to humour his Highneſs in it, he left *New-Market* ſome days ſooner than he had intended.

A. C. 1677.

The Prince of Orange *Lands at* Harwich, October 19. *N. S.* 1677.

The Prince upon his arrival at *London*, and ſight of the Lady *Mary*, was ſo charm'd with her Perſon, and all thoſe ſigns of ſuch a humour as had been deſcribed to him upon former enquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and

the

A. C. 1677. the Duke of *York*. His Royal Highneſs was extreme cold upon the Propoſal, which was very well receiv'd and aſſented to by His Majeſty; but with this Condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might be firſt agreed on between them. The Prince excus'd himſelf, and ſaid, *He muſt end his firſt Buſineſs before he began the other.* The King and Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion, and the Prince reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace, as things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Expence, and for his part he would never ſell his Honour for a Wife.* Nevertheleſs the King remain'd ſo firm for three or four days, that the whole Buſineſs was like to break upon this Punctilio. About that time Sir *William Temple* went to the Prince after Supper, and found him in very ill humour. His Highneſs told him, *He repented he ever came into* England, *and was reſolv'd to ſtay but two Days longer, if the King continued in his Mind for Treating upon the Peace before he was Married*; *but that before he went he muſt chuſe how they ſhould live hereafter*; *for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends, or the greateſt Enemies*: *and deſir'd Sir* William *to let His Majeſty know ſo next Morning, and give him an account of what he ſhould ſay upon it.* Accordingly Sir *William Temple* told the King all the Prince had ſaid to him the Night before, and repreſented to his Majeſty the ill Conſequences of a Breach between them, conſidering the ill Humour of ſo many of his Subjects upon his late Meaſures with *France*, and the *Invitations* made his Highneſs by ſeveral of them, during the late War. The King heard Sir *William* with great Attention, and then ſaid, *Well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a Man's honeſty by his looks, and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a thing I am reſolv'd on.* Sir *William Temple* did ſo, and the Duke at firſt ſeem'd a little ſurpriz'd, but then ſaid, *The King ſhould be obey'd,*

obey'd, and he would be glad all his Subjects would learn of him to obey him. From the Duke of *York* Sir *William Temple* went to the Prince of *Orange*, who was ſo tranſported with this unexpected News, that embracing him he told him, *He had made him the happieſt Man in the World.* Immediately after Sir *William* gave an account of what had paſs'd to the Lord Treaſurer, who took upon him to adjuſt all the reſt between the King, the Duke, and the Prince; and indeed he conquer'd ſo effectually the Duke's Unwillingneſs, by an enlargement of his Revenue, ſettled upon the Poſt-Office, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, (before any other in Court knew any thing of it) and next * day in Council; and receiv'd there, and every where elſe in the Kingdom, with Univerſal Joy. The *French* Ambaſſador and the Lord *Arlington* appear'd the two only Perſons unſatisfied upon it at Court; the firſt not knowing how to Anſwer it to his Maſter, that an Affair of that Importance ſhould be tranſacted without his Advice, or indeed ſo much as his Knowledge, in a Court where nothing before had done ſo for many Years; and the Lord *Arlington*, that it ſhould paſs without his Communication, who firſt endeavour'd to keep up the Court in the Belief of his Confidence with the Prince. After this the whole Council went in a Body to Compliment the Lady *Mary*, and afterwards the Prince; the reſt of the Nobility did the ſame after their Example.

A. C. 1677.

* *The Match between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary declar'd, Novem. 1.* N. S.

The Prince of *Orange* immediately diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to the States, to acquaint them with what had paſs'd, expecting their Approbation of the Match with all ſpeed, that he might the ſooner repair to them for the Service of their Country. Thereupon the States General Aſſembled, and having maturely weigh'd the Advantages which might accrue to their State from this Marriage, as for Inſtance, a Confirmation of the Union between *England* and *Holland*; the Eſtabliſhment and Illuſtration of the Houſe of *Orange*, and the Concluſion of the Peace ſo earneſtly deſir'd; over and above the happy choice his Highneſs had

A. C. 1677.

made of a Princeſs, every way Accompliſh'd, expreſt their Approbation by a Publick Edict, in Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction; declaring, moreover, the mighty Eſteem they had for ſo Glorious an Alliance, and their ſincere and firm Reſolution to cultivate the ancient Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which was between his *Britannick* Majeſty and them.

The Marriage is Conſummated, * Nov. 14. *N. S.*

This Anſwer arriving at *London* on his Highneſs's * Birth-day, the Marriage was Celebrated at Eleven at Night, but with ſo little Noiſe, that the People knew nothing of it till the next Morning, when they gave all Publick demonſtrations of their Joy; and immediately after the King, Duke and Prince fell into the Debates upon the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but the Lord Treaſurer and Sir *William Temple* were admitted. "The Prince inſiſted hard up-
"on the ſtrength and enlargement of a Frontier on
"both ſides of *Flanders*, without which *France*, he
"ſaid, would end this War with the Proſpect of
"beginning another with more Advantage and
"Surprize, after the breaking the preſent Confe-
"deracy. That their Ambition would never end
"till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the
"*Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an abſolute depen-
"dance upon them, which would leave them in
"an ill Condition, and *England* in no good one; and
"that *Chriſtendom* could not be ſafe without
"ſuch a Frontier as he propos'd in *Flanders*, and
"the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, as well as what the
"Emperor had loſt in *Alſatia*. The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſe, upon the Confidence that *France* was ſo weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King of *France* grew paſt his Youth and Lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in quiet. Upon this Sir *William Temple* told the King: *That in the Courſe of his Experience of the World, he had never obſerv'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes; but that a good Boy made a good,*

Man

Man, and a young Coxcomb an old Fool; and that quiet Spirits were ſo, young as well as old, and unquiet ones would be ſo old as well as young; That he believ'd the King of France *would always have ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Love, ſometimes Building; but that he was of the Prince's Opinion, that he would never make Peace but with a deſign of a new War, after he had finiſh'd his Conqueſt by the laſt*; in which Opinion his Majeſty ſeem'd to concur. The Points of *Lorrain* and *Alſatia* were readily agreed to by the King and the Duke of *York*, but they would not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* would never part with; though the Prince inſiſted much upon it, ſo as the King thought his Highneſs was touched by the Intereſt of his own Territories there; and thereupon told him, "That for his Lands he "would charge himſelf with either his enjoying "them as ſafely under *France* as *Spain*, or if he "was rather willing to part with them than have "that dependance, he would undertake to get him "what Price he ſhould himſelf value them at. But He anſwer'd generouſly, *That he ſhould not trouble himſelf nor the Peace about that Matter, and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands, to get one good Town more for the* Spaniards, *upon the* Frontier *of* Flanders. So that all Difficulties ſeem'd to center in what was thought neceſſary on that ſide. This occaſion'd great Debates between the King and Prince; One pretending *France* would never agree to one Scheme, and t'other that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. Upon the whole matter it was reſolv'd, that the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms, All to be reſtor'd by *France* to the Empire and Emperor, that had been taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke, and all on both ſides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Guillain*, and *Binch*. That the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*; and his *Britannick* Majeſty that of *France*. To this purpoſe His Majeſty was to ſend a Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter

A. C. 1677.

Scheme of a Peace agreed on by King Charles II. *and the Prince of* Orange.

A. C. 1677.

into no other Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days, and then forthwith return. The Queſtion was who ſhould go? And the Lord Treaſurer ſaid, *It muſt be either he or Sir* William Temple, *none elſe being in the Confidence of this Affair.* The Prince ſaid, *It muſt be Sir* William, *for the Lord Treaſurer could not be ſpar'd:* To which his Majeſty readily agreed, and order'd Sir *William* to be ready in two Days. The Evening before he was to go, His Majeſty told him, He had reflected on his Journey and his Errand, and how unwelcom he ſhould be in *France*, as well as his Meſſage: And therefore he had been thinkiug of ſending another Perſon. Sir *William* told the King, "He never had leſs mind to any Journey in his "Life, and that he would do him the greateſt "Pleaſure in the World to ſend another. Thereupon the King ask'd him, what he thought of the Lord *Duras?* Sir *William* ſaid, *Very well*; upon which His Majeſty ſeem'd to reſolve it, though the thing had been already agreed in the Morning, upon the Duke of *York*'s deſire, who either thought *France* would accept the Terms, and had a mind to have the Honour of the Peace, by ſending a Servant of his own; or, as ſome ſuſpected, deſign'd to favour the *French* Intereſt. This laſt Opinion ſeem'd to be confirm'd by the ſucceſs of the Lord *Duras*'s Embaſſy, who after the delivery of his Meſſage, was prevail'd with to ſtay longer than his time, and, after all, came away without any poſitive Anſwer; whereby the Buſineſs came to be drawn out into ſo many Meſſages and Returns from *France*, that it dwindled into nothing.

The Duke of *York* had reaſon to be averſe to his Daughter's Marrying the Prince of *Orange*, for as this Match was Treating, the *Bill of Excluſion* was upon the Anvil, by which the Lady *Mary* was to ſucceed to the Crown upon the Death of King *Charles*. Some * Hiſtorians have advanc'd, that while this Affair was depending the Prince of *Orange* look'd on, without eſpouſing any of the Parties, that ſtruggled for or againſt the ſaid Bill; but the following Paſſage, which I had from a Perſon

* *Doctor* Welwood

Perſon of undoubted Sincerity, ſeems to prove the contrary. The Lord *Berkley* coming to ſee the Prince at *Arlington-Houſe*, his Highneſs asked him the News. His Lordſhip made Anſwer, that he had been with ſome Parliament Men, who were very warm for the Bill of Excluſion, and whom, by many Arguments, he had endeavour'd to perſwade againſt it: *And why did you ſo?* reply'd the Prince. Theſe Words ſtrangely ſurpriz'd the Lord *Berkley*, who perceiving how ill he made his Court to the Prince, by taking the Duke of *York*'s part, turn'd the Converſation upon a more agreeable Subject. 'Tis certain that his Highneſs's Preſence gave freſh Spirit to the *Engliſh* Diſcontents, and that King *Charles* was rid of a great Uneaſineſs when the Prince * embark'd with his Royal Conſort for *Holland*, where Affairs preſs'd his Return, beyond the hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*. The King aſſur'd him he would never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme ſent over, and would enter into the War againſt *France*, if they refus'd it; but nevertheleſs his Highneſs went away with the Mortification, to ſee the Parliament Prorogued to the next Spring, which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd of the King, to keep up the Credit of *France* after the Princeſs's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Project of Peace to that Court. However the ill humour of the People growing higher upon the noiſe of a Peace, Negotiated in *France*, and the Prorogation of the Parliament, this was by a Proclamation Anticipated ſoon after the Lord *Duras*'s Return; and a ſhew made as if the King deſign'd to enter into the War; for which the Parliament ſeem'd impatient whenever the King ſeem'd averſe to it; but grew jealous of Prevarication, whenever the Court appear'd enclin'd to it. The Prince and Princeſs being Landed at *Terheyde*, went from thence to *Hounſlardike*, where they tarried ſome few Days, till they made their Publick Entry into the *Hague*, which was perform'd with Extraordinary Magnificence.

A. C. 1677.

The Prince returns to Holland, Novemb. 21. *O. S.* Decemb. 1. *N. S.*

A. C. 1678. The News of the Prince's Marriage had reach'd *Nimeguen* ſome time before, which gave the Confederates great Hopes that the King of *England* would now Declare in their Favour. But it had quite another Effect in *Holland*, particularly in *Amſterdam*, where the *French* Emiſſaries found the Secret of raiſing Jealouſies of the Meaſures concerted between the King and Prince, upon this new Alliance, as Dangerous to the Liberty of their Country, and to make it there Believ'd, that by this Match the King and the Duke had wholly brought over the Prince to their Intereſt and Sentiments; whereas the Prince, went indeed away poſſeſſed of having drawn them into his; tho' they were all equally Miſtaken. But how different ſoever their Apprehenſions abroad might be of things, King *Charles* entirely receded from his Engagements to the Prince, of entering into the War with all the Allies, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from the King of *France* upon the Terms of the Peace; and contented himſelf to ſend Mr. *Thinn* over in *Holland* with a Draught of an Alliance to be made with the States, in order to Force *France* and *Spain* into a Compliance with the Scheme agreed on, and to Conſign the ſame into the Hands of Mr. *Hide* then at the *Hague*. Accordingly the Treaty was Sign'd on the 16th of *January*, tho' not without great Difficulties, and much Diſſatisfaction on the Part of the Prince of *Orange*, who was yet covered in it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter; ſo that the War could not break out but upon *France*, in Caſe of their Refuſal. This Alliance being thus Concluded, the King of *England* diſpatched Mr. *Montague* into *France*, to preſs that Monarch to accept his Terms, and at the ſame time gave out Commiſſions for raiſing an Army; but nevertheleſs the *French* King rejected theſe Conditions of Peace, and made great Preparations to open the Campagne earlier than ordinary. Thereupon His *Britannick* Majeſty recall'd the Troops he had in the Service of *France*, and having Summon'd his Parliament, Communicated to them the late Alli-

ance

ance he had made with *Holland*, for the publick Benefit and Repoſe of Chriſtendom, and ask'd them Money upon it for putting himſelf in a Poſture to carry on the War, if the Peace fail'd. The Houſe of Commons return'd His Majeſty Thanks for the great Care he took of the Proteſtant Religion, in Marrying his Niece to a Proteſtant Prince, beſeeching him not to Conſent to any Conditions of Peace with *France*, unleſs they were better than thoſe at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. To which the King having Conſented, the Commons after a long Debate, reſolv'd to Equip a Fleet of Fourſcore and Ten Men of War, and to raiſe an Army of Thirty Thouſand Land Men, and nam'd Commiſſioners to Compute the Charge. In the mean time, if an ill grounded Suſpicion in *Holland* of the Prince's Conduct and ambitious Deſigns ſince his Marriage, made them uneaſie among themſelves, and daily more and more enclin'd them to a Peace; yet the News that came at this time of the *French* taking from them the Iſland of *Tobago*, beſides the Death of *Binks* Admiral of *Zealand*, and the utter Ruin of that Colony, did no leſs ſenſibly affect them. But what was a more formidable Blow than all the reſt, was the vaſt Progreſs of the *French* Army this Spring in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. For, towards the end of *February*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, Marching at the Head of his Forces, and carrying the Queen and the Ladies to *Mentz*, ſeem'd to have a Deſign either on *Luxemburgh*, *Namur* or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniards* that way, all on a ſudden, and to the no leſs Surprize of the *French* themſelves, than of the Allies, he croſt the Countries, ſat down before *Ghent*, and notwithſtanding the Difficulties occaſion'd by the Seaſon, and the Beſieg'd drowning part of the Country, made himſelf Maſter both of that Town, and ſoon after of *Ypre*; and thereby gave a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and ſtrengthen'd the Credit and Endeavours of thoſe he had already diſpos'd to his Conditions of a Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary, while *England* amus'd the People with a ſeeming Reſolution to go into the War, or at leaſt furniſh'd the

A. C. 1678.

Ghent *and* Ypre *Beſieg'd and taken by the* French.

A. C. 1678. Confederates with many ſuch Hopes. After the taking of theſe two Places the King of *France* diſpos'd his Armies into Quarters of Refreſhment, whether he thought them ſufficiently haraſt, or whether he was afraid of the *Engliſh*, who at the Deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, had ſent over conſiderable Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to ſecure the Important Town of *Oſtend*, which the *French* ſeem'd to threaten.

Not long after the World was aſtoniſh'd to hear that the *French* King had entirely abandon'd *Meſſina*, and all *Sicily*. Some aſcribed it to meer Neceſſity, and others to a Deſign of purſuing the Conqueſt of *Flanders* with redoubled Vigour and Application. However it was, the Parliament of *England* were of this laſt Opinion, and therefore to ſtop his Career, they petition'd the King to Declare open War againſt him, and granted His Majeſty a Poll-Bill, Prohibiting by the ſame Act the Importation of all *French* Commodities. King *Charles* who was now deſirous to enter into a League with the Empire, *Spain*, and the United Provinces, would oblige them to make the ſame Prohibition in relation to *French* Goods; but while the *Hollanders* were demurring upon the laſt Point, believing that ſuch a Prohibition would ruin their Trade, an unexpected Accident fell out, that chang'd the whole Scene of Affairs.

The King of France's Project of Peace. Apr. 9th. 1678.

The King of *France*, after his return to *Paris*, ſeeing his *Britannick* Majeſty ſo warmly preſt by his Parliament to enter into the War, particularly ſince the Prince of *Orange*'s Journey into *England*, and his Marriage with the King's Niece, made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which he was reſolved to make the Peace, which he ſent to his Miniſters at *Nimeguen*, there to be diſtributed amongſt the other Ambaſſadors and Mediators. The Chief of theſe Propoſals were, That the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Gottorp* ſhould be entirely ſatisfied. That the Prince and Biſhop of *Straſburg* ſhould be reſtor'd to all his Demeſns, Goods, Honours and Prerogatives; and that his Brother Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg* ſhould be ſet

at

at Liberty. That as for the Emperor he ſhould alter nothing in the Publick Declarations that were made at the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*; only he offer'd either to keep *Phillipsburg* and give up *Friburg*, or elſe to keep *Friburg*, and give up *Philipsburgh*. That as for *Spain*, he would Reſtore *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Ghent*, *Limburgh*, *Binch* and *St Guillain*, with their Dependencies; but in Recompence, demanded all the *Franche-Comté*, *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Condé*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omers*, *Ypre*, *Werwick* and *Werneton*, *Bavay*, *Maubeuge*, *Poperingue*, *Bailleul* and *Caſſel*, with all their Dependencies; in a Word, all thoſe Places he was in Poſſeſſion of, except thoſe abovemention'd. Beſides, he conſented to Surrender *Charlemont* to the *Catholick* King, or in Lieu thereof *Dinant* and *Bouvines*, provided the Biſhop of *Liege* and the Emperor agreed to it. By which means the *Spaniſh* Frontier in the *Netherlands*, would for the Future, begin from the Sea to the *Meuſe*, by *Newport*, *Dixmude* *Courtray*, *Oudenard*, *Aeth*, *Mons*, *Charleroy* and *Namur*. That as for what concern'd the *States General*, beſides the Satisfaction he gave them by what he yielded up to *Spain*, he offer'd to reſtore *Maeſtricht* to them, and to agree to the Treaty of Commerce in ſuch Form as it was fram'd at *Nimeguen* with Monſieur *Beverning*. And as for the Intereſts of the Duke of *Lorrain*, he was willing to Reſtore him according to the *Pyrenean* Treaty; or to Surrender all his Territories to him, except the City of *Nancy*, but that by way of Recompence he would give the Important City of *Toul*, reſerving nevertheleſs to himſelf a Paſſage from his Frontiers into *Alſatia*, and the Roads that would be neceſſary to him from *France* to *Nancy*, and from *Nancy* to *Metz*, *Briſac* and the *Franche-Comté*. A. C. 1678.

Theſe Terms of Peace, tho' very different from thoſe agreed between His *Britannick* Majeſty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the Principal Towns, prov'd indeed the Scheme

of

A. C. 1678. of the Peace, both for the *Dutch*, and all the other Confederates engag'd in the War. And here the *French* began their Imperious way of Treating, which they afterwards purſued in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace, Declaring, *Theſe were the loweſt Conditions the King of* France *would admit, and upon which his Enemies might make Choice either of War or Peace; and to which he pretended to be tied no longer than to the* 10*th of* May, *after which he would be at Liberty to Change or Reſtrain them, as he ſhould think fit.*

The Imperialiſts, of all others, ſeem'd the leaſt inclinable to accept the foregoing Conditions; and the Point of requiring full Satisfaction to *Sweden*, was inſupportable to the *Northern* Princes; nay, the *Spaniards* and the Confederates look'd upon them ſo hard, that they ſaid, They would Hazard all, rather than Submit to them. When the *French* Ambaſſador carried thoſe Propoſals to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, then Sole Mediator, in Order to be Communicated by him to the Miniſters of the Allies, he made Anſwer, He could not do it as a Mediator, but that he would acquaint the Parties with them in Diſcourſe, as a Matter to which he promis'd no Anſwer. This he did becauſe of the other Terms that had already been agreed on in *January*, between *England* and *Holland*, for forcing *France* and *Spain* to a Compliance; which tho' they prov'd of little uſe in the Courſe of this War, yet they made the *French* apprehenſive, that His *Britannick* Majeſty might at laſt fall into the War in good Earneſt, and thereupon abandon'd *Meſſina* and *Sicily*, to Reinforce their Armies on the *Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*.

K. Charles *II. tempted with Money by* France.

To prevent the formidable Conjunction of the King of *England* with the reſt of the Allies, the *French* made uſe of an Argument which was moſt likely to prevail with a Prince, whom his Expenſive Miſtreſſes, and parſimonious Parliament kept in conſtant Want: For Monſieur *de Louvois* in a long Converſation he had with Mr. *Montague*, His *Britannick* Majeſty's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, repreſented to his Excellency, "The Meaſures they

"had

"had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon "the *French* Terms; that ſince they were agreed "there, they hoped the King of *England* would not "be againſt it; that however his Maſter had or- "der'd him to make His *Britannick* Majeſty the "offer of a great Sum of Money for his Conſent, "tho' to a thing already accepted by *Holland*, "and wherein His Majeſty was conſequently not "concern'd. The violent Diſpoſitions of the *Dutch* to run into a Peace at this time, whatever came of it, and ſuch a fatal and mutual Diſtruſt as there was, both in Court and Parliament, ſeem'd to juſtifie the King's accepting this profitable Propoſal, who ſaid, That ſince the *Hollanders* would have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and that *France* offer'd him Money for his Approbation of what he could not help, he knew no Reaſon why he might not get the Money, and ſo required Sir *William Temple* to treat with the *French* Ambaſſador about it. But that Worthy Patriot, out of a juſt Tenderneſs of the King's Honour declin'd to enter into this opprobrious Negotiation with the *French* Ambaſſador, who came to ſee him for that purpoſe, and immediately retir'd into the Country. A. C. 1678.

The Dutch *accept of the Articles offer'd by* France.

The Tenth of *May*, being the time limited by the *French* Project of *Peace*, for the Allies to accept of the Terms or no, Monſieur *Beverning* the *Dutch* Plenipotentionary, ſent ſecretly to acquaint the *French* Ambaſſadors, That the States did accept of the King's Offer. However, that he might not by ſuch a ſtep alarm the Confederates, he gave the Count *d'Avaux* alſo Notice, That he was very Deſirous to ſpeak with him in private, and for that end would take a Walk alone upon the Ramparts of *Nimeguen*, about Seven in the Morning, where they met accordingly, and, in a manner, fully concluded all Matters The Conſequence of this interview was, the granting of Ten Days longer for the *Dutch* to endeavour to perſwade their Allies to accept of the Terms propos'd as they themſelves had done. The King of *France* being inform'd of theſe Advances, His Majeſty writ a Letter

A. C. 1678.

ter to the States, dated at his Camp at *Deinſe*, *May* the 18th, wherein he aſſured them, *That he ſhould always be ready for their ſake to Grant to* Spain *the ſame Terms, with Relation to* Flanders, *which they were now at Liberty to accept; and that in all that time he would not attack any one Place in all thoſe Provinces. That thus they ſhould always find him readily inclin'd, not only to form that Barrier, which they thought to neceſſary for their own ſafety, but to ſecure it; and to let them enjoy, together with the Re-eſtabliſhment of Commerce, whatever other Advantages they could expect from his Friendſhip. And if, for the Proſecuting this Negotiation, they ſhould think it neceſſary ſo ſend Deputies to him, they would find him near* Ghent *till the 27th of that Month, and in the ſame Diſpoſition he had declar'd to them in this Letter.*

The French *King's Letter to the States,* **May 18.** *N. S.*

The States Anſwer, **May 25.**

The States after four Days Conſultation, return'd his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty an Anſwer, wherein, "After having thankfully acknowledg'd "the Honour he had done them, by Writing to "them, and rejoic'd at the ſincere Deſire they "conceiv'd to be in His Majeſty for the Peace "of *Europe*; they Pray'd he would be pleas'd to "give Credit to Monſieur *Beverning*, their Extra-"ordinary Ambaſſador, whom they would ſend "to inform him, how deſirous they were on their "Part to give him freſh Aſſurances of their ſin-"cere Intentions alſo for the Peace. Monſieur *Beverning* attended the King of *France* accordingly, and manag'd his Negotiation ſo well that he obtain'd a Ceſſation of Arms for Six Weeks in *Flanders*, to the end the *Dutch* might now, as Mediators, endeavour to perſwade the *Spaniards* to enter into the Peace upon the Terms propos'd by *France*; and upon his return, he told the States, That he found the *French* King as well inform'd of the Condition of his Enemies, and of the Places he might attack, as he was of his own Affairs.

A Truce for ſix Weeks granted by the K. of France.

The Allies angry with the Dutch.

England, in the mean time, was grown pretty indifferent in the Buſineſs of the Peace; and the *Spaniards* ſeem'd inclin'd to comply with the neceſſity of their Affairs. But the Emperor, King of

Denmark

Denmark, and Elector of *Brandenburgh* fell into the severeſt Expoſtulations and Reproaches againſt the States that could be well invented, ripping up all they ventur'd and ſuffer'd in a War, wherein they had engag'd for the ſole Preſervation of the United Provinces; but that now they were abandoned by them, under a Pretence of Concluding a Peace, and that, upon Imperious and Arbitrary Terms without their Conſent. That they were not backward to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any ſafe and reaſonable Conditions, but would never ſuffer to have them dictated, as from an Abſolute Conqueror; and would rather Venture their laſt Stake, than tamely Yield to them; particularly to thoſe for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe Caſe was the worſt treated, tho' ſeemingly the moſt Favour'd by the Allies, and the leaſt Diſputed by *France*. The States were little mov'd at theſe verbal Storms, but held on their Courſe without regarding the Satisfaction of any other than *Spain*, in what concern'd the Barrier and ſafety of *Flanders*; and the ſtraights of that Crown made them eaſie, tho' otherwiſe as little pleas'd as any of their Allies: Wherefore on *June* 22, the States gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* to ſign the Peace with *France*, before the end of that Month; and at the ſame time acquainted the King of *France* with their Compliance. But notwithſtanding all this tendency both in *Spain* and *Holland* to give the Treaty the finiſhing Stroke, yet an unexpected Accident fell out, which went near to overturn the whole Fabrick, and renew the War with redoubled Vigour, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* in a ſhare of it, in favour of the Allies, which they had long been practiſing without any Succeſs.

A. C. 1678.

The States order their Plenipotentiaries to Sign the Peace, June 22. 1678.

In the Conditions the States had made for the *French* reſtoring the ſix *Spaniſh* Towns in *Flanders*, there was no particular mention made of the time of that Reſtitution, the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* preſuming, that it was to be upon the Ratification of the Treaty with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any other of the Confederates were included or no:

The Peace obſtructed.

And

A. C. 1678. And the Negotiation had been managed in that manner till the very day before the Peace was to be ſign'd; when the Marquis *de los Balbaces* having either found or ſtarted ſome occaſion of enquiring more particularly into the Intentions of *France*, bethought himſelf of an Explanation as to the time of the Reſtitution of the ſaid Places. In order to that, he firſt went to the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries to ſound their Opinions upon that Subject, who made Anſwer, That if the *French* pretended to put off the Reſtitution beyond the exchange of the Ratifications, it was a thing not meant by them; and thereupon going immediately to the *French* Ambaſſadors to give them their Explications, which they would ſend to the States General by an Expreſs, the latter did not ſtick to declare, That the King their Maſter being oblig'd to ſee an entire Reſtitution made to the *Swedes*, of all they had loſt in the War, his Majeſty would not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till thoſe belonging to the *Swedes* were likewiſe reſtor'd; and that the keeping theſe *Spaniſh* Towns was the only means to enduce the *Northern* Princes to accept the Peace. The *Dutch* Miniſters having receiv'd the States Anſwer thereupon, did upon the 25th of *June* declare to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, That they could not Sign the Peace unleſs his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty did wave his Pretenſions, and reſtore the *Spaniſh* Towns upon the Ratifications of the Treaty. On the other ſide, the *French* Ambaſſadors were firm, and ſtifly inſiſted on the Satisfaction of the *Swedes*. This ſtrange Procedure of *France* made the States General ſend to Monſieur *Van Lewen*, their Miniſter at *London*, to acquaint his *Britannick* Majeſty with it, and to know his Opinion upon a Point of ſo great Importance. The King made difficulty at firſt to believe it, but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London* to know the truth of it, and finding him own his Maſter's Intention, not to let go his hold in *Flanders* till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* ſatisfied, he was both Surpriz'd and Angry, and next Morning ſent for Sir *William Temple* to the Foreign Committee, and

there

there declar'd his Reſolution of ſending him immediately into *Holland* with Commiſſion to Sign a Treaty with the States, by which they ſhould be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhould not agree to evacuate the Towns within a certain time limited. Upon this occaſion his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* fell into this Council with great warmth, and ſaid at the Committee, *That it was plain by this Proceeding, that* France *was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the* Univerſal Monarchy, *and that none but his Majeſty could hinder them from it, in the poſture that* Chriſtendom *ſtood.* His *Britannick* Majeſty took the pains to preſs Monſieur *Van Lewen* to go over with Sir *William Temple* to perſwade the States of the Sincereneſs and Conſtancy of his Reſolution to purſue this Meaſure with the utmoſt of his Power. Sir *William Temple* and Monſieur *Van Lewen* being arriv'd at the *Hague* the Negotiation was immediately ſet on Foot, and in the ſpace of ſix Days the famous Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Holland* was happily concluded, to the general Satisfaction of the *Hollanders*, who at the firſt Conference made Sir *William* this Complement, *That they eſteem'd his coming into* Holland *like that of the Swallows, which brought fair weather always with them.* Among the reſt, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador with the greateſt joy in the World, hoping by his Errand and the ſucceſs of it, either to continue the War, or recover ſuch Conditions of the Peace for his Allies as had been wreſted out of his Hands by force of a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and ſpread ſince into the reſt of the Provinces. And, indeed, it is hardly to be imagin'd what a new Life this new Alliance gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*, who was now acknowleg'd by the States to have made a truer Judgment than they had done, of the Meaſures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*, the laſt having proceeded ſo reſolutely to the offers of entring into the War, (which was never believ'd in *Holland*) and *France*, after raiſing ſo great a difficulty in the

A. C. 1678.

Treaty of Alliance between England *and* Holland, July 26.

Peace

A. C. 1678. Peace, having pursued the War so far as to block up *Mons*, one of the best Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*, which was expected to fall into their Hands before the time limited for the Conclusion or Rupture of the Treaty should expire. Thereupon Preparations were made with the greatest Vigour and Diligence imaginable for his Highness's Expedition to relieve that Important Place, and about 10000 *English*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that way and joyn his Army. The Prince went into the Field with a firm Confidence that the War would certainly go on, hoping to engage the *French* Army before the term for Signing the Peace should expire, and resolv'd to relieve *Mons* or die in the Attempt.

Mons block'd up by the **French.**

After the Treaty between *England* and *Holland* had been thus concluded and signified to *France*, all the Arts imaginable were practiced on that side to elude it, by drawing the matter into a Negotiation, or at least a greater length, which had succeeded so well in *England*; and to Treat upon it first at St *Quintin*, then at *Ghent*, where the *French* King himself propos'd to meet such Ambassadors as the *Dutch* should send to either of those Towns: But the States were stanch not to recede from their last Treaty, and continued in that Resolution till about five Days before the Expiration of the time limited; when there came one *du Cros*, a *Swedish* Agent in *England*, with Orders from his *Britannick* Majesty for Sir *William Temple* immediately to repair to *Nimeguen*, and there to endeavour to perswade the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries to let the *French* there know, *That they would for the good of* Christendom *consent, and even desire the King of* France *no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns; and assure the said* Swedish *Ambassadors, that after this Peace the King of* England *would use all the most effectual Endeavours he could, for the Restitution of all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from the* Swedes *in the War.* How this Dispatch of *Du Cros* was obtain'd was never certainly known; but 'tis reasonable to believe, that *France* had the greatest Hand in it, since 'twas terminated all one Morning

in the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Chamber, by the Intervention of Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador. Yet, for all this, when Sir *William Temple* arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, which was but three Days before the expiration of the term fix'd by the late Treaty, between the King of *England* and the States, either for the *French* to evacuate the Towns, or for carring on the War conjointly againſt *France*, there was but little diſpoſition that the Peace would be Sign'd, but rather the quite contrary appear'd, by the ſtifneſs ſhew'd on both ſides to adhere firmly to their reſpective Demands: And the *Dutch* poſitively maintain'd, That there could be no Deputation made either to St. *Quintin* or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient for preventing War, beſides the aſſent of *France* to evacuate the Towns. The Peace thereupon ſeem'd deſperate, and the more ſo, becauſe at the ſame time the Duke of *Luxemburgh* preſs'd *Mons*, the Mareſchal *Schomberg* threatned *Cologne*; and *Bruſſels* almoſt grew uneaſie upon the Neighbourhood of the *French* Armies; ſo that the Allies thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and ſo long deſir'd and aim'd at, which was a War againſt *France*, in Conjunction with *England*. In the midſt of theſe Views and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the Fatal Day, fix'd by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, which muſt determine whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War were to be reckon'd upon in *Chriſtendom*; when in the Morning early, Monſieur *Boreel*, who had been ſent from *Amſterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, went to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and after ſome Conference with them, theſe three Miniſters went immediately to thoſe of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to conſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to Sign the Peace; but that it muſt be done that very Morning. At this the *Dutch* ſeem'd to be ſurpriz'd, but, however, immediately enter'd into a Conference with the reſt, which laſted for five hours, and ended in an Agreement upon all Points, both of Peace and Commerce between *France* and *Holland*; againſt which the Ambaſſadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*,

A. C. 1678.

A. C. 1678.

Peace between France *and* Holland *Signed*, Aug. 11. 1678.

Though protested against by the Allies.

Brandenburgh, and *Munster* gave in a Memorial, alledging, after a long train of Expostulations, *That such a hasty and precipitate Conduct in the* Dutch *was unworthy of a State that had always govern'd it self with Reason and Justice; and that such an extraordinary step would be an everlasting Blot upon the Honour and Reputation of the* States General. And concluding, *That if, notwithstanding all, they were resolv'd to proceed, and enter into a Neutrality so contrary to their solemn Engagements, they* protested *against that separate Treaty, in the best form they could, and not only so, but against all the Calamities that* Christendom *in General, and the Princes their Masters in particular, might suffer by that Separation.* But notwithstanding the Reasonableness and Solemnity of this Protestation, and the Irresolution of Monsieur *Van Haren*, one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, who did not seem to be so clear in the Point of their Orders; yet Directions were presently given to have all fair writ over with the greatest hast imaginable, so that the Treaty might be Sign'd that Night, which was done accordingly between Eleven or Twelve, without the Intervention of the *English* Mediators, who refus'd to Sign the same, or to have their Names mention'd in it as Mediators, saying, *Their Instructions were only to mediate a General Peace, and not a particular one.*

The Day after the Signing of this Peace came over the Ratifications of the late Treaty between his *Britannick* Majesty and the States, with Orders for Sir *William Temple* to proceed forthwith to the Exchange of them, which he did accordingly; though after the Counter-Pace made by the Dispatch sent by *Du Cros*, and the Consequences of it, the same appear'd now as unnecessary, as it had been at first unresolv'd at the *English* Court, and unexpected by the *Dutch*, who, many of them, now were unsatisfied with the Peace, and especially with the Precipitation of Monsieur *Beverning* in Signing it; but the thing was done, and after some Debates, the City of *Amsterdam* declaring their Approbation of it, the rest of the Provinces did soon acquiesce.

Thus

Thus by the the Addreſs and skill of the *French* Politicians, the *Engliſh* Negotiation ended in Smoke, which was near kindling ſo great a Fire; the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*, his *Britannick* Majeſty was excluded from any fair Pretence of entering into the War, after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded; *Spain* was neceſſitated to accept the Terms that *Holland* had Negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Diſcretion of *France*. A. C. 1678.

Immediately after theſe precipitate ſteps of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, the Prince of *Orange* reſolv'd to ſave the Honour of his Country, and to Signalize himſelf by a deſperate Attempt in the Field. *Mons* had been ſtraitly block'd up by the *French* Army, Commanded by *Luxemburgh*, who was ſo confident of the good Poſture he was in, that he writ to the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrades*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, *That he was ſo poſted, that if he had but* 10000 *Men, and the Prince of* Orange, 40000, *yet he was ſure he could not be forc'd, whereas he took his Army to be ſtronger than that of the Prince.* But not withſtanding the many Diſadvantages from an Army drawn ſo ſuddenly together, ſo haſty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Poſts taken with ſo much Force, and Fortified with ſo much Induſtry; his Highneſs, upon *Sunday* the 17th of *Auguſt* in the Morning, decamp'd with his own and the Confederate Armies from *Soignes*, march'd towards *Roches*, and from thence advanc'd towards the Enemy, whoſe Right Wing was poſted at the Abbey of St. *Dennis*, and the Left at *Mamoy St. Pierre*, with ſuch advantage of Situation, that they were almoſt thought Inacceſſible. About Twelve the Cannon began to play upon St. *Dennis*, and the Prince went to Dinner in the open Field, juſt as the Duke of *Monmouth* arriv'd in the Camp: At the ſame time the Duke of *Luxemburgh* was carouſing with his Officers, when the Princes's Dragoons, like rude intruding Gueſts, penetrated into the Abbey, and having forc'd the *French* General to riſe from Table in Confuſion, ſeiz'd on his Plate, *The Battle of* Mons, *or* St. Dennis, Aug. *the* 17*th.*

A. C. 1678.

and carried it away, before thoſe about the Duke had recover'd their Surprize. About Three in the Afternoon the Battalions under the Command of Count *Waldeck* began to Attack the Abbey, the Prince himſelf encouraging the Soldiers by his Preſence and Example, and all the Regiments of the Left Wing ſeconding them in very good Order. In the mean time the *Spaniſh* Troops, Commanded by the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, acted on the ſide of *Chaſteau*, being ſupported by the Prince's Guards, who had the Van, and by the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Troops, led by the brave Earl of *Oſſory*. The Action laſted till Nine at Night, during which the Prince rid to *Chaſteau*, to ſhare with the Earl of *Oſſory* both the Danger and the Honour of the Diſpute, which prov'd here more obſtinate than on the ſide of the Abbey. Upon this occaſion his Highneſs engag'd ſo far among the foremoſt of the Enemies, that a *French* Captain was juſt ready to fire his Piſtol at his Highneſs, but was fortunately prevented by Monſieur *Overkirk*, who ſhot the *Frenchman* dead. At laſt, after a great ſlaughter, the Night put an end to this ſharp Encounter, and the Confederates remain'd Maſters of St. *Dennis*'s Abbey. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* having loſt ſo important a Poſt, retir'd in great Confuſion, and the Prince next Morning took poſſeſſion of the Camp the Enemy had abandon'd. The ſame day his Highneſs receiv'd an Expreſs from the States, with advice of the Peace having been Signed at *Nimeguen*, which hindred him from proſecuting the glorious Succeſs of an Action, which an Officer in the *French* Army eſteem'd, *the only Heroick one that had been done in the whole Courſe of this War.* The Prince immediately Communicated the News of the Peace to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, and after great Compliments paſs'd on both ſides, that Duke deſir'd to ſee his Highneſs which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of their Chief Officers. This Interview was managed with the Civilities that became the occaſion, and with great Curioſity of the *French*, to ſee and crowd about a Young Prince, who had made ſo much

much noiſe in the World; and who, the day before, had given Life and Vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action, as all Men eſteem'd this Battle of St. *Dennis.* * Yet many Reflections were made upon it, both by the Princes's Friends and Enemies: Some ſaying, *That it was too great a venture both to himſelf and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it could be to no other Advantage.* Others laid the blame to the Marquis *de Grana*, who, they ſaid, had intercepted and conceal'd the States Packet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before the Battle, (though after it was reſolv'd on) and that he had hopes by ſuch a Rupture of the Peace, even after it was Sign'd, that the Progreſs of it would have been defeated. Whether this Report were true or no, the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Spite, to ſee ſuch a favourable opportunity of making impreſſion into *France* wreſted out of Hands, by the ſudden and unexpected Signing of the Peace, which he had aſſur'd himſelf the States would not have conſented to without the *Spaniards.* But the occaſion was not to be retriev'd, and therefore he left the Army, went firſt to the *Hague*, and then to *Dieren* to hunt, like a Perſon that had nothing elſe to do; leaving the States to purſue their own Meaſures, as to the finiſhing of the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, wherein their Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* employ'd themſelves with great Zeal and Application, and no longer as Parties concern'd and Confederates, but rather as Mediators, the *Engliſh* declining that Function, as being a matter wherein the Court of *England* would take no part.

A. C. 1678.

* *Sir* W. Temple's *Memoirs. pag.* 355.

Whilſt Men's Minds were buſied with various Conjectures about the preſent Affairs, Mr. *Hide* was * ſuddenly diſpatch'd over from *England*, to the ſurprize even of all in *Holland*, and more eſpecially of Sir *William Temple*, who had not the leaſt intimation given him either of his Journey or Errand. The deſign of this ſudden Meſſage was, "To acquaint the States how much his "*Britannick* Majeſty had been ſurpriz'd at the

* Auguſt 1678.

A. C. 1678.

The King of England *complains of the States Signing a Separate Peace, and offers to make War againſt* France.

"News of their Ambaſſadors having Signed a particular Treaty with *France*, even without the "incluſion of *Spain*, and without any Guaranty "given for the Evacuation of the Towns within "the time requiſite; to complain of this Precipi- "tation of the States, and, at the ſame time, of the "new Pretenſions which *France* had advanc'd upon "the County of *Beaumont*, and the Town of *Bo- "vignes*, which had retarded the Peace of *Spain*. "That for theſe Reaſons he underſtood and be- "liev'd, that the late Treaty of *July*, between his "Majeſty and the States, ought to take effect, the "Caſe being fallen out againſt which that was pro- "vided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to "enter joyntly into the War againſt *France*. That if "the States would hereupon refuſe to Ratifie the "Treaty their Miniſters had Sign'd at *Nimeguen*, "his Majeſty offer'd to declare War immediately "againſt *France*, and carry it on in all Points ac- "cording to the Articles of the ſaid Treaty with "the States.

Mr. *Hyde*, who, with Sir *William Temple*, went on purpoſe to *Hounſlardyke* to acquaint the Prince with his Meſſage, was no ſooner withdrawn, but his Highneſs lift up his Hands two or three times, and ſaid, *Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of yours? Will the King that is ſo often at Sea never learn a Word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt Paſſage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm*, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy. *If this Diſpatch had come twenty Days ago it had chang'd the Affairs in* Chriſtendom, *and the War might have been carried on till* France *had yielded to the Treaty of the* Pyrenees, *and left the World in quiet for the reſt of our Lives. As it comes now it will have no effect at all, at leaſt, that is my Opinion, though I would not ſay ſo to Mr.* Hyde. The Event prov'd anſwerable to the Prince's Judgment, though for the preſent, all Appearances ſeem'd very different from the former Proceedings of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, whereof many of the Deputies of the former ſhew'd an Inclination to comply with his Majeſty's Propoſals, and appear'd ſo ill ſatisfied with

with their Plenipotentiaries having Sign'd the Peace, that they form'd ſeveral Articles againſt Monſieur *Beverning*'s Proceedings. The true ſpring of this reſolute Step of *England* was generally thought to be the Buſineſs of the Popiſh Plot, juſt then breaking out; for the King to avoid the Conſequences the ſame might have upon the ill Humour of the Parliament, which ſeem'd to riſe chiefly from the Peace, his Majeſty reſolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had ſo long deſir'd of entering into the War. A. C. 1678.

After Matters had continued for about three Weeks in the uncertainty, whether the *Dutch* would Ratifie their Separate Peace with *France* or no, the *French* King thought the Conjuncture too Important to let it hover ſo long, and therefore firſt diſpatch'd a Courier to his Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to ſatisfie the States as to thoſe Clauſes in their Treaty, wherein they ſeem'd juſtly to except againſt Monſieur *Van Beverning*'s Conduct; next he gave them liberty to make ſome Condeſcentions as to the Points conteſted with the *Spaniards*; and laſtly he empower'd his Ambaſſadors to remit all the Differences which obſtructed the Concluſion of the Treaty between him and *Spain*, to the the Deciſion and Umpirage of the States General. By the Artifice of this Confidence towards the *Dutch* on the Part of *France*, ſeveral Towns and Provinces proceeded with a General Concurrence to their Ratifications, that they might be ready in their Ambaſſadors Hands, to be exchang'd when the Treaty of *Spain* was Sign'd, which was done on the 17th of *September*, and wherein the *Engliſh* Mediators had no part; and ſo the great Deſigns of the Court of *England* were eluded, and Mr. *Hyde* had the misfortune to return home intirely diſappointed; and ſo *France* was left in Poſſeſſion of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and by Conſequence Maſter of the Empire and the *North*, upon his own Terms. About three Months after the Treaty between the Emperor and the King of *France* was Sign'd at *Nimeguen* without the *Engliſh* Mediators, whom the Imperial Ambaſſadors would by no means

Peace between France *and* Spain *Sign'd*, Sept. 17.

And between the Emperor & France, Feb. 1. 1679.

A. C. 1679. 1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684.

means allow to Sign first, unless as Mediators, in which they ought to have the Precedency; and therefore they declin'd Signing at all.

By the Treaty concluded between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, it was agreed that Commissioners should meet at *Cambray*, in the Year 1679, to Regulate all Disputes that might arise about the Limits. But after several tedious Contests occasioned by the excessive Pretensions of the *French*; who claim'd whole Provinces in the Nature of Dependencies; the War seem'd to kindle afresh in 1684, by their breaking the Truce already agreed on, by the Siege of *Luxemburgh*. The Prince of *Orange*, who knew this Place had been attempted the Year before, according to his usual foresight, had propos'd pretty early to the States the raising of 16000 Men, and to bring all the Troops of the Country into the Field, as a means to divert the *French* from their Design. But he was oppos'd in it by the Artifice of Count *d'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador, who gave in several Memorials to the States, upon Account of the Conjuncture; insomuch that the City of *Amsterdam* would not Consent to the said Levy, but absolutely rejected it. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Prince of *Orange*, still bent upon the asserting the Liberties of *Europe*, and the Vindication of Treaties, put himself at the Head of a small Army, with Design to relieve *Luxemburgh*. But the Siege was carried on with such Vigour, that tho' those within made a Resolute Defence, (considering the Circumstances the Town was then in) yet they were oblig'd to Surrender upon Articles, before his Highness could come up to their Assistance. Thus *France* by the Success of their Arms, having got what they desir'd, propos'd a Truce afresh for Twenty Years; which by the States Mediation was agreed upon by a Treaty Sign'd at the *Hague*, on the 29th of *June* 1684.

Luxemburgh *besieg'd by the* French *in* May, *and taken* June *the* 10. 1684.

The Truce for Twenty Years, June 29 1684.

In the midst of all these Negotiations, which seldom or never were treated of but in the Presence of the Prince of *Orange*, whom they consulted

ed in the moſt arduous Affairs, his Highneſs ſtill ſhew'd a wonderful Publick-ſpiritedneſs and Generoſity; for when every one had his private Intereſt in view, he preferr'd the Welfare of his Country and the Repoſe of Chriſtendom, to that Reparation he might juſtly expect for the great Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd in his own Dominions, in *Brabant*, *Franche-Comté*, *Luxemburgh*, and chiefly in his Principality of *Orange*. A. C. 1684.

As ſoon as the Truce for Twenty Years was ratified, the States were of Opinion they might now licentiate Part of their Forces, and the Deputies of *Amſterdam* would, without any further Delay, reform the Recruits they had made the Year before; but all the Members of that Aſſembly coming to this Concluſion, That nothing ought to be done without the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, his Highneſs aſſur'd them, That no one more earneſtly deſir'd the eaſe of the People than himſelf, but at the ſame time, he would never Conſent to leave the Country naked and defenceleſs; inſiſting that they had Occaſion for all their Troops, till their Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, were in a better Poſture of Security. The States were ſoon perſwaded to follow this Advice, and therefore not only kept their preſent Forces in Pay, but the next and the following Years retain'd to their Service ſeveral Hundreds of *French* Proteſtant Officers, and Cadets, who left their Native Country upon the ſcore of Religion; and who accompanied his Highneſs in his great Expedition into *England*. What gave Occaſion to that prodigious Enterprize, and by what ſecret Steps and Counſels the enſuing Revolution was at laſt accompliſh'd, will be the Subject Matter of the Second Part of this Hiſtory, which will Comprehend the whole Reign of *James* II. King of *Great Britain*.

The End of the firſt Part.

THE APPENDIX TO THE First Part.

A Letter of the States General of the United Provinces, to the King of Great Britain, *Dated at the* Hague *the* 18*th of* December 1673. *Which being Communicated to the Parliament then Sitting, both Houſes came to this Unanimous Reſolution,* That His Majeſty ſhould be humbly intreated, to proceed to a ſpeedy Peace with the *Dutch.*

SIR,

WHatſoever might be the Motion, that has induc'd your Majeſty to Write us the Letter, which the Trumpeter we had ſent to you, deliver'd us from your Majeſty, bearing Date, the 17th of *November*, We find our ſelves oblig'd to give your Majeſty Thanks for the Honour you have been pleas'd to do us, but withal we cannot Diſpenſe with our ſelves, without Declaring to your Majeſty the Grief we conceive, by finding the ſame of an Importance ſo much to our diſadvantage; and that the Miniſters, upon whom your Majeſty places moſt Confidence, have until this time exercis'd their

their skill in bringing things to that Point as they have done, perſwading your Majeſty that they could rake up together ſo many things, as they believ'd had been quite blotted out of your Majeſties Memory, and which they, in their Conſciences, knew to be far from the Truth.

This Conſideration, Sir, hindreth us from giving a particular Anſwer to the Heads of the Letter, which your Majeſty hath Written us, out of fear, leſt the ſame ſhould tend to give an Occaſion to them who have already ſurpriz'd your Majeſty to our Prejudice, to render things worſe; and betaking our ſelves to that whereto we have been neceſſitated in drawing up our Anſwers to the *Manifeſto* publiſh'd in your Majeſty's Name, we ſhall content our ſelves herein to Declare to your Majeſty, whereas we have not in our Letters, which we have had the Honour of Writing to your Majeſty, *de facto*, ſet any thing of which we ſhould not be able to give an Authentick and unanſwerable Evidence, we ſhall always be ready to produce the ſame before your Majeſty, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to give us a more particular Occaſion thereunto. Further, ſince your Majeſty, being of the Sentiment that the Report your Miniſters had made to you, was more Sincere, hath complain'd in your Parliament of the invincible Averſeneſs which we ſhew'd to the Peace; and that the Houſe of Commons according to their Ordinary Prudence, hath been pleaſed to ſuſpend their Judgments, and thereby given us opportunity to bring our Innocence to light, and to make known in a more publick manner the uncontradictory Sincerity of our Intentions, we have believed it to be our Duty to add this, that your Majeſty and all your Kingdoms may ſee, that we affect not to ſpeak of Peace, as we are thereupon accuſed, without a real deſire thereof, and that we are far from concluding our ſelves within general Terms without particular Diſcovery of our meaning: We are ready to renew with your Majeſty the Treaty that was made with us at *Breda*, in the Year 1667, and to give a clearer Expoſition

Expoſition of the Nineteenth Article referring to the Ceremony of the Flag, upon ſuch a manner as may leave no place for future Diſpute, and to regulate the ſame without any Ambiguity. And, foraſmuch as that Treaty hath been held by your Majeſty to be ſo juſt and ſo equitable, that in the following Years it occaſion'd your Majeſty to afford us more Tokens of Benevolence and good Inclination, and that you entred into a nearer Alliance with us than ever formerly, we propoſe that ſame Treaty, as a faſt Foundation of a firm and laſting Peace, and hope that your Majeſty will not refuſe your Friendſhip upon the ſame Conditions, which were by your ſelf before approv'd, for that the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and many Caſes reſpectively relating to the Proſperity of both the Nations, ought to oblige us on both ſides readily to unite. Moreover, ſeeing ſome have ſtrongly endeavour'd to perſwade your Majeſty that we have violated our Treaties, and committed divers unjuſt things, for which you demand Satisfaction, we are ready, without any delay, to ſend Ambaſſadors to your Majeſty to inform you of the Truth with leſs diſguiſe, than hath been done by our Enemies; and before your Majeſty to enter into an Examination of all the Treaties whereof we are blam'd, to repair all Wrongs and Injuries, which your Majeſty or your Subjects might have receiv'd from us or from our Officers, ſince the aforeſaid Treaty at *Breda*, till the beginning of this War. And that the Diſcuſſing thereof, may not retard the concluding of a Peace, which we ſo ardently Wiſh and which is ſo needful for the Welfare of Chriſtendom, we offer to your Majeſty for greater Security, the *Guaranty* of our Allies for the exact and punctual Performance of the Promiſe we here make to your Majeſty, and which we conſent to, that it be brought into the Treaty, which ſhall be concluded, to make it ſo much the more Authentick.

Finally, to let your Majeſty fully ſee the eſpecial Eſteem we have for your Frienſhip, we hereby offer the Reſtitution of the *New Netherlands*, and

and of all the other Places and Colonies, which have been gain'd by our Arms in this preſent War; perſwading our ſelves that your Majeſty will not refuſe, reciprocally to engage to reſtore to us the Lands or Forts, which yours may have Conquer'd

As for what your Majeſty ſeems above all to complain, that we moſt highly Offend you, in the Propoſal we make for ſeparating you from your Allies, to whom you have promis'd not to treat without them; when we in the mean time aſſume it for a Fundamental Point, that we muſt purſue the Engagements that we have given ours without injuring our Honour, as if your Majeſty ought leſs to regard yours: We beſeech your Majeſty to Conſider, that there is a vaſt difference betwixt your Engagements and ours, as well as in the Conduct of thoſe with whom we are Allied. And your Majeſty may with as much Juſtice as Glory extinguiſh a Fire, which has ſpread much further than was at firſt believ'd: Whereas we cannot abandon our Allies without the greateſt unthankfulneſs, and without the ruin of *Europe*, and therewithal of our ſelves. At that time as your Majeſty entered into an Union with our Enemies, they ſeem'd to have no other aim than to level our Common-wealth; at this Day the War is General, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands* (for the Preſervation of which your Majeſty hath always ſhown ſo much Zeal) participate therein no leſs than we, as alſo doth great part of the Empire. On the other ſide, your Majeſty hath ſo much the leſs Cauſe to continue in your former Alliance, for that your Allies have been they, who have alter'd the Nature of this War, and engag'd our Friends ſo much the ſooner to Declare in Favour of us: His *Imperial Majeſty*, and the *Moſt Serene King of* Spain, having not been longer able to bear the Hoſtilities, which the *French* committed in the *Netherlands*, and in ſeveral Provinces of the Empire, where they had already made themſelves Maſters of an *Electoral Place*. But without entring upon the ſearch of thoſe Affairs, and not accounting it

needful

needful to make uſe of the ſeveral Arguments of that Nature, your Majeſty, Sir, hath had too much Cauſe to deſert an Ally, who in this War hath ſought nothing but his particular Advantage, and who in Caſes of moſt Importance hath laid nothing leſs to heart, than the Intereſt of your Majeſty, that we ſay no worſe; and if your Majeſty does yet in the leaſt doubt thereof, let not your Majeſty Content your ſelf with what the *French Partizans* tell you, but let that be well examin'd which was done laſt Year at *Utrecht* between the *French* Miniſters and our *Deputies*, and you may ſee the Sincerity of the Proceedings of your Allies. It is certainly enough to convince you, to Read the Propoſitions which the *French*, at that time, made to us, wherein you cannot find one ſingle Word that Concerns your Majeſty, and in the mean while our *other Deputies* were detain'd at *Hampton-Court*, without your being pleaſed to give them Audience, they at *Utretcht* would have had us enter into, and accompliſh a Treaty without Participation with your Majeſty: And to Conſtrain us the more they declar'd to us, that in Caſe we agreed not to all that they demanded of us, within the time of Five Days, they ſhould then make new Demands of us. We could, beſides theſe, produce divers other Overtures, which have been made to us ſince that time, wherein your Majeſty hath been as little conſider'd; but becauſe that kind of dealing hath not been ſo publick, tho' really ſuch, we ſhall not inſiſt thereon; and ſhall ſatisfie our ſelves with the laſt Proof of Obligation your Majeſty hath from your Allies, in giving you to Conſider what paſſed in the Sea-Fight, of which we deſire no other Teſtimony nor Judges, than thoſe who had the Command of the Fleets of your Majeſty, with all the reſt of the Officers and Soldiers. But in Reference to us, as our Allies have dealt a quite different other way, for which we are bound by Obligations, which we cannot enough Expreſs; ſo on the other hand, we are entred into a Covenant with them thro' an indiſpenſible Neceſſity, and therewith for the

Welfare

Welfare of all *Europe*. And Laſtly, as we have already ſaid, we cannot ſeparate from them without our Deſtruction, and the Hazard of the Well-being of *Chriſtendom*. Your Majeſty ought not to Wonder that we cannot Conſent to break our Word, nor to take it ill that we propoſe to your Majeſty the purſuit of your true Intereſts, and to take a Reſolution, which will be ſo Honourable and ſo Righteous, as well Profitable for your Kingdoms and Neighbours.

Hereto we will yet add, that a particular Treaty is ſo much more Neceſſary and more Juſt than the Conferences of *Colen*, which do abſolutely ſtand ſtill thro' the ſtrongly *Opinionative* denial of *France*, for ſome Months paſt, to grant the Paſſes requiſite for the Miniſters of the Duke of *Lorrain*, one of our Allies, and to Conſent that he might be accepted as an intereſted Perſon in that Treaty of Peace.

This, Sir, is what we have thought fit to repreſent and offer to your Majeſty, for Anſwer to the moſt Principal of your Letters, and hereupon we hope, that how little Reflection ſoever your Majeſty ſhall make upon it, you will acknowledge that more cannot in Juſtice be Demanded of us; being not willing to believe that your Majeſty, without Neceſſity or Profit, will continue to Favour the Arms of *France*, not only againſt us, but alſo againſt others, your oldeſt Allies, who are oblig'd to own our Cauſe, or that you will any longer endanger the Preſervation of *Europe* and the *Proteſtant Religion*. We ſhall with great Impatience expect the Reſolution of your Majeſty, upon which the Quietneſs and Proſperity of ſo many Nations depends. And mean while we Pray God to accumulate Happineſs upon your Reign, and to bleſs your Royal Perſon with Health and a long Life.

The Spaniſh *Ambaſſador's Memorial to King* Charles II.

SIR,

THE Misfortunes of *Europe* being ſo much augmented by the Calamities of War, have at length oblig'd the Princes thereof, to a more earneſt apprehenſion of that Ruin, which is Threatned by the Arms of *France*, and the ſtrange Progreſs thoſe Arms have made. For his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty not contenting himſelf to leſſen the Power of *Holland* (which was the Principal Motive and Foundation of the War,) hath thought fit to penetrate into the Bowels of the Empire, and by overthrowing the Peace thereof, introduce thoſe Outrages that always atttend War, inſomuch, as his Imperial Majeſty in Order to Repel the Aſpiring Deſigns of *France*, hath driven it to the Violent Remedy of Arms; and all the Princes of the Empire have been ſo awakened with Jealouſies, as to Confederate with him, not only for the Security of their own Dominions, but for the common good of all; nothing being more evident to them than that the Augmentation of *France* muſt be founded on the Subjection of all others. Wherefore his Imperial Majeſty having, upon theſe ſo Important and Juſtifiable Grounds, entred into a League with the States General of the United Provinces, and the Two Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria* being in their Intereſts ſo much the ſame, the Queen, my Miſtreſs, has found herſelf oblig'd to Unite with both theſe Powers, in order to reſtrain the Ambitious Deſigns of *France*, and to reſtore Chriſtendom to the Tranquility it enjoy'd; Though at the ſame time ſhe is filled with Sorrow and Compaſſion for that Effuſion of Blood which muſt flow on all ſides from this War, and the inevitable Ruin that muſt attend thoſe Countries that are at preſent involved in the Infelicities thereof. But being deſirous to prevent ſome greater Evils yet, and that between *Spain* and this Crown nothing may

ariſe

ariſe or diſturb the good Correſpondence which hath been hitherto maintain'd; ſhe cannot but obſerve how your Majeſty is United with the Crown of *France*, and this, at a time when the ſaid Crown, as all Men do conclude, and by the abandoning ſo many of their late Conquer'd Places, is demonſtrable, are reſolving to Unite and pour all their Forces on the Dominions of the King, my Maſter, making them the unhappy Seat of the War; ſo that if your Majeſty partakes therein, it is impoſſible but many inſupportable Offences muſt ariſe. And therefore, her Majeſty being excited by that true and ſincere Deſire which ſhe hath always had, and which hath been ſtill teſtified in *Spain* for the Confirmation of your Majeſty's Friendſhip, and Augmenting the Felicity of your Reign; whereof what your Majeſty owed in ſo many Occaſions to the Love and Services of the late King *Philip* the Fourth, my Maſter, of bleſſed Memory, is ſufficient Proof; and alſo what the Queen my Miſtreſs hath laboured (in all things that have occurred) to manifeſt: I am now further commanded to preſent unto your Majeſty's Royal Conſideration the great Union that is by Nature Eſtabliſh'd in the Intereſts of this Crown with *Spain*, and alſo the great Conveniences that will reſult to your Majeſty, and your Kingdoms, in admitting a Peace with *Holland*. For your Subjects being freed from the Calamities of the War, and Enjoying the advantages of a free Trade, muſt needs grow Rich in the ſame Proportion that others will Conſume, till this Flame be extinguiſh'd. Wherefore I am in her Royal Name commanded to propoſe to your Majeſty, That the States General will yield, in the matter of the Flag, to the Content and Satisfaction of your Majeſty; that they will make reſtitution of all Countries, and Prizes which the Arms of the ſaid States General, during this War, have taken or may take out of *Europe* upon like reſtitution made to them. And laſtly, That although their Expences have been exorbitant, they will give Eight Hundred Thouſand Patacoons, to be Paid as followeth, That is to ſay, One fourth Part in the ſame time that the Ratifications of the Treaty of

Peace ſhall be deliver'd, and the reſidue in Three Terms; one of them to be in the Firſt Year after the end of the War, one other the Second Year, and the laſt in the Third Year, by equal Proportions; and the ſaid States General will give Caution ſufficient, and to the Satisfaction of the Queen my Miſtreſs. Theſe are the Propoſitions which the Queen, my Miſtreſs, commands me to put into your Majeſties Royal Hands, from whoſe Magnaminity, ſhe hopeth, that at her Interpoſition you will admit the ſame; and thereby do an Action as to the World, laudable; (by inclining the Minds of all to reſtore *Chriſtendom* to its antient Repoſe) and to your Subjects moſt deſirable, by their owing to your Majeſty's Piety, an Exemption from the Troubles, Miſery, and Ruin of War, and Enjoying the Bleſſing of Peace, and the Freedom and Advantages of their Trade. And I cannot but promiſe my ſelf from Conſiderations of this Importance, a ſpeedy, favourable, and Benign Anſwer to return to the Queen, my Miſtreſs, thereby to bind up in a cloſer Tye of Friendſhip the Thoughts, and Inclinations of the Subjects of both Crowns; for ſhould a contrary Anſwer be given to the Adjuſtment that is propoſed on ſuch reaſonable Terms, *Spain* muſt be oblig'd to take other Meaſures for its Security; it being incompatible that ſincere Friendſhip, or a Peace, can ſubſiſt between the two Crowns, if your Majeſty will Perſevere in the Engagements of this War.

London, Dec. $\frac{10}{20}$ 1673.

Marques del Freſno.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Spaniſh *Ambaſſador's Memorial.*

HIS Majeſty having ſeen and conſidered a Memorial deliver'd to him by his Excellency the Marquiſs *del Freſno*, Extraordinary Ambaſſadour from the Catholick King, bearing Date the $\frac{10}{20}$ Inſtant, Commands this Anſwer to be made thereunto: That he was not a little ſurpriſed to find the Contents of this Paper confirm to him the Report of

of a Treaty made betwixt the King his Maſter and the States General of the United Provinces (the Aſſiſting of whom, in this War, was a manifeſt Breach of the Separate Article of the Treaty between the two Kings, binding them reciprocally not to aſſiſt one another's Enemies in any open War,) and His Majeſty's Wonder thereupon hath been the greater, in that this Treaty with the States General was never own'd to him by the Ambaſſador himſelf, or any of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and, that his Excellency was pleas'd to look upon it, when the Rumour thereof came firſt abroad, as a malicious Invention of the Enemies of the Crown of *Spain*, diſuſed only to create a Miſunderſtanding betwixt His Majeſty and that Crown, whereas now it ſeems to be a real thing, and doth no leſs, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Memorial, than Threaten a War to His Majeſty, if he will not ſubmit himſelf to Conditions impoſed upon him by his declar'd Enemies. Notwithſtanding which, His Majeſty eſteems himſelf in ſome degree beholding to the Catholick Queen, for having imparted to him the Terms and Conditions upon which the States General of the United Provinces will be Content to make the Peace with His Majeſty; ſince in ſo many Months that the Plenipotentiaries have been at *Cologn*, their Deputies could never be brought to make a clear Declaration of any Offers that they would ſtand to; but held them ſtill under ſuch Ambiguities as they might at all times recede from them, as they ſhould ſee Cauſe. Now altho' the Conditions offer'd in the ſaid Memorial are very ſmall in reſpect of the great Expence of Blood and Treaſure the War hath Coſt; yet, that the World may ſee, how deſirous His Majeſty is to contribute to the General Peace of *Chriſtendom*, he declares he will be Content with any reaſonable Conditions for a Peace ſuitable to his own Honour, and the Intereſts of his Subjects.

The Offers made in his Excellency's Memorial, are,

I. The Point of the Flag promis'd to be adjuſted to His Majeſties Satisfaction.

II. A Reciprocal reſtitution of Places and Prizes that are, or may have been taken by either Nation, out of *Europe*, during this War.

III.

III. And laſtly, The Summ of Eight Hundred Thouſand Patacoones.

Now if the States General will Extinguiſh their Pretenſion to the reſtitution of the Prizes, as a thing impracticable, and never inſiſted on in any Treaty of Peace, and add to the abovemention'd Offers theſe additional ones, which cannot well be denied; *viz.*

I. An Equal and Reciprocal Regulation of the Trade in the *Eaſt Indies*, ſuch as was often Promiſed, and particularly in the late Treaty of *Breda*.

II. Leave to his Subjects yet detain'd at *Surinam*, to depart from thence with their Eſtates and Effects, purſuant to the ſaid Treaty, and their own reiterated Promiſes and Orders.

III. And laſtly, That the Subjects of the ſaid States General, ſhall, for the future, Abſtain from Fiſhing upon the Coaſts and Shoars of any of His Majeſty's Dominions, without Leave, and Paſsports firſt obtain'd.

His Majeſty Declares, That as to himſelf he will be Content with theſe Conditions. But becauſe the Wording of Articles thereupon is of equal Moment to the things that ſhall be contained in them, and that this cannot be Effected but by Perſons equally inſtructed and empower'd on both ſides, His Majeſty further Declares, that he will direct his Plenipotentiaries at *Cologn*, to apply themſelves together with the Deputies of the States General without delay thereunto, by the help of the Mediation of the Crown of *Sweden*, which, having been accepted, and authoriz'd on both ſides, and the City of *Cologn* having been inſiſted on by the *Dutch* to the Mediators for the Place of Treaty, His Majeſty conceives, that neither the Place nor the Mediation can be now declin'd without a Notorious Offence to the Parties concern'd; and more particularly to the Honour of the Crown of *Sweden*.

And His Majeſty aſſures himſelf, that this his proceeding will appear ſo fair and equal to the Catholick Queen, as not to leſſen, in any degree, in her Royal Breaſt, the Eſteem ſhe Profeſſes to have of his Friendſhip, and Alliance, which His Majeſty has ever uſed his utmoſt endeavours to Cultivate and Improve; particularly in making himſelf the

Princi-

Principal Inſtrument of the two late Peaces of *Portugal* and *Aix la Chapelle*, ſo valuable to the Crown of *Spain* in the Minority of their King, and in ſo Cautioning the Peace between *France* and *Spain* from any Violation or Diſturbance by this preſent War, as he did in the Treaty made with the Moſt Chriſtian King, when he entered into the Union, and Confederation with him againſt the States General of the United Provinces. *Given at the Court at* Whitehall, *the* 16*th Day of* December, 1673.

By His Majeſty's Command,
Arlington.

Treaty of Alliance between England *and* Holland, *Concluded at the* Hague, July 26. 1678.

AS the States of the United Provinces, after having declared by their Letters to the Moſt Chriſtian King, That they conſented to the Conditions of Peace, as far as in them lay, which he offer'd them; and that his Catholick Majeſty, who was alſo of the ſame Sentiments, was willing on his part, ſo far as it regarded him, to embrace the Treaty, and having upon that Head uſed all the Facility that can be; and, to that end, ordered his Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to ſet their Hands to thoſe Conditions, ſo far as it related to them, as well as the other Allies, who were alſo willing to comprehend therein, have nevertheleſs underſtood, with much concern of Mind, that the Miniſters of *France* have oppos'd the ſame, and refuſed the Reſtitution of the Places which belong to *Spain* and the States, without they would firſt, and for the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, reſtore alſo thoſe Places which had been taken from them during the Courſe of the War: This ſo unexpected a Change having obliged the States to believe, that Pretentions ſo ill grounded were rather an effect of the Repugnancy that might be in the Plenipotentiaries, than the real Intentions of his Majeſty, who had otherwiſe explain'd himſelf; and as the ſaid States did beſides inform his Majeſty of *Great Britain* of the Eſſential Points that obſtructed that important Negotiation, praying

praying him to ſupport ſo juſt a Cauſe, and to endeavour to obtain of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty all that might remove the Obſtacles which retarded that Work; and adding withal, that if his Endeavours ſhould prove fruitleſs in ſo juſt a Work, he would be pleaſed to protect and aſſiſt them with all his Forces; and that his Majeſty did thereupon reaſſure them, that the Peace were neither Juſt nor Feaſiable upon thoſe Conditions, and gave them his Promiſe that he would defend them, if the Moſt Chriſtian King refuſed it under any pretence whatſoever. Upon that the States gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries to deſire thoſe of *France*, that without making thoſe exorbitant Demands, or entering upon Satisfaction to *Sweden*, they would forthwith Conclude and Sign the Treaty, which they were alſo ready to do in the Name of the States, if his Majeſty, after the Ratification and Publiſhing of the Peace, would give up unto them all thoſe Places, without pretending any Reſtitution to the *Swedes* of what they had loſt ſince the War.

With this view, and in order to prevent thoſe dangerous Conſequences that may ariſe from ſuch delay, it was agreed between his *Britannick* Majeſty and the States, that if their Offices and Endeavours do not ſurmount theſe *Remora's*, and if they cannot get the Moſt Chriſtian King to declare before the 11th of *Auguſt*, that he will really reſtore thoſe Places after the Ratification and Publiſhing of the ſaid Treaty, without any farther inſiſting upon the Pretenſions of the *Swedes*, by a ſpeedy Evacuation of thoſe that ought to be reſtored by Virtue of that Peace. It is then agreed, and theſe two Powers do agree, to declare War againſt *France*, and to compel her thereto with their joint Forces, according to the Conditions ſtipulated underneath, or ſuch as ſhall be hereafter Eſtabliſhed between them, or with other Princes who ſhall enter into this Engagement.

And as his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath often declared to his *Britannick* Majeſty, as a Common Mediator between the Parties in Difference, That he would readily embrace a Peace, that could be made upon reaſonable Terms, yet his good Offices

and

and Hopes have not been able to produce the Fruits wiſh'd for, through the new Pretenſions that have been continually raiſed.

His ſaid Majeſty and the States General Aſſembled, *July* the 26th 1678, believing and being perſwaded, that Repoſe cannot be given to *Chriſtendom*, if the Princes who are in War ſhould accept of thoſe Conditions; and if, as to what concerns *Spain* and *France*, the latter do not render to the other *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Guiſlain*, *Binch*, the Dutchy of *Limburgh*, &c. with their Bailywicks, Chatellenies, Governments, Provoſtſhips, Appurtenances and Dependencies, ſo as to reſtore them, and put them into the Hands of *Spain*.

And as for what concerns the Emperor, the Empire and its Princes, that *France* ſhall give up to them all that ſhe has taken from them at preſent, and that the reſt remain as it was before the War: That *Lorrain* be reſtored to the Duke of that Name in the ſame State it is now in; or, if that cannot be done, in the State it was when ſeized by *France*. His Majeſty and the States mutually and really obliging themſelves to the obſervation of this Point.

I. His ſaid Majeſty and the Lords the States General promiſe to do their utmoſt, and, if it may be, to uſe all ſorts of means to conſtrain the Moſt Chriſtian King to give Satisfaction in theſe Terms, without being at liberty to make a Peace with him, if he do not give his Conſent to them, or to ſome others, as ſhall be agreed on between his Majeſty and the States, according to the ſucceſs of the War.

II. His Majeſty and the States General do engage themſelves farther for the obliging *France* to conſent to theſe Conditions, or to ſuch as the Princes concerned ſhall find convenient; and in ſhort for bringing that Crown to comply with it, that his Majeſty ſhall have one third more at Sea, and a third leſs by Land, in the *Low Countries*, than the Lords the States, all by a proviſionary way, till it be otherwiſe provided by the Allies.

III. It is alſo Stipulated, That if his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, and the Moſt Chriſtian King make War upon one another, one of the Confederates cannot ſeparate from

from the other by any particular Treaty, without that others Conſent.

IV. But if the Negotiation of Peace which is held at *Nimeguen*, comes to be broke up, and that the Parties ſhould agree upon any other Place to treat of it, or of a Truce, that cannot be done without the Conſent or Agreement of the other Allies; and without, at the ſame time, one of the Parties of the Confederacy procure alſo to the other, the neceſſary Paſports to paſs freely, and without danger, to the place appointed for the Treaty, where he ought alſo to communicate to him all that paſſeth in that Negotiation. And, in the mean time, they ſhall not have Power to conſent to any Peace or Truce, but according to the Conditions ſtipulated by the firſt Article, or ſuch other as they ſhall agree upon, and without his Ally be re-eſtabliſh'd in the full and entire Poſſeſſion of all the Lands, Towns, Places and Immunities, which he enjoyed at the Signing of this Treaty, in *Europe*, if it be not otherwiſe agreed on between his Majeſty and the States.

V. But if the Peace in Hand terminate happily between the Moſt Chriſtian King on the one Hand, and his Catholick Majeſty and the States General on the other, whether by the Propoſitions which *France* hath made her ſelf, or by ſuch others as they can agree to, his *Britannick* Majeſty and the States will not only be Guarrantee in the beſt and ſureſt form that may be, but alſo it is free for other Kings and Neighbouring Princes who ſhall have any Intereſt in the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, and the immutable Tranquility of the *Low Countries* to be ſo. 'Tis with this View that his ſaid Majeſty and the States would agree upon the Troops and Means that are neceſſary to bring the Perſon who ſhall Violate the Peace, to make Satisfaction for the Damage he ſhall do another any manner of way.

VI. Theſe Articles, and the full Contents of them, are to be Sign'd and Ratified within Three Weeks, or ſooner, if it may be, and the Ratifications exchanged at the ſame time. *Given at the* Hague, July 26. 1678.

Signed, *W. Temple.* *W. Van Henkelom, Van Wingaerden Fagel, D. Van Heyden, Van Lewen, J. de Maregnault, Jean Baron de Reed, A. ter Borght.*

THE

THE

LIFE

AND

REIGN

OF

King *William* III.

In Three Parts.

Part the Second,

Beginning with the Death of King *Charles* II. and Ending with King *William*'s Acceſſion to the Throne.

LONDON:

Printed by *R. J.* for *F. Coggan*, in the *Inner-Temple-Lane.* 1702.

LIFE

AND

REIGN

OF

King William III.

In Three Parts.

Part the Second.

Beginning with the Death of King Charles II.
and Ending with King William's
Accession to the Throne.

LONDON:

Printed by R. J. for J. Graham, in the Inner-
Temple-Lane. 1702.



IACOBUS. IIds

D.G. Angliæ Scot. Fran. et Hiber.

Part. 2. REX *etc.* *p. 2*

THE REIGN OF King *JAMES* II.

KIng *Charles* II. being ſeiz'd with a violent Fit, which in three Days carried him off, various were the Reports about his Diſtemper: Some maintaining it to be an Apoplexy, occaſion'd by his frequent Debauches, and others the Effect of Poiſon. This laſt Opinion was moſt general, and ſeem'd to be juſtified by the Symptoms that attended this Fit: For before the King fell into it, he complain'd, firſt of a heavy Oppreſſion in his Stomach, and about the Heart, and ſoon after of a racking Pain in thoſe Parts, all which had but little Relation to an Apoplexy, which is known principally to affect the Head. 1684. *Death of King Charles II. Feb. 6th.*

Theſe Suſpicions were encreas'd by ſeveral concurring Circumſtances: Some few Days before King *Charles* was taken ill, there eſcap'd him ſome warm Expreſſions about the ill Meaſures that had been ſuggeſted to him, and how in a particular Affair he had been *abus'd*: Adding, in a Paſſion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himſelf eaſie for the reſt of his Life.* This Paſſage was whiſper'd abroad next Day, and interpreted by ſome, as if the King deſign'd to recal the Duke of *Monmouth*, and remove the Duke of *York*. Now how far the Principles of that

1684. Party, which was like to ſuffer by this ſudden Reſolution, might leave them at Liberty to prevent it, tho' without the Participation of the Duke of *York*, is not the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian to determine; yet 'tis certain, that King *Charles* no ſooner heard that the Lord *Allington*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, (with whom he had drank ſome Chocolate ſome Days before, and concerted Meaſures to ſecure the Duke of *York*) was dead after a very ſtrange manner; but he began to be afraid of his Life. Others obſerv'd, that when the deceas'd King's Body was open'd, his Stomach and Inteſtines were not narrowly ſearch'd, which ought chiefly to have been done, conſidering the violent Pains he felt there; and that when a certain Phyſician ſeem'd to be more Inquiſitive than the reſt, about the Condition of thoſe Parts, he was taken aſide, and reprov'd for his Curioſity. And as one Suſpicion begets another, there was likewiſe ſome Streſs laid upon an Accident that fell out at *Windſor* ſome Years before. The King drinking more liberally than uſual, after the Fatigue of Riding, retir'd to the next Room, and wrapping himſelf up in his Cloak, fell aſleep upon a Couch. He was but a little time come back to his Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the ſame Couch in the King's Cloak, and was found ſtabb'd Dead with a Poniard; nor was it ever known how it happen'd, nor any Enquiry made about it. Add to all theſe, that Dr. *Short*, a Catholick, and a Man of Probity and Learning, did not ſtick to declare to ſome of his intimate Friends, *That he believ'd King* Charles *had foul Play given him*; and that when the Dr. came to Die himſelf, he expreſs'd ſome Suſpicions that he had met with the ſame Treatment, *for opening his Mind* too *freely in* that Point.

As King *Charles* liv'd generally belov'd, ſo he dy'd univerſally lamented: Moſt People extolling the Mildneſs of his Temper, and Peacefulneſs of his Reign, during which *England* had vaſtly encreas'd in Riches, and but few reflecting, that the Softneſs and Luxurioufneſs of his Court, like an in-

infectious Diſeaſe, had ſpread almoſt over the whole Nation, and broke the martial Spirit of the *Engliſh*; that his Alliances with *France*, and his Sale of *Dunkirk*, had cheriſh'd the growth of that formidable Power which ſtill alarms all *Europe*, and loſt to *England* her ancient Prerogative of holding the Ballance in *Chriſtendom*; and laſtly, that his being too kind to a *Popiſh* Brother, his believing too far a *Presbyterian* Plot, and ſuffering the Lord *Ruſſel* and *Algernoon Sidney* to be ſacrific'd upon that Pretence, gave his Succeſſor a Handle to ſet up Popery and an Arbitrary Government. If any thing can atone for the Errors of King *Charles*'s Reign, 'twas his marrying the Eldeſt of his Nieces to the Prince of *Orange*, (which Lady the Parliament had in View in the Bill of Excluſion) and the Youngeſt to the Prince of *Denmark*, which he did againſt the Advice of the Duke of *York*, and in Spight of all the Sollicitations that were made him from Abroad, to marry them to Potent Princes of the *Catholick* Religion. 1684.

King *Charles* II. had ſcarce reſign'd his laſt Breath, when his Brother, *James* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son to King *Charles* the Firſt, ſtept quietly into his Throne by the Name of *King* James *the Second*, and immediately after was proclaim'd King of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, firſt in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and then throughout the whole Kingdom. One would have thought this New King would have met with ſome Oppoſition: For beſides, that not many Years before almoſt all *England* ſeem'd to concur to exclude him from the Crown; and that ſince he was recall'd by his Brother, he had rais'd to himſelf a great many Enemies, 'tis certain he could not enjoy the Royal Dignity without breaking the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, whereby *Papiſts* are remov'd from all Places of Truſt; but upon this Occaſion the *Engliſh* choſe rather to derogate from the ſtrictneſs of their Laws, than be wanting in their Loyalty to their Natural Sovereign. They flattered themſelves, that a Prince who had wreſtled with ſo many Difficulties, upon the Account of his being a

1684. *Papiſt*, and who had before him the dreadful Example of a Father, who upon a bare Suſpicion of having a Deſign to introduce *Popery*, had loſt his Head upon a Scaffold; they flatter'd themſelves, I ſay, that ſuch a Prince would ſuffer them peacefully to enjoy their Religion, Laws and Liberties. Thus abandoning themſelves to Providence, all their former Heats and Animoſities againſt the Duke of *York*, and even the very Memory of a *Bill of Excluſion*, ſeem'd to be now buried in Oblivion, amidſt the loud Acclamations of his People at his Acceſſion to the Crown.

The New King endeavour'd to confirm the favourable Sentiments the generality of his Subjects entertain'd of him, and to remove the Fears and Jealouſies of the reſt, by a plauſible Speech he made to his Council the ſame Day his Brother dy'd, wherein he declar'd; *That ſince it had pleas'd God to Place him in that Station, to ſucceed ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo kind a Brother, he thought fit to tell them, that he would endeavour to follow his Brother's Example, more eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People; that he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that was not the only Story had been made of him; and that he would make it his Endeavour to preſerve the Government, both in Church and State, as it was by Law eſtabliſh'd.* And thereupon he takes Occaſion to Commend the Principles and Members of the Church of *England*; and ſays, *The Laws of the Land are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wiſh to be; and therefore as he would never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo he would never invade any Man's Property.* But it was not long before it appear'd either that King *James* did not then ſpeak his real Intentions, or that the fond Inſinuations of a domineering bigotted Wife, and the Inſtigations of *Popiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, were more prevailing with him than this Maxim, *That if Truth and Honeſty were loſt, one ought to look for them amongſt Kings*; or indeed, than his true Intereſt: for had he perform'd what he promis'd in his Speech, he might have

King James's Speech to the Council.

have been as glorious a Monarch as ever ſway'd the *Engliſh* Scepter. 1684.

The firſt Days of King *James*'s Reign were ſpent in writing Letters to divers Princes; in receiving the Compliments both of Condoleance and Congratulation of thoſe Foreign Ambaſſadors and Miniſters, who happen'd then to be in *London*, in Interring the Body of the late King, which was done without any manner of Pomp; (and which made ſome People not ſtick to ſay, That *King* Charles *was buried* more *like a Private Man and a Stranger, than like a Prince and a Brother.)* And in ſettling the Officers of the Houſhold, and beſtowing Civil and Military Employments. Among the reſt the Duke of *Ormond*, was made Lord Steward; the Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain; Viſcount *Newport*, Treaſurer; the Lord *Maynard*, Comptroller; *Henry Savile*, Eſq; Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſhold; *Henry Bulkeley*, Eſq; Maſter of the Houſhold; and Sir *Stephen Fox*, Eldeſt Clerk of the Green-Cloth, in which Offices they reſpectively ſerv'd King *Charles* the Second. Moreover, His Majeſty conſtituted the Earl of *Rocheſter*, (who was then Preſident of the Council) Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*; the Marquis of *Hallifax*, Preſident of the Council: the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Privy-Seal; the Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*; and the Lord *Godolphin*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

The next *Sunday* after his Brother's Death, King *James* went publickly to *Maſs* in St. *James*'s *Chappel*, openly declaring himſelf a Papiſt, though in the former Reign ſome Men had been ſeverely uſed, for barely ſaying that he was of that Perſwaſion. People diſcours'd variouſly about this Affair, ſome commending him for not diſſembling his Religion; others ſaying that it was Impolitickly done; and that if he intended to countenance *Popery*, and overturn the eſtabliſh'd Religion, it would certainly terminate in his own Ruin. The next ſtep King *James* made, moſt plainly ſhew'd whither he was going, and expected to be follow'd by all that intended to ſhare his Favours: For before his Bro-

1684. ther's Aſhes were cold in his Grave, he caus'd it to be publiſh'd and atteſted by Father *Huddleſton*, *that he died in the Communion of the Church of* Rome, and printed it with the Papers taken out of his Brother's Strong Box; ſhewing, *That though he outwardly pretended otherwiſe in his Life, yet in his Heart he was truly a* Roman Catholick. This could never be interpreted, maintaining the Church of *England*, no more than his publiſhing a Proclamation for levying that part of the Cuſtoms, that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life, was an Argument he *would never Invade any Man's Property*; ſo that the two great things he promis'd in his Speech to the Council, were the very firſt things in which he broke his Royal Word; for raiſing Money without Conſent of Parliament, could have no other Deſign, but to ſhew that he intended to ſet up an abſolute Government; for otherwiſe it was needleſs at that time, ſince a Parliament was to meet within a few Days, which undoubtedly would, in a legal manner, continue the ſame Cuſtoms for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

To juſtifie, at leaſt to colour, this Arbitrary Proceeding, the Court induſtriouſly procur'd the following Addreſs from the *Middle-Temple*. *Moſt dread Sovereign, We Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, with all Humility Congratulate the Legal and Peaceable Deſcent of this Imperial Crown upon Your Majeſty, the only Remedy for our unſpeakable Sorrow, for the Death of our moſt Gracious Sovereign of ever glorious and bleſſed Memory.* ------- *Your Majeſty's unparallell'd Juſtice, Courage and Conduct (ſignaliz'd to the World before they became Ornaments to the Crown) give a perfect Aſſurance of Happineſs to theſe Nations under your Government. We cannot therefore but with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude, acknowledge Your Majeſty's great Goodneſs and Condeſcention in your late Declaration, and in particular that Your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleas'd, in purſuance of the ſame, to extend your Royal Care of the Government to the* Preſervation of the Cuſtoms, *the Intermiſſion whereof would not only have diſabled Your Majeſty to maintain the Navy in Defence*

Addreſs from the Middle-Temple.

fence of the Realm, but by taking away the Ballance of Trade, have ruin'd Thouſands of Your Majeſty's Subjects that paid Cuſtom, in the Life of our late Sovereign, and by an exceſſive Exportation and Importation Cuſtom-free, have rendred that Branch of the Revenue unprofitable for ſome Years to come, notwithſtanding all the Care and Loyalty of the ſucceeding Parliament. For which Reaſons *the ſame have been continually receiv'd by Your Royal Predeceſſors for ſome Hundred of Years, and never queſtion'd by any Parliament, unleſs in that wherein were ſown the Seeds of Rebellion againſt the glorious Martyr, Your Royal Father of ever bleſſed Memory.* 1684.

'Tis a receiv'd Maxim of the common Law, Theſaurus Regis eſt Vinculum Pacis & Bellorum Nervi: *Such is the happy Conſtitution of this Monarchy, that Your Majeſty's high Prerogative is the greateſt Security of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, ſo that whoever would impair the Revenue of the Crown, muſt by this Fundamental Law, (as binding as* Magna Charta) *be eſteem'd an Enemy to the Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom.*

We therefore think it our indiſpenſible Duty to endeavour the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives for the reſpective Counties and Boroughs to which we belong, as may not only concur in ſettling a Revenue to ſupport the Government as formerly, but alſo ſhew a grateful Senſe of the great things you have done and ſuffer'd for us already; an entire Confidence in Your Majeſty's Goodneſs towards us for the future, and a chearful Compliance with Your Heroick Inclinations to advance the Honour and Intereſt of theſe Nations. May there be never wanting Millions as Loyal as we are to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of Your Sacred Perſon and Prerogative in its full Extent, *and inceſſantly pray the King of Kings, to grant Your Majeſty a long and happy Reign over us.* This Addreſs, ſaid to be penn'd by *Bartholomew Shore*, Eſq; was preſented by Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*, accompanied with a great many Barriſters and Students, being introduc'd by the Duke of *Beaufort*.

All this while the ſeveral Corporations of the Kingdom were eager to expreſs their Loyalty, and by humble

1684. humble Addreſſes to congratulate His Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne. Nay, the very *Quakers*, tho' a People who profeſs an Abhorrence for *Complimenting*, waited on the King with an Addreſs, which was ſo artfully worded, as to confirm the Opinion of thoſe who believed the *Jeſuits* to be the Ringleaders of that Sect; and which was to this purpoſe. *We are come to teſtifie our Sorrow for the Death of our good Friend* Charles, *and our Joy for thy being made our Governour. We are told thou art not of the Perſwaſion of the Church of* England, *no more than we; wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the ſame Liberty which thou alloweſt thy ſelf: Which doing, we wiſh you all manner of Happineſs.*

The Quakers Addreſs.

Oates's Sentence and Sufferings.

One might have expected, that a Prince, who had declared, *he would endeavour to follow his Brother's Example, more eſpecially in that of his great Clemency*, would have ſignaliz'd the beginning of his Reign by ſome Acts of Mercy; but inſtead of that, at the Solicitation of the *Jeſuits*, he caus'd *Titus Oates*, the famous Diſcoverer and Evidence of the *Popiſh* Plot, to be proſecuted with all the Rigour of the Law. In the Cloſe of the laſt Reign Two Bills of Indictment for *Perjury* were preferr'd againſt this Informer, to which he pleading not Guilty, the Iſſues were to be try'd at *Weſtminſter* the Term following, where now he was *found guilty of Perjury upon both Indictments, and ſentenc'd to be Whipp'd from* Aldgate *to* Newgate *the next* Wedneſday *after, and the* Friday *following, but One Day between, from* Newgate *to* Tyburn; *which*, thro' a ſpecial Order from the Court, and the Rewards given beforehand to the Executioner by ſeveral *Papiſts*, was executed with the utmoſt Severity. The Stripes of the firſt Whipping were ſo ſore and green upon the ſecond, that it was intolerable to behold, much more to ſuffer; and to this was added in the Sentence, *That he ſhould ſtand in the Pillory Five times in the Year, remain a Priſoner during Life, and pay a Fine of a Thouſand Marks for each Perjury.* That in King *Charles* the IId's time there was a *Popiſh Plot*, and that there always has been

A genuine Account of the Popiſh *Plot.*

One

One ſince the Reformation, to ſupport, if not reſtore the *Romiſh* Religion, is acknowledg'd by all: And how far the nearer Proſpect of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigour to the Deſigns of that Party, and what ſiniſter Methods they were then upon, to bring thoſe Deſigns about, *Coleman*'s Letters are a ſufficient Demonſtration. But what Superſtructures were afterwards rais'd upon an unqueſtionable Foundation, and how far ſome of the Witneſſes of that Plot, either thro' Covetouſneſs, Malice, or Revenge, might darken Truth, by ſubſequent Additions of their own, is ſtill, and will, perhaps, ever remain undetermin'd. 'Tis true, ſome have lately endeavour'd to juſtifie Dr. *Oates*'s Depoſitions by *Ben. Hinton*'s Books, and alledg'd, that if he was *perjur'd*, 'twas only thro' a Miſtake of the *Old Stile* for the *New*; yet all muſt agree, that his brutiſh Animoſity againſt the Duke of *York* made him often treſpaſs upon the Reſpect which is ever due to Princes; but then again, a Man whom all the Nation began to abhor, was too poor a Victim for a Monarch, and the King of *England* ought to have diſregarded the Injuries that had been offer'd to the Duke of *York*. 1685.

The Coronation of King *James* II. and his Queen was perform'd at *Weſtminſter* with great Solemnity and Magnificence on the 23d of *April*, being the Feſtival of St. *George*. And immediately after His Majeſty iſſued out Writs for the ſitting of a Parliament on *May* the 22d; to whom, after having repeated the ſame Declaration he had before made to the Council, he proceeded to tell them, *That after having given them ſuch Aſſurances, he could not doubt of a ſuitable Return on their part, and particularly in what related to the ſettling of his Revenue, as it was in his Brother's time, for which he might uſe many Arguments to enforce his Demands, from the Benefit of Trade, Supply of the Navy, the Neceſſity of the Crown, and the Well-being of the Government, which he would not ſuffer to be precarious; that he foreſaw a popular Argument, which might be us'd againſt what he ask'd, from the Inclinations Men had for frequent Parliaments, which ſome would think might be beſt ſecur'd,* *The King's Speech to the Parliament.*

1685. *ſecur'd, by feeding him from time to time, by ſuch Proportions as they ſhould think convenient: But that Argument, it being the firſt time he ſpake to them from the Throne, he would anſwer once for all, that that would be a very improper Method to take with him; but on the contrary, that the beſt way to engage him to meet them often, was to uſe him always* well; *and therefore he expected* a ſpeedy Compliance *with his Demands now, that he might meet them again to all their Satisfactions.*

The Parliament gives him a great deal of Money.

This new way of careſſing a Parliament, ſurpriz'd every Body, except the Parliament it ſelf; for moſt of its Members being, in a manner, moulded beforehand to the King's Will, they were ſo far from taking notice of His imperious manner of demanding, and what was more, of the grievous and dangerous State of the Nation, (as 'tis uſual at a firſt Sitting of a Parliament, and was now moſt neceſſary upon the Death of King *Charles* II.) that inſtead of redreſſing any Grievance, they immediately gave His preſent Majeſty a Revenue to enable him to Ruin both Church and State upon the Foundation his Brother had laid for him; for beſides their ſetling the Cuſtoms and Temporary Exciſe upon him, as they were before upon the late King, they laid a new Duty upon Wines and Vinegars, made an Act to lay an additional Cuſtom upon Sugars and Tobacco, another laying an Impoſition upon all *Eaſt-India* Linnen, and ſeveral other *Indian* Manufactures; alſo upon all *French* Linnens, wrought Silks, and Stuffs, and Brandies. And that there might be a greater Correſpondence between His Majeſty and *France*, (tho' the Nation thought it too great already) the Act for prohibiting the Importation of *French* Goods and Manufactures was now fully repeal'd. There was alſo Five Shillings *per* Tun granted upon every Voyage, which any Foreign Ship ſhould make from Port to Port in *England*, and Twelve-pence *per* Tun for every Voyage which a Foreign-built Ship, not free, ſhould make; ſo that in ſhort, this Revenue, with the Hereditary Exciſe, and other Revenues of the Crown, have been computed to amount to *Two Millions*,

Millions, beſides the Addition of his Private Eſtate he had when he was Duke of *York*, which was almoſt Three times more than any King of *England* ever had, except his Brother, and *Henry* VIII. 1685. *His Annual Revenue.*

The King, in the Cloſe of the forementiond Speech, acquainted the Parliament, *That he had News that Morning from* Scotland, *that the Earl of* Argile *was landed in the Weſt Highlands with the Men he had brought along with him from* Holland, *and threatned to reward his Treaſon as it deſerv'd.* He told them alſo, *That there were Two Declarations publiſh'd, one in the Name of all thoſe in Arms there, and the other in his own.* He ſaid in general of both, *That he was charg'd in them of Uſurpation and Tyranny*; but he only communicated the laſt to them, contenting himſelf to cauſe the former to be inſerted by Piece-meals in the *Gazette*, with ſhort Animadverſions upon it. The Parliament being unwilling to give the King any juſt Cauſe to diſtruſt their Loyalty, *Reſolv'd*, by an unanimous Vote, *to aſſiſt His Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes againſt the Earl of* Argile, *and all others His Enemies whatſoever.* The Bill for ſettling his Revenue being preſented to him for the Royal Aſſent, he made them another memorable Speech, wherein he gave them Thanks, and in the Concluſion, to pleaſe the Nation with the Proſpect of the Glories of his Reign, he boaſtingly told them, *He could not expreſs his Concern upon that Occaſion more ſuitable to his own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring them he had a true* Engliſh *Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as theirs could be; and that he pleas'd himſelf with the Hopes, that by God's Bleſſing, and the Parliament's Aſſiſtance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World, than ever it had been in the time of any of his Anceſtors.*

The Defeat of the Earl of *Argile*, which happen'd ſome few Days after, ſeem'd to juſtifie the King's Speech, and portend ill Succeſs to all his Enemies. During the Troubles of *Scotland*, in the Year 1681. the Earl had been committed Priſoner *The Riſing and Defeat of* Argile *in* Scotland.

to

1685. to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* by the Parliament of that Kingdom; and ſoon after tried and found guilty of High-Treaſon, but by Means of his Friends, Judgment was reſpited. His Life being in ſo imminent a Danger, he endeavour'd to make his Eſcape, which he effected by this Stratagem. The Counteſs of *Argile*, his Daughter, being come to viſit him in Priſon, he chang'd Cloaths with one of her Footmen, and when ſhe went away, he followed behind her, holding up her Train. However, as he was ſtill in danger of being known, he purpoſely dropt the Counteſs's Train into the Dirt; and the Lady, affecting to be provok'd with Anger by the Silline ſs of her Footman, ſhe preſently bedaub'd his Face with her draggled Train, which gave the Earl the Opportunity of eſcaping undiſcover'd. Thereupon the Parliament paſs'd on him Sentence for High-Treaſon, ordering the ſame to be put in Execution whenever he ſhould be taken, and in the mean time declaring all his Eſtate forfeited to the King. Scarce did any Body know to what part of the World the Earl was fled, till upon the Death of King *Charles* II. having concerted Matters with the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*, he parted from thence in *May* 1685. and with Three ſmall Veſſels ſailed towards *Scotland*. He firſt attempted to make a Deſcent on the North of *Scotland*, but being diſappointed by the Vigilance of the Biſhop of the Iſle of *Orkney*, who caus'd his Secretary and Chirurgeon to be ſecur'd, he landed in the *Weſt* Highlands, at a Place call'd *Cample-Town*, alias *Lockhead*, on the 20th of the ſaid Month, and pitch'd his firſt Camp near *Dunſtafnage*, a ruinous Caſtle of his own in the Province of *Lorn*.

The King, who was apprehenſive of an Inſurrection in *Scotland*, ev'n before *Argile*'s landing, caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd at *Edinburgh*,

28 April, 1685. ſetting forth, That *foraſmuch as thoſe traiterous Conſpirators, who deſign'd the horrid Murder of his deareſt Brother, and the Deſtruction of his ancient Monarchy, continuing ſtill in the ſame helliſh Project and Fury againſt him, are now again ſetting their Deſigns on work, to raiſe Commotions in this his ancient Kingdom,*

dom, as being the laſt Strugglings of them, and their execrable Party; for preventing thereof, the King *does ſtrictly require and command all and every of the Subjects of this his Realm, that they be in a Readineſs, with their beſt Arms, to concur and aſſiſt him againſt any of the aforeſaid Commotions or Inſurrections, &c. As likewiſe he requires all his Lieges, on or near the Sea-Coaſts of this Kingdom, ſo ſoon as they hear of any Veſſels arriving at any Place from abroad, with Men, Arms or Ammunition, forthwith to convocate and riſe in their beſt Arms, and to beat them off, or ſeize upon and ſecure the Ships and the Men, &c. And for their Security in obeying theſe his Royal Commands, he hereby fully pardons and indemnifies them for ever, of all Slaughter, Blood, Mutilation, Fire-raiſing, Burning of Ships, or ſuch warlike Inconveniencies that may follow, in caſe they meet with hoſtile Oppoſition, &c.* 1685.

The Declaration of the Scotch *Malecontents.*

On the other Hand, the *Scotch* Malecontents emitted Two Declarations, ſetting forth the Reaſons which oblig'd them to take up Arms againſt the new King. The firſt was entitled, *The Declaration and Apology of the Proteſtant People, that is, of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes and Commons of all ſorts now in Arms within the Kingdom of* Scotland, *with the Concurrence of the true and faithful Paſtors, and of ſeveral Gentlemen of the Engliſh Nation join'd with them in the ſame Cauſe, &c.* By which *they ſet forth, the great Advantages the Proteſtant Religion, both at home and abroad, had by the Succeſs againſt King* Charles *the Firſt, which they aſcribe to the Bleſſing of God upon the Goodneſs of their Cauſe; They cry up the Loyalty of the Scotch-Covenanters, who had admitted his Son to reign upon certain Terms and Conditions, which he having broke, his Government was become Illegal, Arbitrary, Tyrannical, and a continued Apoſtacy.* In particular, they accuſe the *Government of putting Men to Death contrary to Law; and deſolating the Churches, changing the Ordinances of God, to the Inventions of Men; conniving at* Papiſts, *and keeping up of ſtanding Forces, the Bane of Civil Government. They declare againſt the King's* Supremacy, *and all the* Wars againſt the States-

1685. States-General of the United Provinces; *the Execution of many innocent Men, the Torture of* Spence *and* Carſtares, *and the Forfeiture of the late Earl of* Argile, &c. *They declare againſt* James *Duke of* York *his Aſcenſion to the Throne, as being excluded from it by the Commons of* England. *They declare likewiſe againſt the preſent Houſe of Commons, as pack'd, and caball'd, and return'd by Fraud and Injuſtice. For all which Reaſons they declare, that they totally throw off all Bonds of Subjection, and do take up Arms againſt* James *Duke of* York, *and all his Accomplices, their moſt unnatural and wicked Enemies, for theſe Ends.* Firſt, *The Reſtoring and Settling the Proteſtant Religion.* Secondly, *The Suppreſſion, and perpetual Excluſion of Popery, and its bitter Root and Spring,* Prelacy. Thirdly, *The Reſtoring of all who have been Sufferers upon the Account of Adherence to their Party, for the pulling down of this preſent Government, and ſetting up another ſuitable to their Deſigns: And they declare, that they never will enter into any Capitulation or Treaty with the Duke of* York, *but on the contrary, Proſecute the War with all Reality, Conſtancy and Vigour, until they ſhall obtain their Ends; and that they will Aſſiſt and Maintain one another, eſpecially their Brethren in* England *and* Ireland, *who ſhall purſue the ſame Ends.* And Laſtly, *They promiſe Indemnity to thoſe who have been formerly their Enemies, upon their ſincere Repentance, Joining with them, and vigorouſly Aſſiſting them againſt a* Perſecuting Tyrant, *and an* Apoſtate Party, &c.

The ſecond Declaration regarded only the Earl of *Argile*, and was as follows.

The Earl of Argile's *Declaration.*

A Declaration *of* Archibald *Earl of* Argile, *Lord* Kintyre, Cowal, Campbell *and* Lorn, *Heritable Sheriff, and Lieutenant of the Shires of* Argile *and* Turbette, *and Heritable Juſtice-General of the ſaid Shires.*

"I Shall not publiſh my Caſe, publiſh'd already "in Print, in *Latin*, and in *Dutch*, and more "largely in *Engliſh*; nor mean I to repeat the prin-"ted Declaration emitted by ſeveral Noblemen, "Gen-

" Gentlemen, and others of both Nations now in 1685.
" Arms, becauſe the Sufferings of me and my Fa-
" mily are therein mention'd. I have thought it
" fit for me to declare for my ſelf, that as I take up
" Arms againſt thoſe who have appointed me to
" conduct them, for no private and perſonal End,
" only for thoſe contain'd in the ſaid Declarati-
" on, which I have concerted with them, and
" approv'd of; ſo I do claim no Intereſt, but what
" I had before the pretended Forfeiture of my
" Family, and have a ſufficient Right to.

" And that I do freely (and as a *Chriſtian*) for-
" give all perſonal Injuries againſt my Perſon
" and Family, to all that ſhall not oppoſe, but
" join and concur with us in our preſent Under-
" taking, for the Ends mention'd in the ſaid De-
" claration; and hereby I oblige my ſelf never to
" purſue them in Judgment, nor out of Judgment.
" And I do further declare, That obtaining the quiet
" and peaceable Poſſeſſion of what belong'd to my
" Father, and my ſelf, before our pretended For-
" feitures, I ſhall ſatisfie all Debts due by my Fa-
" ther, and my ſelf, as any Heir or Debtor can
" be oblig'd.

" And as my Faithfulneſs to His late Majeſty
" and His Government has ſufficiently appear'd
" to all unbiaſs'd Perſons, void of Malice; ſo I
" do with Grief acknowledge my Fault, in too
" much complying with, and conniving at the
" Methods that have been taken to bring us to the
" ſad Condition we are now in, tho', God knows,
" never concurring in the Deſign.

" I have now, with God's Strength, ſuffer'd pati-
" ently my unjuſt Sentence and Baniſhment 3 Years
" and a half, and have never offer'd to make any Up-
" roar or Defence by Arms to diſturb the Peace upon
" my private Concern; but the King being now
" dead, and the Duke of *York* having taken off his
" Maſk, and abandon'd and invaded our Religion
" and Liberties, reſolving to enter into the Govern-
" ment, and exerciſing it contrary to Law, I think
" it not only juſt, but my Duty to God and my
" Country, to uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to op-

1685. "poſe and repreſs his Uſurpations and Tyran-
"ny.

"And therefore being aſſiſted and furniſh'd ve-
"ry nobly by ſeveral good Proteſtants, and invited
"and accompanied by ſeveral of both Nations to
"lead them, I reſolve, as God ſhall enable me, to
"uſe their Aſſiſtance of all kinds, towards the
"Ends expreſs'd in the ſaid Declaration.

"And I do hereby earneſtly invite and conjure
"all honeſt Proteſtants, and particularly all my
"Friends and Blood-Relations, to concur with us
"in the ſaid Declaration; and as I have written
"ſeveral Letters, ſo having no other way fully to
"intimate my Mind otherwiſe, I do hereby re-
"quire all my Vaſſals any where, and all within
"my ſeveral Juriſdictions, with their fenſible Men
"within their Command, to go to Arms, and to
"join and concur with Us according to the ſaid
"Declaration, as they ſhall be anſwerable at their
"Peril; and that they obey the particular Orders
"they ſhall receive from me from time to time.

To back this Declaration, the Earl of *Argile* ſent Letters to ſeveral of his Friends and Acquaintance, to deſire their ſpeedy Aſſiſtance; and detach'd his Two Sons to make Excurſions about the Neighbourhood, and oblige ſome by Menaces, and others by Promiſes, to join with him; but all this without any great Succeſs: For all the Men he could raiſe did not amount to above Three or Four Thouſand, with whom having march'd to the Town of *Roſa*, in the Iſle of *Boot*, and pitch'd there his Camp, he was ſoon after purſued, and almoſt ſurrounded by the Earl of *Dumbarton*, General of the King's Army, and by ſeveral other Bodies commanded by Duke *Gordon*, the Marquiſs of *Athol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and other Lords, who haſtned from all Parts to quench the Fire of Rebellion before it broke out into a Blaze.

The Malecontents being much inferiour both in Number and Strength, the Earl of *Argile* abandon'd a Poſt which he was not able to maintain, and march'd with his ſmall Army into the Province

vince that bears his Name; where having fortified a Caſtle call'd *Ellengreg*, as well as the Haſte he was in would let him, he lodg'd there his Arms and Ammunition, having caus'd his Ships to anchor under the Cannon of a little Fort, built for that Purpoſe near the Caſtle. Here began his Overthrow: For having left the Caſtle, in order to make Inroads, one of his Parties was defeated by the Marquiſs of *Athol*, with the Loſs of about 200 Men; and at the ſame time Captain *Hamilton*, who with a Squadron of the King's Ships was in queſt of thoſe of the Earl, ſeiz'd firſt upon theſe, and afterwards made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle, without any Oppoſition. Thereupon the Earl of *Dumbarton* marching with all ſpeed towards the Malecontents, who endeavour'd to cover themſelves by Rivers and Marſhes, overtook them at the Paſſage of *Clyde*, in the Pariſh of *Killerne*, making towards *Lenox*. The Earl arriving late in the Evening, did not think fit to attack the Enemy before the next Day; but they conſidering the Superiority of the Royal Army, paſt the River in great Haſte and Diſorder by Night, and were no ſooner got over, but being ſeiz'd with Fear and Conſternation, they preſently diſpers'd themſelves. The Earl of *Argile*, with much ado, kept a ſmall Guard about his Perſon, which however ſoon abandon'd him, the Earl of *Dumbarton* having by that time paſt the River, and ſent out ſeveral Parties in Purſuit of the Fugitives. At *Renfew* Sir *John Cochran* undertook to furniſh the Head of the Malecontents with Guides to conduct him ſafe to *Galloway*; but being by them led into a boggy Place, on Pretence, or with Intention to bring him off from the King's Army, moſt of thoſe who ſtill follow'd him were oblig'd to leave their Horſes, and every one ſhifted for himſelf. The Earl of *Argile* was returning all alone towards the River *Clyde*, when Two ſturdy Fellows, who belong'd to *Greynock*, an Officer in the King's Army, having met him, without knowing who he was, bid him ſtand and ſurrender. He anſwer'd them with a Shot, but miſs'd them: They happen'd to be 1685.

1685. better Marks-men, and wounded him with a Piſtol-ſhot. Thereupon the Earl taking both his Piſtols, left his Horſe, which could go no further for Wearineſs, and making towards the River, begun to ſtep into the Water. A Peaſant who accompanied the firſt Aggreſſors of the Earl, follow'd him cloſe with a Piſtol in his Hand: The Earl would have made a Shot at him, but his Piſtol miſ-ſerved, and the Country Fellow gave him a Wound in the Head, which ſtunn'd him ſo as he fell, and by reaſon of the Pain he felt at the Blow, cry'd out, *Oh! unfortunate* Argile! By which, having diſcover'd himſelf, they preſently took him, and deliver'd him into the Hands of the King's Officers. Never was a Priſoner of that Character us'd with more Ignominy than this unhappy Earl; who like a common Malefactor, was firſt conducted to *Glaſcow*, and then to *Edinburgh*, bareheaded, and the Hangman walking before him with his Ax. A few Days after he was beheaded, and his Head ſet up on the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. 'Tis ſaid that before he dy'd he complain'd of the Duke of *Monmouth*, both for neglecting to ſend him timely Succours, and for his aſſuming the Title of King, contrary to the Promiſe he had made him, of concurring with him in ſetting up a Commonwealth. *Richard Rumbold*, the Malſter, at whoſe Houſe, as ſome pretend, the Conſpirators were to attempt the late King's Life, in his Return from *New-Market*, and who landed with *Argile*, was try'd, found guilty, and hang'd Four Days before the Earl was executed. But Sir *John Cockram*, who was likewiſe come over from *Holland* with *Argile*, and had made a Shew of gathering Forces for him, eſcap'd with Impurity, which made People generally believe that he had betray'd his Leader, as did ſoon after the Lord *G*---. However it was, thus fell the unfortunate Earl of *Argile*, whoſe Father after having a long time ſtickled for a Republican Government againſt King *Charles* I. and vigorouſly oppos'd the Reſtauration of King *Charles* II. loſt his Head upon a Scaffold in the Year 1661.

Argile's

Argile's Inſurrection was ſcarce ſuppreſs'd, when a greater Storm rais'd in the *Weſt* of *England* by the Duke of *Monmouth*, alarm'd the new King. The Duke was natural Son to King *Charles* II. by Mrs. *Scot*, a Gentlewoman of a *Welſh* Family, to whom that Prince was ſaid to have promis'd Marriage: I know the thing was never prov'd, but yet it is moſt certain that King *Charles* had ever expreſs'd a particular Kindneſs and Deference to her; that in the Year 1656. being ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* by *Cromwel*, a Letter ſign'd with the King's Hand was found in his ſtrong Box, whereby he order'd a conſiderable Penſion to be paid to Mrs. *Scot*, with Promiſe to encreaſe it if God ſhould reſtore him to his Throne; and that before he was arreſted by the Uſurper, he ſuffer'd his Servants to wait on her at Table kneeling, and to pay her all the Demonſtrations of Reſpect which are only due to a Queen of *England*. Add to this the extream Fondneſs which King *Charles* had to the very laſt for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the great Titles, high Employments, and other Marks of Favour, whereby he diſtinguiſh'd him from all his natural Sons, and 'twill amount, at leaſt, to a probable Conjecture that ſome ſecret Vow had paſt betwixt the King and Mrs. *Scot*.

1685. Mon-mouth's *Rebellion.*

A ſhort Account of the Duke of Mon-mouth, *before his Rebellion.*

The Duke of *York* being himſelf ſenſible of all this, had ever look'd upon the Duke of *Monmouth* as a ſecret Enemy, who, if any favourable Opportunity ſhould offer, might become his Competitor in the Crown; but though he bore him an irreconcileable Hatred, he could never effect his total Ruin in King *Charles*'s Reign. The *Jeſuits* left no Means untry'd to work him out of his Father's Favour: They us'd a Thouſand Stratagems to render him Criminal; and ſucceeded at laſt in their Deſigns. The Duke was artfully engag'd in the *Shaftsburian* Plot, and upon the Diſcovery of it oblig'd to withdraw himſelf, till being follow'd by a Proclamation, he ſurrendred himſelf, and made a Confeſſion of the whole Conſpiracy; but without the leaſt Deſign upon King *Charles*'s Life, which he ſaid was never thought of. Upon this

1685. the King gave him his Pardon: Which he no ſooner was Maſter of, but he began to excuſe moſt of the Conſpirators, and to palliate what he had ſaid to His Majeſty in private; whereupon the King, inſtigated by his Brother, requir'd it under His Hand: The Duke yielded to Neceſſity, and ſubſcrib'd a Writing of the ſame Importance with the Confeſſion he had made to the King; but afterwards deſiring the Writing might be reſtor'd to him, the King told him, He would no longer keep it, but withal commanded him to leave the Kingdom, having firſt engag'd him to promiſe, that he would never take up Arms againſt him or his Succeſſor; to ſecure whoſe Title he declar'd to his Council that he never made any Promiſe of Marriage to Mrs. *Scot*.

Thus the Duke of *York* had procur'd the Baniſhment of an Enemy, whom he had not been able to deſtroy; and the Duke of *Monmouth* was now retir'd into *Holland*, where the favourable Reception he met from the Prince of *Orange*, made him almoſt forget he was in Exile. This good Uſage ſtirr'd up the Envy of the Duke of *York*, and by his Inſinuations, the Jealouſie of King *Charles*, who thereupon deſired the Prince of *Orange* to withdraw his Favour from the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Prince, knowing the Duke to be unjuſtly perſecuted, was ſo far from minding the King's Requeſt, that he continued his former Kindneſs and Reſpect to the Duke, and order'd his Troops to ſalute him when he ſhould happen to be preſent at the Reviews. On the other Hand, the King had order'd Mr. *Chudley*, his Miniſter at the *Hague*, to command his Troops in the *Dutch* Service not to take any Notice of the Duke: Which the Prince reſented ſo highly, that he reprimanded *Chudley* for offering to deliver Orders to Officers under his Command, without communicating the ſame to him. The *Engliſh* Envoy complain'd to his Maſter, who, thinking himſelf offended, forbad him to ſee the Prince. Things were at this Paſs, when the Duke of *York*, having ſucceeded his deceas'd Brother, and being ſtill inveterately jealous of the Duke of *Monmouth*,

mouth, endeavour'd by his Envoy, Mr. *Skelton*, to get him ſecur'd, and ſent into *England*. This Deſign could not be ſo ſecretly carried on, but that it came to the Knowledge of the Prince of *Orange*; who having more Generoſity than to ſuffer an innocent, forlorn Man to fall a Prey to his implacable Perſecutors, not only gave the Duke Notice of the Plot againſt him, by Monſieur *Bentinck*, his Favourite, but ſupply'd him with Money to go privately to *Bruſſels*; with a farther Aſſurance, That if he ſhould go to the Campaign in *Hungary*, he would maintain him at his own Charge, with an Equipage ſuitable to his Quality. The Duke had not been long at *Bruſſels*, before the Marquis *de Grana*, Governour of the *Netherlands*, to comply with King *James*'s Requeſt, (in a Letter, wherein he charg'd the Duke with High-Treaſon) gave him Notice forthwith to depart the *Spaniſh* Dominions: Hereupon he privately return'd to *Holland*, where he found the Earl of *Argile*, the Lord *Grey*, Sir *John Cockram*, Colonel *Holmes*, *Ferguſon*, *Rumbold*, and ſeveral *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Exiles, upon Account of the late Plot; who being equally enrag'd againſt King *James*, cheriſh'd the Duke's Reſentment, and with him concerted Meaſures to revenge themſelves on their common and irreconcileable Enemy. 'Tis ſaid the Variety of their Opinions kept the Duke awhile in Suſpence: The Earl of *Argile*, Sir *John Cockram*, *Rumbold*, and ſome others, were for changing the *Engliſh* Monarchy into a Commonwealth; but the Lord *Grey*, *Ferguſon*, and the reſt of that Party, fed him with the glittering Hopes of a Crown. His natural Ambition made him ſide with the laſt; but he was ſo wiſe as to conceal his Deſign from thoſe who were againſt it, and manag'd the Earl of *Argile* ſo cunningly, that he paſs'd with him for a good Republican. Preliminaries being thus adjuſted, it was reſolved that the Earl ſhould make an Inſurrection in *Scotland*, where his great Family and large Poſſeſſions gave him a vaſt Intereſt, and that the Duke ſhould invade *England*. 1685.

1685. Whilſt theſe things were in Agitation, Mr. *Skelton*, by his Maſter's Order, made preſſing Inſtances to the States to baniſh from their Dominions the Rebellious *Engliſh* and *Scots*, who lurk'd in their principal Towns, and plotted againſt His Majeſty, and deliver'd to them a Liſt of about a Hundred of theſe Malecontents; the States comply'd with the King's Deſire; but notwithſtanding the ſearch that was made after the Perſons nam'd in the Liſt, the Earl of *Argile* made all things ready for his intended Expedition, and ſail'd in *May* with Three Ships for *Scotland*.

Theſe Preparations could not be made ſo ſecretly as to eſcape the Vigilance of *Skelton*, a zealous and faithful Miniſter, who upon the firſt Notice he had of them, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to ſtop the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Veſſels; but all he could effect, was only to deprive him of a ſmall Frigot, ſo that the Duke ſail'd with Three Ships out of the *Texel*, and ſafely landed at *Lyme*, in *Dorſetſhire*, the 11th of *June*, with about Fourſcore Malecontents, whoſe Number ſoon after encreas'd to about 2000 Foot, and 300 Horſe.

Lands at Lyme.

The King, who had a Fleet cruiſing at Sea, flatter'd himſelf, that in caſe his Envoy had not been able to prevent the Duke's ſailing from *Holland*, he could not but fall into the Hands of his Admiral; but he was not a little ſurpriz'd at the Arrival of an Expreſs from the Mayor of *Lyme*, by whom he was inform'd, That the Duke had not only made himſelf Maſter of that little Town, but had likewiſe ſent out ſeveral of his Followers into the neighbouring Counties to cauſe an Inſurrection, and invite People to join with him; and that the better to compaſs his Ends, he had put out a Manifeſto, entitled, The *DECLARATION* of *JAMES* Duke of *MONMOUTH*, and the *Noblemen*, *Gentlemen*, and others now in Arms, for the Defence and Vindication of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Laws*, *Rights* and *Priviledges* of *England*.

The

The King alarum'd at this News, aſſembled his Privy Council, and by their Advice iſſued out a Proclamation, whereby the Duke and all his Adherents were declar'd Traytors and Rebels; and the Parliament being then ſitting, his Majeſty acquainted both the Houſes with the impending Danger, and receiv'd the ſame Day a very Loyal Addreſs from each Houſe, wherein they promiſed to expoſe their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of his Rights, and Preſervation of his Perſon. Soon after the Parliament caus'd the Duke's Declaration to be burnt by the common Hangman, which ſerving only to make People more eager to read it, and the Court being apprehenſive how far it might favour the Duke's Deſigns, a Proclamation was publiſh'd, whereby it was made Treaſon to ſpread the ſaid Declaration. The Parliament made alſo an Act, whereby *James* Duke of *Monmouth* was Attaint'd of High-Treaſon; and in purſuance of which, another Proclamation was iſſued out, promiſing a Reward of Five Thouſand Pounds to any one that ſhould ſecure him Dead or Alive. 1685.

Proceedings of the Court and Parliament againſt him.

In the mean while the General of the Malecontents being inform'd that the Duke of *Albemarle* was not far from *Lyme*, with near 4000 Men under his Command, endeavour'd to bring him over to his ſide; and as ſome ſay, writ to him a Letter, ſubſcrib'd *James Rex*, to which the Duke of *Albemarle* made Anſwer, *That he had never been a Rebel, nor ever would be one.* Others pretend theſe two Letters to be ſpurious; but whatever they be, the Duke of *Monmouth*, either through a Principle of Religion, or as 'twas credibly reported, through want of Proviſions, having caus'd a Faſt to be obſerv'd at *Lyme*, march'd from thence to *Taunton*, another Town in *Somerſetſhire*, where he was receiv'd with unuſual Demonſtrations of Joy; and at the Sollicitation of his Friends, and of the Country People, proclaim'd King. The beginning of his Chimerical Reign was ſignaliz'd by three Proclamations; the one ſetting a ſum of Money on King *James*'s Head; the ſecond declaring the Parliament of *England* a Seditious Aſſembly; and the

He marches from Lyme *to* Taunton, *&c.*

1685. the third the Duke of *Albemarle* a Traytor, if he laid not down his Arms forthwith. Having ſtaid there a while, he march'd in ſome kind of Order to *Bridgwater*, ſtill encreaſing his ſmall Army; from thence to *Bath*, where he was denied Entrance, the Trainbands ſtill flying two Days March before him, by Order from the Court, to give Pretence to the King to raiſe more Forces. At *Philips Norton*, by a Surprize or Ambuſh, he cut off the beſt part of a Troop of Horſe of the King's Army; the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly eſcaping with his Life. Encourag'd by this Succeſs he march'd within two Miles of *Briſtol*, where having call'd a Council of War, he was adviſ'd not to enter that City, but to retreat back to *Bridgwater*, which falſe ſtep began to Diſhearten his Party, and hinder'd many from joining with him; whereas if he had enter'd *Briſtol*, there being no Force to oppoſe him but the *Trainbands*, (and the generality of them for him, not only in their Hearts, but in open Diſcourſes, and drinking his Health,) he might have furniſh'd himſelf with Men, Arms and Money, and thence march'd into *Gloceſterſhire* among the Clothiers, where great Numbers, and even Men of Quality, waited to join him; and by this means might have kept up the War, till he had ſhak'd King *James*'s Throne, if not overturn'd it.

The Prince of Orange *offers to come over to the King's Aſſiſtance.*

Upon King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, the Prince of *Orange*, as became a Nephew and Son-in-law, try'd all poſſible Means to cultivate a ſincere Friendſhip with him, and to perſuade him to follow ſuch Methods as might conduce to the common Safety of *Europe*, and the Happineſs of *England*; which if King *James* had liſten'd to, he would have preſerv'd his Crown with Glory; and tho' the Prince had formerly taken the Duke of *Monmouth* into his generous Protection, yet as ſoon as he was inform'd that he had invaded *England*, was proclaim'd King, and began to gather Strength, he thought himſelf ſo far concern'd, that he not only diſpatch'd over the Six *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments in the Dutch Service, but alſo ſent away Mon-

Monſieur *Bentinck* to the King, with Orders to acquaint him; that though he look'd upon the Duke of *Monmouth* to be a Man of no great Parts, yet that he had a Warlike Genius, and was better skill'd in the Military Art, than any the King was to Employ againſt him; and that therefore, if His Majeſty pleas'd, he would not only lend him his Troops, but come in Perſon to Head his Army againſt the Rebels. But the ſame thing in effect having been communicated to *Skelton*, who look'd upon the Prince as one of thoſe great Politicians, whoſe Steps are always Suſpicious, he us'd ſuch Diligence as to give the King Notice of his Intention before Monſieur *Bentinck* could arrive; and that with ſuch unfavourable Interpretation upon the Prince's Offer, that the King put off Monſieur *Bentinck* with telling him, He ſhould acquaint his Maſter, that their common Intereſts did require the Prince his ſtaying in *Holland*; and giving him further to underſtand, that he did not take His Highneſs's Zeal for his Service to be at that Time ſeaſonable. 'Tis reported, that to encreaſe the King's Jealouſie of the Prince, the vigilant *Skelton* inform'd him of a ſecret Promiſe the Duke of *Monmouth* had made the Prince of Reſigning to him the Throne of *England*, as ſoon as he ſhould have turn'd King *James* out of it; and that the Breach of this Promiſe, evidenc'd by the Duke's ſuffering himſelf to be proclaim'd King, was the true Reaſon of the Prince's Indignation againſt him. 1685. *His Offer is refus'd.*

However, the King did well enough at this Time without the Prince's Aſſiſtance, and was ſerv'd not only with Zeal, Fidelity and Affection, but alſo with Skill, Courage and Conduct by his own Troops and their Leaders. The Dukes of *Grafton*, *Albemarle*, *Somerſet*, and *Beaufort*, who commanded ſmall Bodies; the Earl of *Feverſham*, General of the Army, the Lord *Churchil*, Colonel *Oglethorp*, and ſeveral other brave Officers, ſo cloſely beſet the Duke of *Monmouth*, that ſeeing his Men daily Deſert in great Numbers, he reſolv'd to make one deſperate Puſh for all, and to fight with unequal Force, either to Vanquiſh or Die like a Man of Cou-

1685. Courage. Thereupon he march'd out of *Bridgwater* by Night, with Deſign to ſurprize the King's Army, which then lay encamp'd at *Sedgmore*; but his Guide miſtaking his Way in the Dark, the Duke's ill Fate led him upon a Battalion of *Dumbarton*'s Regiment plac'd in his Way, who encountering him, alarm'd King *James*'s whole Army, with whom he engag'd. The Fight was obſtinate, and dubious for a while: For although Colonel *Ogletborp* had quickly broke the Rebels Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who made but a faint Reſiſtance; yet the Infantry fought with great Reſolution, being headed by the Duke of *Monmouth*; who during the whole Action, maintain'd the Reputation of Bravery which he had gain'd in the World; but at laſt he was forc'd to yield; and the King's Army being much Superior both in Numbers, Artillery, and good Diſcipline, obtain'd a compleat Victory. A conſiderable Number of the Malecontents were kill'd upon the Spot, moſt of the reſt were taken Priſoners, and the Duke had much ado to Preſerve Fifty Horſe to ſecure his Retreat; which however were ſoon diſpers'd; ſo many Parties being ſent after him, that he was conſtrain'd to retire almoſt alone into a Wood. The common People, who ever ſide with the Conqueror; and who were excited beſides by the Reward promis'd to any one that ſhould ſecure *Monmouth*, us'd ſo extraordinary Diligence, that the next Day after the Fight the Lord *Grey* was taken in a Peaſant's Habit; and the next Day after that the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf was found in a thick Buſh, cover'd with a tatter'd Cloak, and trembling either with Cold, or Fear. 'Tis ſaid he was diſcover'd by the Faithfulneſs of one of his Dogs, who having loſt his Maſter the Day of the Fight, follow'd him by the Scent, and ſtopt at the Place where he had taken Shelter.

Mon-mouth *routed* July *the 6th.*

'Tis an eaſie matter to contract a Familiarity with Danger, when a whole Army bears a ſhare in it, and when the eager Purſuit of Honour and Glory makes us overlook the Horrors of approaching Death; but when ſhe appears with the ghaſtly

ghaſtly Pomp of a Scaffold and an Ax, the greateſt Heroes generally behold her like other Men, and cannot but be terrify'd at the Sight. Thus the Duke of *Monmouth* was no ſooner taken, but thinking himſelf already in the Hands of the Executioner, his former Spirit ſunk into Puſillanimity, which made him meanly endeavour to ward off the impending Blow, by the following ſubmiſſive Letter which he wrote to the King from *Ringwood*. 1685.

The Duke of Monmouth's Letter to King James.

Sir,

"Your Majeſty may think it is the Misfortune "I now lye under, makes me make this Appli- "cation to you: But I do aſſure your Majeſty, it "is the Remorſe I now have in me, of the Wrong "I have done you in ſeveral things; and now in "taking up Arms againſt you. For my taking up "Arms, it never was in my Thoughts ſince the "King died: The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* "will be Witneſs for me of the Aſſurance I gave "them that I would never ſtir againſt you. But "my Misfortune was ſuch, as to meet with ſome "horrid People, that made me believe things of "Your Majeſty, and gave me ſo many falſe Argu- "ments, that I was fully led away to believe, that "it was a Shame, and a Sin before God, not to "do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble Your Ma- "jeſty at preſent with many things I could ſay for "my ſelf, that, I am ſure, would move your Com- "paſſion. The chief end of this Letter being "only to beg of you, that I may have that Happi- "neſs as to ſpeak to Your Majeſty: For I have "that to ſay to you, Sir, that, I hope, may give "you a long and happy Reign. I am ſure, Sir, "when you hear me, you will be convinc'd of the "Zeal I have for your Preſervation, and how "heartily I Repent of what I have done. I can "ſay no more to Your Majeſty now, being this "Letter muſt be ſeen by thoſe that keep me. There- "fore, Sir, I ſhall make an End, in begging of "Your Majeſty to believe ſo well of me, that I "would rather Die a Thouſand Deaths, than excuſe

"any

1685. "any thing I have done, if I did not really think "my ſelf the moſt in the Wrong that ever a Man "was; and had not from the bottom of my Heart "an Abhorrence for thoſe that put me upon it, "and for the Action it ſelf. I hope, Sir, God Al-"mighty will ſtrike your Heart with Mercy and "Compaſſion for me, as he has done mine with "the Abhorrence of what I have done. Where-"fore, Sir, I hope I may live to ſhew you how "Zealous I ſhall ever be for your Service; and "could I ſay but one Word in this Letter, you "would be convinc'd of it; but it is of that Con-"ſequence, that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, "I do beg of you once more to let me ſpeak to "you; for then you will be convinc'd how much I "ſhall ever be,

Your Majeſty's moſt

Humble and Dutiful,

MONMOUTH.

This Letter had been little regarded, if at the ſame time the Duke had not writ another, in very moving Terms, to the Queen *Dowager*; who having ever had an Affection for him, and being now touch'd with Pity for his Misfortunes, prevail'd with the King that he ſhould ſuffer the Duke to ſpeak to him. The Duke being brought to the King's Preſence, fell preſently at his Feet, and having anſwer'd the ſeveral Queſtions the King ask'd him, and confeſs'd he deſerv'd to Die, he conjur'd him, with Tears in his Eyes, not to uſe him with the ſeverity of Juſtice, and to grant him a Life which he would ever be ready to Sacrifice for his Service. He mention'd to him the Examples of ſeveral great Princes, who had yielded to the Impreſſions of Clemency upon the like Occaſions, and who had never afterwards repented of thoſe Acts of Generoſity and Mercy; and to make his Heart relent by the ſoft Motions of Nature, he told him, he was his Brother's Son; and that if he

he ſhould take his Life, 'twould be his own Blood he ſhould ſpill. The King was not ſo hard-hearted as to tell him, *That when he was troubled with ill Blood, he gave his Arm to his Surgeon to let it out*; as the barbarous *Philip* II. told his Son, *Don Carlos*, whom he had condemn'd to Die; but however, he was not ſo generous as to ſuffer him to Live. He anſwer'd, He was ſorry for his Misfortune; that his Crime was of too great Conſequence to be left unpuniſh'd; and that he muſt of neceſſity fall a Victim to Reaſons of State; and accordingly he was ſent to the *Tower*, where the next Day but one after his Arrival he was Executed, unheard, by Virtue of an Attainder paſt upon him in Parliament. 'Tis Remarkable, that before he ſubmitted his Neck to the Ax, he deliver'd a Paper, wherein in a Prophetical Spirit, he plainly foretold the wonderful Deliverance of the People of *England*, which Providence has ſince wrought by King *William*. Thus ended his Days; *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, a Man of more Bravery than Conduct; who putting great Confidence in popular Affection and Aſſiſtance, fram'd the *Romantick* Deſign of invading a Kingdom; and who with a handful of Men, without Arms, Proviſions, Martial Diſcipline, or any Place of Strength to retire to in caſe of Accidents, had certainly bid fair for a Crown, if the Treachery of the Lord *G*--- had not occaſion'd his Defeat. He was extreamly Handſome, and of noble Aſpect; Generous, Affable, Conſtant in his Friendſhip, Juſt to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all ſorts of Cruelty. 'Tis true, he was too eaſie in his Nature, and too fond of popular Applauſe, and thoſe over-weenings led him inſenſibly into all his Misfortunes. In ſhort, he was unhappy, not only in the manner of his Death, but the Education of his Youth; whereby he became too much tainted wirh the Vices of the then Court; but he ſaid himſelf upon the Scaffold, and acknowledg'd it for a Mercy, that for two Years before he had apply'd himſelf to Study and the Practice of Religion in his Retirement; but was unfortunately drawn into that Conſpiracy, which

1685.

Monmouth *beheaded* July 16.

His Character.

1685. which cost him his Life. As for the Lord *G*---; who certainly deserv'd the same Treatment, his Treachery pleaded for him with King *James*, who soon after sign'd his Pardon.

Bloody Assizes in the West. The rest of the Rebels did not meet with the same Favour; for whereas wise and good Princes content themselves upon such Occasions with punishing the Ring-leaders, and some few of their Adherents; by a Barbarity not to be parallell'd in the Reigns of *Nero*, *Caligula*, and the most Celebrated Tyrants, not only those who had been actually in Arms with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but even those who had any ways assisted, or so much as harbour'd them, were equally involv'd in the Crime of his Insurrection. Considering how the severity of *English* Laws is generally mitigated by the Mildness of the Judges, Posterity will hardly believe the Cruelties committed by the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys*; who with four other Judges his Assistants, and a Body of Troops commanded by *Kirk*, was sent into the *West* of *England*, with a special Commission to try the poor Wretches. I wish I could spare my Reader the Horror which the Account of these *Bloody Assizes* will certainly create in any Human Breast; but the severe Laws of History will not suffer me to pass over in Silence the following Particulars. At *Winchester*, Mrs. *Alicia Lisle*, a Woman of extream Age, was try'd for concealing Mr. *Hick*'s, a Non-Conformist Minister, and *Richard Nelthrop*, (the latter being a Stranger, and the former in no Proclamation) and tho' the Jury brought her in three times *Not Guilty*; yet *Jeffreys*'s Threats so far prevail'd, that she was at last found Guilty of High-Treason, and Beheaded for it. From *Winchester Jeffreys* posted to *Dorchester*, where understanding there were Thirty Persons that had been found by the Grand Inquest, to have been assisting to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he contriv'd this Stratagem to dispatch them: When they came upon their Trials, and before they had pleaded, he told them, That whosoever pleaded *Not Guilty*, and was found otherwise, should have little Time to Live; and if any expect-

ed

ed Favour, they must plead *Guilty*. But the Prisoners would not trust him, though it had, in a manner, been all one to them, for of the 30, 29 were found Guilty, and soon after executed; as were also 80 more out of 243, who were deluded to plead Guilty to their Indictments by a Promise of Pardon. The same was done at *Exeter* to near as many, who were entrapt by the same Decoy; as also at *Taunton* and *Wells*, where *J-----ys* finish'd his *Bloody Assizes*, and in which two Places, (in pursuance of a Letter from King *James*, intimating, *That he was fain to be Chancellor himself, and therefore had him dispatch the Business before him*) he condemn'd above 500 Persons, whereof 239 were executed, and had their Quarters set up in the principal Places, and Roads of those Countries. However *J-----ys*'s Cruelty yielded often to the more prevailing Motives of his insatiable Avarice; and he was not more hasty to hang up those that had no Money, than he was Zealous to procure Indempnity to those that were Rich. Pardons now were just as they are at *Rome*, not according to the Offence, but the Ability of the Person, from 10 Pounds to 14000 Guineas, which last Sum this Judge of Iniquity did not scruple to take from Mr. *Sp----s*, and with which he bought an Estate, that may be justly call'd, *The Field of Blood*. Even the *Taunton* Virgins, whose only Crime was to have presented the Duke of *Monmouth* with Colours, were oblig'd to pay some 50, 40, 30, 20, and others 10 Pounds, for their Pardons; in short, if a great many lost their Lives, 'twas because few had Money enough to preserve them; and those poor Wretches, who could not purchase Pardons at *Jeffreys*'s Rate, were sold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations. 'Tis said, that after this barbarous Expedition, *Jeffreys*, a Man of a Sarcastick Abusive Wit, was heard to boast with a sort of brutish Pleasure, *That he had Hang'd more Men than all the Judges of* England *since* William *the Conqueror*. A Boast much like that of the Duke of *Alva*, whose Blood-thirstiness seem'd to be transfus'd into him. Some *Roman* Catholicks * affirm that King *James*

1685.

* Hist. de Revol. d' Angleterre.

1685. was no ſooner inform'd of *Jeffreys*'s Cruelties, but he ſhew'd his Indignation at his unwarrantable Proceedings; which however can hardly be reconcil'd, with his making him ſoon after *Lord Chancellor, in Conſideration of the many Eminent and Faithful Services he had rendred the Crown, as well in the late King's Time, as ſince His Majeſties Acceſſion to the Crown.*

The Lord Jeffreys made Lord Chancellor, Sept. 28.

'Tis true, Judge *Jeffreys* was not the only Perſon that executed the King's Orders; for Colonel *Kirk*, a Soldier of Fortune, and a Man of bold Spirit, but looſe Principles, did alſo act a conſiderable Part in theſe horrid Tragedies. After the Duke's Defeat, he caus'd Ninety wounded Men at *Taunton* to be hang'd, not only without permitting their Relations to ſpeak to them, but with Pipes playing, Drums beating, Trumpets ſounding, and all other Military Rejoicings. At another Town he invited his Officers to Dinner, near the Place where ſome of the condemn'd Rebels were to be Executed, and ordered Ten of them to be turn'd off with a Health to the King, Ten in a Health to the Queen, and Ten more in a Health to *Jeffreys*. Theſe Cruelties he afterwards endeavour'd to palliate, by pretending *he did nothing but by expreſs Order from the King and his General*; But his decoying a fair Virgin to his Embraces, with the Promiſe of ſaving her Brother's Life, and nevertheleſs cauſing him to be hang'd on the Sign of the Houſe where he had glutted his brutal Luſt, and preſenting the credulous abus'd Damſel with the barbarous Spectacle, this, I ſay, is ſuch a piece of Treachery, as the *Roman* General, * ſo fam'd in Story for his Continency, though a Heathen, would certainly have puniſh'd with immediate Death.

* Scipio.

While things were thus carried on with a high Hand in the *Weſt*, by Virtue of this Extraordinary Commiſſion, they were not more moderate in the Adminiſtration of ordinary Juſtice in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*. *Thomas Dangerfield* in his Depoſitions before the Parliament 1680, having reveal'd that he was employ'd by the *Popiſh Party*, and chiefly by the Lords in the Tower, and the Counteſs

Dangerfield *try'd and ſentenc'd*, June *the* 28*th* 1685.

teſs of *Powis*, to kill the King, and was promis'd Impunity and a Reward, part of which he had receiv'd of the Duke of *York*; was now proſecuted and try'd in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, and as Juries went, found Guilty, and receiv'd Judgment at the King's Bench-Bar, that he ſhould ſtand twice in the Pillory, that he ſhould be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and that he ſhould pay a Fine of 500 Pounds. In his Return from *Tyburn* towards *Newgate*, after his whipping, being in a Coach, he had Reproachful Words given him, and was run into the Eye with a Tuck at the end of a Cane, by one *Robert Francis*, a virulent *Papiſt*, of which with the Pain of his whipping, he died ſoon after; though it is ſtill a Queſtion whether he died of the Wound, or by the ſeverity of his Puniſhment. However, *Francis* was juſtly executed for it, the Court thinking it would appear too plain a Partiality to pardon ſo foul an Act. The Diſcovery that *Dangerfield* made, was that which was then call'd the *Meal-Tub-Plot*, which was to have thrown the *Popiſh* Plot upon the *Presbyterians*. His Narrative was order'd to be printed by the Houſe of Commons on *November* 10th 1680, but notwithſtanding that Order, their Speaker, Mr. *Williams*, was afterwards fin'd Ten Thouſand Pounds for Licenſing it to be printed, but came off with paying 8000 *l.* The ſame Term *Dangerfield* was try'd, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, a Worthy and Learned Divine among the Diſſenters, was fined 500 Marks, and bound to his good Behaviour during Life, for Writing and Publiſhing ſome Annotations on the New-Teſtament, which were by the *Papiſts* interpreted Seditious and Scandalous.

1685. *and killed.*

Towards the latter end of King *Charles*'s Reign, one *Keeling* made a lame Diſcovery of a Plot againſt the Government, only naming ſome mean Perſons that were engag'd in the Deſign, who being apprehended to ſave their own Lives, they threw the whole Weight of the Conſpiracy upon the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sid-*

1685. *ney*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Captain *Walcot*, Mr. *Hambden*, &c. This was call'd the *Presbyterian* or *Proteſtant Plot*; which moſt People look'd upon as the Contrivance of the *Jeſuits*, in order to baffle the *Popiſh* Plot; and to cruſh the Ringleaders of that Party, who for ſeveral Years had ſo warmly endeavour'd to prevent King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Throne. Many of theſe Conſpirators had already been executed in King *Charles*'s Reign, and the Court being now reſolv'd to proſecute the reſt, the Eloquent Pen of Dr. *Sp--t*, (not long before made B---p of *R-----ter*) was induſtriouſly ſet to Work to Varniſh over, and Palliate the Flaws of *Keeling* and the other Witneſſes Depoſitions. Accordingly in the beginning of *June* he publiſh'd, *An Account of the Horrid Conſpiracy againſt the late King, his Preſent Majeſty, and the Government*; adorn'd with all thoſe Flouriſhes of Oratory, which are ſo far from perſuading, that they rather give *Truth* an Air of *Fiction*; but however, as Affairs were then managed, a *Romance* was as fit to ſerve the Court as a true Hiſtory.

Dr. Sp--at's Account of the pretended Presbyterian *Plot.*

Mr. Corniſh *Executed.*

In *October*, Mr. *Corniſh*, an Eminent Trader of *London*, was committed cloſe Priſoner to *Newgate*, and about a Week after try'd upon an Indictment of High-Treaſon, *for having promis'd to be aſſiſting to* James *late Duke of* Monmouth, William Ruſſel, *Eſq*; &c. *in their Treaſons againſt* Charles II. But the true Reaſon of this Proſecution was, that Mr. *Corniſh*, when Sheriff of *London*, had been very Active againſt the *Popiſh* Conſpirators, ſo that now his Blood muſt expiate his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion. The only Witneſs againſt this Worthy Citizen was Colonel *Rumſey*, a flagitious Evidence; for as to *Goodenough*, what he depos'd did not affect him: However, Mr. *Corniſh* was condemn'd and executed; much lamented by his Fellow-Citizens, as a Man unjuſtly ſacrificed.

Soon after the Execution of the Duke of *Monmouth*, *George Speak*, *Francis Charleton*, *John Wildman*, Eſqs; Colonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard*, Eſq; were ſummon'd by Proclamation to appear, as being ſuſpected of fomenting and carrying on Trai-

Traiterous Deſigns againſt the King; but they abſconded; however, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, andthe Lord *Delamere*, were taken and committed to the *Tower*. The Lord *Brandon Gerrard* was try'd at the *King's Bench-Bar*, *Novemb.* 26. *for endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion, and Depoſe* Charles *the Second*, and being found Guilty, receiv'd Sentence of Death; but afterwards he found Means to procure his Pardon. *Charles Bateman*, a Chirurgeon, was try'd, condemn'd, and executed for the ſame Treaſon, which was thought a Branch of the *Meal-Tub* Plot. *John Hambden*, Eſq; was arraign'd for the ſame *Meal-Tub* Treaſon,* and pleading Guilty, was immediately ſentenc'd to Die, but afterwards pardon'd. The Lord *Delamere* being try'd by his Peers, (Chancellor *Jeffreys* being Lord High Steward,) upon an Indictment of *High-Treaſon, for Conſpiring to raiſe a Rebellion againſt* James *the Second*, was honourably acquitted; it manifeſtly appearing, that *Thomas Saxon*, the principal Evidence againſt His Lordſhip, was Guilty of Perjury, for which he ſuffer'd condign Puniſhment. The Earl of *Stamford*, upon bringing his *Habeas Corpus* was admitted to Bail, and in the beginning of the Year 1686, he was pardon'd, and his Bail diſcharg'd. About the beginning of *March*, when even over-ſtrain'd Juſtice could take Place no longer, out came a Pardon, which was call'd *General*, though the Number of the Perſons *Excepted*, far exceeded that of thoſe who were *Forgiven*; and indeed that Amneſty was ſo Abſtruſe, ſo Intricate, in a Word, ſo ridiculouſly Merciful, that none had Benefit by it, but thoſe that never offended.

1685.

* Decem. *the* 30*th*.

General Pardon March *the* 10*th* 168⅝.

King *James* had now triumph'd over all his open Enemies, and would certainly have proved the happieſt Prince that ever ſway'd the *Engliſh* Scepter, if he had not cheriſh'd more dangerous Foes in his Boſom, and entertain'd the fond Deſign of ſetting up the *Popiſh* Religion, as the firmeſt Baſis for an Arbitrary Government. He was no ſooner ſeated on the Throne, but his High-ſpirited Bigotted Queen, his Father Confeſſor, and ſome Ambitious *Roman* Catholicks about him, made it their Buſineſs to inſinuate to

King James's Deſign of making himſelf abſolute, and introducing Popery.

1685. him, that his Authority would be precarious and unſettled, whilſt the Fanaticks and *Presbyterians*, who had formerly diſputed his Title, were ſtill able to diſturb him; that the ſeeming Loyalty of the *Epiſcopal Party* was only an Effect of their Animoſity againſt the Diſſenters, and therefore he ought to procure a Standing Army, and advance the *Roman* Catholicks, on whoſe Fidelity he might depend, to Civil and Military Employments.

The King being of a facile, manageable Temper, and one who ſeldom reſolved upon any thing by his own Determination, was eaſily led into a Project that flatter'd the Ambition, all Princes naturally have of making themſelves abſolute. To put this Deſign in Execution, even before *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, he began to Cloſet Men, and by fair Words and ample Promiſes endeavour'd to allure them to a Compliance with his Intentions of favouring Popery; but ſtill he touch'd that Point very gently; for he had not yet forgot that his Brother had often, and particularly a little before his Death, adviſ'd him, *not to think of introducing* Popery *into* England, *it being a thing that was both Dangerous and Impracticable.* He alſo remembred, that *Don Pedro Ronquillo* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who was no ordinary Politician, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, having ask'd Leave to ſpeak his Thoughts freely upon that Occaſion, made bold to tell His Majeſty, *That he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, whom he knew would importune him to alter the eſtabliſh'd Religion in* England; *but he deſir'd His Majeſty not to give Ear to their Advice, for if he did, he was afraid His Majeſty would have reaſon to Repent it.* 'Tis reported that King *James* took ill the Liberty of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and ask'd him in a Paſſion, *Whether in* Spain *the Kings did not adviſe with their Confeſſors?* *Yes, Sir,* replied *Ronquillo, they do, and that's the Reaſon our Affairs go ſo Ill.* Nay, Pope *Innocent the* XI. writ a Letter to King *James*, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this Effect, *That he was highly pleas'd with His Majeſties Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but he was afraid His Majeſty might puſh it too far, and inſtead*

Cloſettings.

Good Advice given the King by his late Brother.

By the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

And by the Pope.

of

of contributing to his own Greatneſs, and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do it, *and* himſelf, *the greateſt Prejudice, by attempting that, which his Holineſs was well aſſur'd by long Experience, could have no Succeſs.* Theſe things, together with the Commotions which *Monmouth* and *Argile* had rais'd, prevail'd a while with King *James* to contain his immoderate Zeal for the *Romiſh* Religion; but now being elevated with his late Victories, and preſuming much upon a Houſe of Commons made up, for the moſt part, of his own Creatures, he thought it high Time to caſt off the Mask, and to act without Diſguiſe, what till then he had, in ſome Meaſure, endeavour'd to diſſemble. But it appear'd upon this Occaſion, what a Tenderneſs and Affection *Engliſh* Men have for their Laws and Liberties, and that a King of *England* will ever find it a hard Matter to make a Houſe of Commons Acceſſary to the Enſlaving of the Nation. This Parliament had ſhewn a more than ordinary Zeal in Attainting *Monmouth*, and had readily granted the King a Competent Supply to Suppreſs that Inſurrection; but at the ſame Time to put His Majeſty in mind of his repeated Promiſes, the lower Houſe thought fit to paſs this Unanimous Vote: *That they did acquieſce, and intirely relye, and reſt wholly ſatisfied in His Majeſties Word, and repeated Declarations to Support and Defend the Religion of the Church of* England, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd, which was dearer to them than their Lives.* This indeed they had Reaſon to expect in Return to their Affection and Loyalty, and the Confidence they repos'd in His Majeſty; but it ſeems they were miſtaken: For King *James* began to talk to them in a far different Strain than he had done before. And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them plainly to underſtand, that he was now Maſter, and that for the future he will not be Fetter'd by any Laws, but Govern by his own ſole Will and Pleaſure, ſupported by a Standing Army; nay, an Army partly Commanded by *Catholicks*.

1685.

He caſts off the Mask.

1685.

He makes a Speech to the Parliament in another Strain, November 9th 1685.

No part of the *English* Conſtitution was better ſecur'd by Law, than that by which *Roman Catholicks* were declar'd incapable of Places of Truſt, either Civil or Military in the Government: And the King himſelf, when Duke of *York*, was forc'd by the *Teſt Act* to lay down his Office of *High-Admiral*, even at a time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*. But now he attempted to break down this Barrier, and in his Speech to his Parliament told them: That *after the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming when he parted from them laſt, he was glad to meet them again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs, praiſing God Almighty, by whoſe Bleſſing that Rebellion was ſuppreſs'd. But when he reflected what an inconſiderable Number of Men begun it; and how long they carried it on without any Oppoſition, he hop'd every Body was convinc'd, that the* Militia, *which had been ſo much depended on, was not ſufficient for ſuch Occaſions, and that there was nothing but a good Force of well diſciplin'd Troops in conſtant Pay, that could defend him and them from ſuch as either at Home or Abroad were diſpos'd to diſturb them. That his Concern for the Peace and Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Government, made him think it neceſſary to encreaſe the Number to the Proportion he had done; that it was for the Support of this great Charge, which was now more than double than what it was before, that he asked their Aſſiſtance in giving him* a Supply anſwerable to the Expences; *and that he could not doubt, but what he had begun ſo much to the Honour and Defence of the Government, would be continued by them with all Chearfulneſs and Readineſs.* Then as to the main drift of his Speech, and to acquaint them with his fix'd Intentions, he added: *Let no Man take Exception that there are ſome Officers in the Army not qualified, according to the late* Teſts, *for their Employment. The Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of them well known to me, and having formerly ſerved me on ſeveral Occaſions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to be employed under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having*

had

had the Benefit of their Services in ſuch a Time of Need and Danger, I will neither expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor my ſelf to the Want of them, if there ſhould be another Rebellion, to make them neceſſary to me. He concludes with telling them, *That he was afraid ſome Men might be ſo wicked, to hope and expect that a Difference might happen between them and him upon that Occaſion. But,* added he, *I will not apprehend that ſuch a Misfortune can befal us as a Diviſion, or but a Coldneſs between you and us; nor that any thing can ſhake you in your Steadineſs and Loyalty to me, who, by God's Bleſſing, will ever make you Returns of Kindneſs and Protection, with a Reſolution to venture, even my own Life, in the Defence of the true Intereſt of this Kingdom.* 1685.

The Parliament's Surprize.

A great Weight has always been laid upon the Words which a King of *England* delivers from the Throne, as being ſuppos'd to be the Reſult of mature Deliberation; ſo that it is no wonder that this Speech ſurpriz'd a People, who upon ſo many Occaſions have ventur'd their All for the Preſervation of their Laws and Liberties, and thought themſelves ſecure of them, both from the Conſtitution of the Government, and the ſolemn repeated Promiſes of their Prince. They found too late, that their Jealouſies in the former Reign of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, were too well grounded, and how inconſiſtent a *Roman Catholick* King is with a *Proteſtant* Kingdom. The Houſe of Lords debated, whether they ſhould give the King Thanks for his Speech or not? Some of that Auguſt Aſſembly were for it, others very warmly oppos'd it; but the Marquis of *Hallifax*, a Man of tart acute Wit, ſaid by way of Irony, *They had now more Reaſon than ever to give Thanks to His Majeſty, ſince he had dealt ſo plainly with them, and diſcover'd what he would be at.* What he meant for a Jeſt, was eagerly laid hold on by the Courtiers for Earneſt; ſo that the Affirmative carried it, and the King was thank'd accordingly. But this Speech occaſion'd a longer and warmer Debate in the Houſe of Commons, where the Earl of *Middleton* mov'd to have it conſider'd by Paragraphs. The ſaid Lord, and the reſt of the King's Creatures, repreſented, *How little*

Debates about the King's Speech.

1685. *little the Militia was to be depended upon; that* France *was formidable; that* Holland's *Forces were greatly increas'd; and therefore that they muſt approve of His Majeſties increaſing his Forces in Proportion, and vote him a Supply to anſwer His preſent Occaſions.* Thoſe who ſtood up for the Liberties of their Country, *Vindicated the Militia, which in the late Rebellion had kept* Monmouth *from* Briſtol *and* Exeter; *and which might be of great Uſe, if new modell'd.* They expreſt their Jealouſies of Standing Forces, *alledging, That the Kingdom was guarded by Law; that they were in perfect Peace, the King both feared and loved, an Army little needed, Men juſtly afraid. That that which made the laſt Rebellion grow to a height was, becauſe the Man that headed it was a Favourite of the Faction; and tho' he had got ſuch a number, yet he was beaten by* 1800 *Men only. That the Army then conſiſted of* 14 *or* 15000 *Men, whereas the laſt Force, tho' not above half in number, preſerv'd the Peace, and was ſufficient to do it in the late King's time. That all the Profit and Security of this Nation is in our Navy; and had there been the leaſt Ship in the Channel, it would have diſappointed* Monmouth. *That ſupporting an Army, was maintaining ſo many idle Perſons to lord it over the reſt of the Subjects. That Standing Armies debauch'd the Manners of all the People, their Wives, and Daughters; That Plowmen and Servants quit all Country Employments, to turn Soldiers; and that a Court-Martial in time of Peace was moſt terrible. That they had rather pay double to the* Militia, *from whom they fear'd nothing, than half ſo much to thoſe, of whom they muſt ever be afraid. That as for Officers employ'd, not taking the Teſt, it was diſpenſing with all the Laws at once. That if thoſe Men were good or kind, they knew not whether it proceeded from their Generoſity or Principles. That they muſt remember 'tis Treaſon for any Man to be reconcil'd to the Church of* Rome, *ſince the* Pope *by Law was declar'd an Enemy to this Kingdom. That a Supply given, as mov'd for, was a kind of eſtabliſhing an Army by Act of Parliament; who when they had got the Power into their Hands, they themſelves muſt then derive it from their Courteſie. And therefore they urg'd to have the*

Arguments againſt a ſtanding Army.

Que-

Queſtion be, That the *Safety of the Kingdom does not conſiſt with a Standing Force.* To this the King's Creatures replied, *That His Majeſty in his Speech only ſaid*, That the Militia was not ſufficient. *That the late long Parliament always owned ſome Force neceſſary. That they were not to name the number; that the King was the beſt Judge of that, being a great Soldier, and a good Prince. That there was a bitter Spirit in the Three laſt Parliaments, not yet well allay'd, ſo that a conſiderable Force was needful, beſides the* Militia. *That the Principle of the Rebel Party was never to repent; that an Iſland may be attack'd, notwithſtanding any Fleet; that new Troops are not ſo good as old, and more ſubject to commit Diſorders; and ſo they inſiſted upon a* Supply. It was anſwer'd, *That there was already a Law, that no Man ſhall on any Occaſion whatſoever riſe againſt the King; That Lords and Deputy-Lieutenants have Power to diſarm the Diſaffected; That if they gave thus a Supply, it was for an Army; and then might not that Army be made of thoſe that would not take the Teſt? Which Act was not deſign'd a Puniſhment for the* Papiſts, *but a Protection for* Proteſtants; *That they were for mending the Militia, and make it ſuch as the King and Kingdom might confide in it; That to truſt to mercenary Force alone, was to give up all their Liberties at once; That 'twas for Kings to come to that Houſe from time to time, on extraordinary Occaſions, which they would not do any more, if that Army was provided for by Law; That Armies are uſeful, when Occaſion is for them; but if they eſtabliſh'd them, it would be no more in their Power to diſband them; That there was not a Company form'd till* 1588. *and as ſoon as Queen* Elizabeth *had done with her Army, ſhe diſbanded it; That Armies had often been fatal to Princes; and that the Army in the late King's time often turn'd out their Leaders.* As to the *Supply*, ſome were for giving it for the *extraordinary Charge paſt only*; others to *reward the Officers not qualified*, or *to take them off ſome other way*; *others ſaid that the King's Revenue was ſufficient to maintain the Force on Foot.* However the Queſtion being put, *That a Supply be given to His Majeſty*, it was carried in the Affir-

1685.

mative;

1685. mative; but theſe Words, *towards the Support of the additional Forces*, (which one of the Members moved might be added) were rejected, and inſtead of them it paſt, *That the Houſe be moved to bring in a Bill to make the* Militia *uſeful.* The Sum demanded by the King's Agents was 1200000 *l.* which the reſt thinking exorbitant, ſaid, That *the Meaſure of their Supply was their Security; that the Uſe was to direct the* Quantum; that therefore 400000 *l.* was enough *to maintain the additional Forces Two Years, till the* Militia *be made uſeful; that they ought to leave the Door open for coming thither another time:* Others ſaid, *That they had, that Seſſion, already given Cuſtoms and Exciſes for His Majeſties Life, which amounted to Six Millions; that they ought to give little now, to have Opportunity to give more another time; for if they gave ſo much then, they ſhould have nothing left to give; and if they proceeded thus, what they had would be taken from them.* But nevertheleſs, after a long Debate, the Queſtion was put for 700000 *l.* and no more, to be given to His Majeſty, which paſs'd in the Affirmative.

As to the *Roman Catholicks* in the Army, beſides what I have already mention'd, it was repreſented by one of the Members, *That His Majeſty on his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown told them,* He had been miſrepreſented, and that he would preſerve the Government in Church and State now eſtabliſh'd by Law, and to maintain them in all their juſt Rights and Priviledges; *That overjoy'd at this, they ran haſtily to him, and were ſo forward to give, that the King's Miniſters put their ſtop to it; that they ought not to forget that there was a Bill of Excluſion debated in that Houſe; that the Arguments for it were, that they ſhould, in caſe of a* Popiſh *Succeſſor, have a* Popiſh *Army; that they ſaw the Act of the Teſt already broken; but pray'd them to remember what the late Lord Chancellor told them, when the late King paſt that Act:* By this Act (ſaid the Chancellor) you are provided againſt *Popery*, that no *Papiſt* can poſſibly creep into any Employment; *that he was greatly afflicted at the Breach of their Liberties, and*

ſeeing

ſeeing ſo great Difference between this laſt Speech, and thoſe heretofore made, could not but believe this was made by ſome other Advice; that what the thing ſtruck at there, was their All; that he wonder'd there had been any Men ſo deſperate, as to take any Employment not qualified for it; and concluded to have a Standing Army *voted deſtructive to the Country.* 1685.

In the middle of theſe warm Debates an Addreſs was mov'd by Sir *Edward Jennings*. Others mov'd the Inconveniency of it, if not granted; others to have the *Catholicks*, who had been ſo uſeful and well known to His Majeſty, nam'd and compenſated; ſome ſeem'd to doubt His Majeſties Compliance; others ſaid, that it was not to be doubted, when addreſſed by ſuch a Houſe. At laſt it came to this Concluſion, That Inſtructions be given to a Committee, to draw an humble Addreſs to his Majeſty, which was accordingly done, and was to this Purpoſe: *That they return'd His Majeſty their moſt humble and hearty Thanks for his great Care and Conduct, in ſuppreſſing the late Rebellion, which threatned the Overthrow of this Government both in Church and State, to the Extirpation of their Religion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, which was moſt dear to them, and which His Majeſty had been pleas'd to give them repeated Aſſurances he would always defend and maintain; that they had with all Duty and Readineſs taken into Conſideration His Majeſties gracious Speech; and as to that part of it, relating to the Officers of the Army not qualified for their Employments, according to the Act of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the Reign of his Royal Brother; they, out of their bounden Duty, did humbly repreſent to His Majeſty, that theſe Officers by Law could not be capable of their Employments, and that the Incapacities they bring upon themſelves that way, could no way be taken off but by an Act of Parliament.* That *therefore out of that great Reverence and Duty they owed to His Majeſty, who had been graciouſly pleaſed to take notice of their Services, they were preparing a Bill to indemnifie them from the Penalties they had now incurr'd; and becauſe the continuing them in their Employments may be taken to be a diſpenſing with Law, without an Act of Parliament,* the

The Houſe of Commons Addreſs.

1685. *the Conſequence of which was of the greateſt Concern to the Rights of all his Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the Security of their Religion; therefore they did moſt humbly beſeech His Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleas'd to give ſuch Directions therein, that no Apprehenſions of Jealouſies might remain in the Hearts of His Majeſties Subjects.*

Over and above what was contain'd in this Addreſs, 'tis ſaid, the Houſe of Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament, ſuch a Number of the *Roman* Catholick Officers as His Majeſty ſhould give a Liſt of; nevertheleſs, the King was ſo offended, that they ſhould offer to queſtion his Demands, and controul his Affection to his *Popiſh* Subjects, that he could ſcarce forbear ſhewing openly his Reſentment: But Prudence taught him to cool his Temper; and when the Houſe attended him with their Addreſs, for fear of provoking them too far, he was contented to tell them, *That he did not expect ſuch an Addreſs from a Houſe of Commons; for having ſo lately recommended to their Conſideration the great Advantages a good Underſtanding between him and them had produc'd in a very ſhort time, and given them warning of Fears and Jealouſies, he had reaſon to hope that the Reputation God had bleſs'd him with in the World, would have ſeated and confirm'd a good Confidence in them for him, and of all that he ſaid to them.*

The King's Anſwer.

This Anſwer was read with all due Reverence and Reſpect; and after a profound Silence, which laſted for ſome time, one of the Members mov'd, that a Day might be appointed to conſider of it. Mr. *Coke* ſeconded this Motion, adding, *He hoped they were all true Engliſhmen, and not to be frighted out of their Duty by a few high Words.* Tho' this Speech was no more than what was conſiſtent with the Freedom of an *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons, and ſuch as became a true Patriot, yet the Lords *Preſton* and *Middleton*, and ſome other Courtiers, took preſent Exceptions againſt it; urging, *That the Meaning of it ſeem'd like an Incendiary, and procur'd an Order that Mr.* Coke *ſhould be ſent to the Tower.* However, this unjuſt Proceeding did not deter

Mr. Coke's *bold Speech.*

He is ſent to the Tower.

the

the rest of the Country Party *from insisting upon a Day to consider of His Majesties Answer, which seem'd not to them satisfactory.* The King fearing the Consequence of these Debates, and being made sensible by his *Popish* Advisers that a Parliament was a Remora to his Designs, he put a Stop to their Proceedings, first by a Prorogation, and then by a Dissolution. The Politicians have remark'd, That the Revocation of the *Edict* of *Nants*, (the only Security of the *French* Protestants) happen'd at the same time in *France*, that King *James* laid aside the Parliament, the only Barrier of *English* Liberties. 1685.

The Parliament Prorogued November *the* 20*th*, 1685. *and Dissolved* July *the* 2*d*, 1687.

To feel the Pulse of his *English* Subjects, King *James* began to raise the Superstructure of Arbitrary Power in *Scotland*, upon the Foundation he had laid there by his Popularity and Politick Dissimulation, when he was Commissioner for his Brother. Here he reap'd a full Harvest of his Hopes, and scarce left the least Remains of ancient Liberty in that Kingdom; for the Parliament he had call'd immediately after his Accession to the Crown, being open'd at *Edinburgh* on the 23d of *May*, 1685. the Duke of *Queensberry* His Majesties High-Commissioner, the Earl of *Perth* Lord High Chancellor, the Marquis of *Athol* Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Kintore* Lord Treasurer, the Viscount *Melfort* Lord Secretary, the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Tweeddale*, and the rest of the King's Creatures procur'd the passing of Two Acts, ** the *one for the Security of the Protestant Religion*, that is, for the Oppression of the *Presbyterians*; the other for settling the Excise of Inland and Foreign Commodities upon His Majesty and His Heirs for ever. In the Preamble of this last Act, they declare, *That they abhor all Principles and Positions which are contrary or derogatory to the King's Sacred, Supream, Sovereign and absolute Power and Authority; which none, whether private Persons or collegiate Bodies, can participate of, any manner of way, but in Dependance on him; and therefore they take that Occasion to renew their hearty and sincere Offer of their Lives and Fortunes, to assist, defend and maintain His Majesty, His Royal Authority, Rights and Prerogatives, against all* *Affairs of Scotland.*

** April 28.

Mor-

1685. *Mortals.* The 8th of *May* the ſame Parliament paſs'd two other Acts, the firſt to forbid Preaching, and Reſorting to Houſe or Field Conventicles, upon Pain of Death and Confiſcation of Goods; the other making High-Treaſon the giving or taking the National Covenant, as explain'd in 1638. or writing in Defence of it. And the better to tie up that Nation to a Deſpotick Yoke, they paſs'd another Act on the 24th of the ſaid Month, ordaining all the Subjects of that Kingdom, whenſoever requir'd, to aſſert the Royal Prerogatives, and *ſwear to defend, aſſiſt and maintain the King and his Succeſſors, in the Exerciſe of their abſolute Power, under the Pain of Baniſhment, Impriſonment, or ſuch other Puniſhment, not reaching Life.*

The King preſuming from theſe Advances that the *Scots* would eaſily be faſhion'd to his Pleaſure, 'twas amongſt 'em that he firſt attempted to repeal the Penal Laws and Teſts made againſt *Papiſts*; and therefore having ſummon'd the Parliament of that Kingdom to reaſſemble on the 29th of *April*, 1686. he wrote a Letter to them, *wherein he recommended to their ſpecial Care, his innocent* Roman Catholick *Subjects, who had always been aſſiſtant to the Crown in the worſt of Rebellions and Uſurpations, tho' they lay under Diſcouragements hardly to be nam'd; theſe he heartily recommended to them, to the end, that as they had given good Experience of their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, ſo, by their Aſſiſtance, they might have the Protection of his Laws, not ſuffering them to lye under Obligations, which their Religion could not admit of; by doing of which, they would give a Demonſtration of the Duty and Affection they had to him, and do him moſt acceptable Service: And this Love he expected they would ſhew to their Brethren as they ſaw him an indulgent Father.* To engage the Parliament to comply with His Majeſties Deſire, the Earl of *Morray*, who was appointed Lord High-Commiſſioner upon this Occaſion, made them a Speech, the Subſtance of which was: "That to ſhew the great "Senſe His Majeſty retain'd of their Loyalty, Du- "ty and Zeal for his Service, expreſs'd in their "Proceedings of the laſt Seſſions, His Majeſty "would

King's Letter to the Scotch Parliament April 29. 1686. in Favour of the Papiſts.

The Earl of Morray's Speech to the Parliament.

" would give them fresh Opportunity of doing 1686.
" such things as might tend to the universal Good
" of the Nation, as a generous Return to their Af-
" fections. *That* as all the States and Ranks of Men
" in that Kingdom had been most eminent in their
" Loyalty, so His Majesty was graciously resolv'd,
" they should in their several Stations share of the
" Effects and Influences of his Royal Care, Ten-
" derness and Protection. *That* pursuant to this,
" His Majesty endeavour'd to open a free Inter-
" course of Trade with His Kingdom of *England*,
" and by His Envoy at the Court of *France*, to re-
" cover the Priviledges of the *Scots* Merchants
" trading with that Kingdom. *That* he was in-
" structed to give His Majesties Royal Consent to
" such Regulations, concerning the Cesse of the Na-
" tion, as they should think just and equitable;
" as likewise to redress the Inconveniencies and
" Trouble which *Scots* Merchants meet with in
" the Matter of the Staple with the *Netherlands*;
" and to prevent the Importation of *Irish* Cattel,
" Horses and Victual, by which His Majesty was
" inform'd the Kingdom of *Scotland* suffer'd great
" Prejudice. *That* His Majesty had empower'd him
" to grant 'em an open Mint, for the Advantage of
" the Traffick of that Kingdom. *That* as His Majesty
" intended to promote the Trade, and encrease the
" Wealth of that Nation by all possible and fit
" Methods, he would not at that time demand
" any more Supplies or Impositions of any kind;
" notwithstanding of the great and necessary
" Charge for the suppressing of the late Re-
" bellion. Also, That he was instructed to give His
" Majesties Assent to all such Laws and Regulations
" as might secure exact Payment to the Country
" from all his Officers and Soldiers in their Quar-
" ters; and for easing the Commons of many Op-
" pressions alledged to be committed by Commis-
" sions. *That*, that which would surprize them much
" was, that as the King was sollicitous to provide
" for the Security of that Kingdom, and to en-
" courage and cherish his dutiful and loyal Subjects
" as his obedient Children, so as a tender-hearted

1686. "Father, he was willing, and ready, and mercifully to pardon the unexcuſable Faults and "Crimes of ſuch as had behaved themſelves "undutifully, and even rebelliouſly againſt him; "and therefore he had graciouſly been pleas'd to "inſtruct him to paſs his full and ample Indemnity, with ſome few neceſſary and reaſonable "Exceptions, for all paſt Crimes and Miſdemeanors whatſoever, which might convince the World "that His Majeſty delighted by ſuch ſweet and "gentle Methods of Mercy, to reduce all to Duty "and Obedience. And now, my Lords and Gentlemen, *added he*, after ſo great and excellent "Deſigns for promoting the Honour, the Eaſe and "Wealth of this Kingdom, after his Reſolution "to pardon ſo many Enemies, His Majeſty believes that none will wonder, if he deſire, by "the Advice and Conſent of this his great Council, "to give Eaſe and Security to ſome of his good "Subjects of *the Roman Catholick Religion*, who "have in all Times been firm to the Monarchy, and ready to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Service and Security of the Crown.

Aſſoon as the High Commiſſioner had ended his Speech, the King's Creatures were for paſſing an Act in Favour of the Papiſts, without regarding farther than His Majeſties Deſire; but the reſt prevail'd to have a Committee appointed to inſpect the Statutes provided againſt *Roman* Catholicks. After a full and exact Examination of thoſe Laws, the Committee drew up a Bill, whereby Papiſts were to be allow'd the Exerciſe of their Religion in private, without repealing thoſe former Acts, which made them liable to Penalties, in caſe they ſhould aſſemble publickly. This was all that the King deſir'd for the preſent, becauſe he hop'd to gain his Ends by degrees. But however, this Bill being preſented to the Parliament for their Approbation, the Houſe divided upon it, and many warm Speeches were made for and againſt it; the King being inform'd of theſe Debates, and apprehending the Miſcarriage of his Project, diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Earl of *Morray*, with Orders either to Prorogue

Prorogue or Diſſolve the Parliament; and about Ten Months after, did that by his ſole Power and Authority, which he could not effect with the Conſent of the Nation. The King in his Letter to his Privy-Council of *Scotland* tells 'em, *That he was pleas'd ſome time before to inform them of his Deſigns, in order to the Eaſe of his* Roman Catholick Subjects, *to which he had then a dutiful Anſwer; that now he thought fit to publiſh his Royal Intentions, and to give an additional Eaſe to thoſe of tender Conſciences, tho' at the ſame time he expreſſes his higheſt Indignation againſt thoſe Enemies of Chriſtianity, as well as Government and humane Society, the* Field Conventiclers, *whom he recommends to them to rout out with all the Severities of his Laws.* Purſuant to this Letter, the Privy-Council caus'd the King's *Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience* to be publiſh'd, which contain'd in Subſtance: "That His Majeſty being reſolv'd to unite the Hearts and "Affections of his Subjects to GOD in Religi- "on, to him in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours "in Chriſtian Love and Charity, he had therefore "thought fit, by his ſoveraign Authority, Prero- "gative Royal, and abſolute Power, which all his "Subjects are to obey without Reſerve, to give "and grant His Royal Toleration to the ſeveral "Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion after nam'd. "*Firſt*, He allows and tolerates the *Moderate Preſ- "byterians*, to meet in their private Houſes only; "but it is his Pleaſure that Field-Conventiclers be "proſecuted according to the utmoſt Severity of "the Laws. In like manner he tolerates *Quakers* "to meet and exerciſe in their Form, in any "Place or Places appointed for their Worſhip. "And, *ſays His Majeſty*, conſidering the ſevere "and cruel Laws made againſt *Roman Catholicks* "(therein call'd *Papiſts*) in the Minority of our Royal "Grandfather, without his Conſent, and contrary to "the Duty of good Subjects, by his Regents, and o- "ther Enemies to their Lawful Soveraign, our Royal "Great-Grandmother Queen *Mary* of bleſſed and "pious Memory, wherein, under the Pretence of "Religion, they cloathed the worſt of Treaſons,

1687. Feb. 12th, 1687.

Febr. 18. 1687. *Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience in Scotland, repealing the Laws made againſt the Papiſts.*

1687. " Factions and Uſurpations, and made theſe Laws, " not as againſt the Enemies of God, but their " own; which Laws have ſtill been continued of " Courſe, without Deſign of executing them, or " any of them, *ad terrorem* only, on Suppoſition " that the Papiſts relying on an external Power, " were incapable of Duty, and true Allegiance to " their natural Soveraigns; we of our certain " Knowledge, and long Experience, knowing that " the *Catholicks*, as it is their Principle to be good " Chriſtians, ſo it is to be dutiful Subjects; and " that they have likewiſe on all Occaſions " ſhewn themſelves good and faithful Subjects to " us, and our Royal Predeceſſors; do therefore with " Advice and Conſent of our Privy-Council, by " our Soveraign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and " Abſolute Power, *Suſpend, Stop and Diſable all* " *Laws or Acts of Parliament, Made or Executed a-* " *gainſt any of our Roman Catholick Subjects*, in any " time paſt, to all Intents and Purpoſes, *making* " *Void* all Prohibitions therein mention'd, Pains or " Penalties therein ordain'd to be inflicted; ſo " that they ſhall in all things be as free in all Re- " ſpects as any of our Proteſtant Subjects whatſo- " ever, not only to exerciſe their Religion, but " to enjoy all Offices, Benefices and others, which " we ſhall think fit to beſtow upon them, in all " time coming. And whereas the Obedience of " our Subjects is due to us by their Allegiance and " our Soveraignty, and that no Law, Difference in " Religion, or other Impediment whatſoever can " exempt the Subjects from their native Obliga- " tions to the Crown; and conſidering that *ſome* " *Oaths* are capable of being wreſted by Men of " ſiniſtrous Intentions, a Practice in that Kingdom " fatal to Religion as to Loyalty; we therefore " call, annul, and diſcharge all *Oaths* whatſoever, " by which any of our Subjects are incapacitated " from holding Places or Offices in our ſaid King- " dom, diſcharging the ſame to be taken or given " in any time coming, without our ſpecial Warrant " and Conſent; and we do ſtop, diſable and diſ- " pence with all Laws enjoining the ſaid Oaths, " Teſts, or any of them, *&c.* 'Tis

'Tis eaſie to gueſs how this Proclamation work'd in the Minds of the *Scots* Presbyterians, which compoſe the Maſs of that Nation, by their unanimous joining with the *Engliſh* in the ſucceeding Revolution. 1685.

But 'twas principally in *Ireland* where the King's Deſigns of eſtabliſhing Popery, and Arbitrary Power appear'd without Diſguiſe, from the very beginning of his Reign. On the 20th of *March*, 1685. the Duke of *Ormond*, Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a Perſon of unſhaken Uprightneſs, and inviolable Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Intereſt, and therefore unfit to ſerve the preſent Government, receiv'd an Order from Court to deliver the Sword of State to the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, and to the Earl of *Granard*, appointed by the King to be Lords Juſtices; but before his Departure, he laboured with an indefatigable Diligence to eſtabliſh Matters on ſuch a Foundation, ſo as that it might not be eaſie for the *Papiſts* to make a preſent Change, without a manifeſt Violation of the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. One remarkable Paſſage I muſt not paſs in Silence, which ſhews the great Spirit of that excellent Patriot. He appointed a Dinner at the new Hoſpital, (a ſtately Fabrick by him erected near *Dublin* for poor Soldiers) where were invited the Officers of the ſaid Hoſpital, and thoſe of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glaſs of Wine in his Hand, bid 'em fill it to the Brim, then ſtood up, and call'd to all the Company: *Look here, Gentlemen, they ſay at Court I am now become an old doting Fool; you ſee my Hand does not ſhake, nor does my Heart fail, nor do I doubt but I will make ſome of them ſee their Miſtake*; and ſo drank the *King's Health*. But upon his Arrival at Court, he found that King *James's* bigotted Opinion would carry him to the moſt violent Actions; a diſmal Apprehenſion of which, as is believ'd, at length broke his Heart; for tho' he was of a great Age, yet was he of ſuch Health of Body, and Chearfulneſs of Mind, that in the Courſe of Nature he might have liv'd Twenty

A View of the Affairs in Ireland, *from* 1685, *to* 1687.

Duke of Ormond *recall'd*, March 20. 1685.

1687. Years longer. Before the Duke of *Ormond* left the Government, an Order came for regulating the Council, which he left for the Juſtices to do. Upon his Departure the Privy-Council was immediately diſſolv'd, and moſt of the *Engliſh* that were active in the Proteſtant Cauſe, were turn'd out; but tho' no *Papiſts* were then put in, yet it was long before they made up the major part; and thoſe few Proteſtants that were left, ſeldom appear'd at the Board, as being unable to do thoſe of their Religion any Service. The *Iriſh* fell immediately to their ordinary Trade of making Plots, but with this Difference: That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themſelves, they now father'd them upon the *Engliſh*, whom they daily impeach'd againſt the King and the Government. The Grandees had the Confidence to countenance the Evidence, and preſs'd the Lords Juſtices for Orders of Council to impower *Iriſh Papiſts* and mungrel Proteſtants to commit, without Bail, any Perſon impeach'd. Theſe Arbitrary Proceedings made the Lords Juſtices ſoon weary of their Government, and the Lord *Granard* writ to *England* to be diſmiſt; but the Papiſts repreſented him as a Man fit to be kept in, his Intereſt being very prevalent in the *North* among the *Scots* and *Presbyterians*, of which Perſwaſion his Lady was; ſo that King *James* writ him a Letter with his own Hand, with great Aſſurances that nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt, which, at that time, this Lord was accounted to be zealous for. *Monmouth*'s Rebellion gave a plauſible Opportunity to the *Iriſh*, more than ever, to contrive Plots, and to faſten them upon the Proteſtants, which put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment; and altho' the Accuſations were notoriouſly falſe, yet for not being proſecuted with that open Partiality and Rigour, which theſe envious implacable Spirits were impatient for, Complaints were made to the King; and He to gratifie their Malice, ſent private Inſtructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Juſtices, about this Affair.

The

The next thing the Court thought fit to be done in order to advance their Deſigns in *Ireland*, was to new model the Army, which at that time conſiſted of about 7000 Men, all Proteſtants, who had been moſt zealous in the King's Service. For this Purpoſe they made uſe of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man, of all others, moſt odious to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, and one who had been nam'd by *Oates* in his Narrative, ſome Years before, as deſign'd for this Service; ſo that many, who before believ'd nothing of the Plot, gave Credit to it now, ſaying, That if *Oates* were an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet. *Talbot* was no ſooner inveſted with his Office, but he proſecuted it in ſuch a manner, as was moſt agreeable to his inſolent imperious Temper, exerciſing at the ſame time ſo much Barbarity and Falſhood, that if the Army had not been the beſt principled in the World with Loyalty, they would certainly have mutinied. But the introductory part firſt to be perform'd, was to get in all the Arms from the Proteſtants. To varniſh over this Deſign, the King and Council writ over to the Lords Juſtices, *That there was reaſon to believe that the Rebellion of* Monmouth *had been of that ſpreading Contagion, as to infect many, and delude more; it was not therefore ſafe for the Kingdom to have the Arms of the Militia diſpers'd abroad, but they would be in a greater Readineſs for the Militia, and their own Defence, to have them depoſited in the ſeveral Stores of each County.* Upon which Inſtructions a Proclamation was iſſued out; and to make it take the better effect, the Lord Primate made an elegant Speech to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *Dublin*, and prevail'd with them to bring in their Arms; which Precedent was afterwards purſued by the Country. The Proteſtants being thus diſarm'd, *Talbot* proceeded to new-model the Army, and firſt began with the Officers in the ſame Method which was deſign'd immediately before the Death of King *Charles* II. and which was to diſplace all Officers that had been in the Parliament, or *Oliver*'s Army, as alſo the Sons of any ſuch. This the Duke of *Ormond* had Directions to proceed in, but he made

1687.

Colonel Talbot *new-models the Army.*

1685. no Progreſs in it, under Pretence of gaining time to find 'em out, but in reality, becauſe he foreſaw it was to make room for *Papiſts*. *Talbot* having caſhier'd a great part of the Officers, return'd for *England*, and carried along with him one *Neagle*, a cunning *Iriſh* Lawyer, and inveterate *Papiſt*, educated among the Jeſuits. Upon their Arrival at *London*, 'twas ſome time before *Neagle* could gain Admittance to kiſs the King's Hand, but was conſtantly with Father *Petre*, and the reſt of the *Popiſh* Cabal. The Queen was altogether for their furious Counſels, but the King was not ſo violently inclin'd, being every Day adviſ'd by all his *Popiſh* Peers, not to proceed too faſt in the Revolution of *Ireland*, leſt thereby he ſhould ruin the general Intereſt of the Catholicks: And the Lords *Bellaſis*, *Powis*, and ſome others of that Faction, underſtanding that *Neagle* was come over, they were ſo tranſported with Rage, that they would have him immediately ſent out of *London*. However, to compleat in private, what they durſt not attempt upon the publick Stage, 'twas agreed in Council that he ſhould ſet forth the great Oppreſſion and Injuſtice of the late Act of Settlement, which he did by way of a Letter to a Friend, wherein he ran ſo high in his Invectives againſt King *Charles* II. that he durſt not own it to be his. *Talbot* being made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, a Conſult was held about the principal Deſign of his coming over, and the Debate variouſly canvaſs'd as to a fit Perſon to ſend to *Ireland*, in Quality of Lord-Lieutenant. *Tyrconnel*, tho' recommended by Biſhop *Tyrrel*, was nevertheleſs mention'd with ſome Reſerve, as being a Perſon very obnoxious to the *Engliſh*, and therefore not proper to be brought upon the Stage, till Matters were come to a greater Maturity. The Lord *Bellaſis* was propos'd, but he was infirm, at leaſt to carry on their Deſign with Succeſs, and not altogether to diſguſt the *Engliſh*, 'twas reſolv'd that *Tyrconnel* ſhould return Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord-Lieutenant. In the mean time the *Iriſh Papiſts* in all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded in their former

Talbot made Earl of Tyrconnel.

The Earl of Clarendon *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, Decemb. 1685.

former Stratagems of impeaching the *Proteſtants* for traiterous Deſigns, but theſe were generally ſo ridiculouſly contriv'd, and made up of ſuch palpable Contradictions and Incongruities, that they ſerv'd only to demonſtrate the Proteſtants Innocency, and the Perjuries and Inveteracy of the Informers. But ſeeing that theſe Impeachments were ſo unskilfully manag'd, as to miſs of their wicked Intents, then they apply'd themſelves to other Courſes: Many went out *Tories*, and committed ſo many Robberies and Outrages upon the *Engliſh*, that Thouſands deſerted the Kingdom. *Tyrconnel* now drives with greater Fury than before; not only diſplacing the Officers of the Army, but alſo turning out the private Soldiers, and to both prefers which of the *Iriſh* he thought fit; his Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary, none daring to queſtion him; for he brought over blank Commiſſions ſign'd by the King, for ſuch as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted in a moſt inſulting, barbarous manner; turning off ſome Soldiers, ſtript to their Shirts; ſeizing the Horſes of ſome Officers and Troopers, giving them Notes that amounted not to a fourth Proportion of their juſt Values; and to others, giving nothing but ill Words, and vile Reproaches. The moſt noted Officers, who were turn'd out of their Commiſſions, were the Lord *Shannon*, Capt. *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Capt. *Richard Coote*, and Sir *George St. George*; in whoſe Places were put one *Kerney*, an Aſſaſſin, that would have murder'd King *Charles* II. *Anderſon*, an obſcure Fellow; *Sheldon*, a virulent *Papiſt*; *Graham*, and others of the ſame Stamp. In ſhort, 2 or 300 *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or at leaſt great part of their Portions, to purchaſe or follow their Military Employments, were arbitrarily disbanded, and 5 or 6000 private Soldiers ſent a-begging. However theſe Diſcouragements of the *Engliſh* were, in ſome meaſure, alleviated, when perceiving the Lord Lieutenant, tho' a near Relation to the King, acting as a Perſon of inviolable Integrity to the Proteſtants, they look'd upon him as a Man that 1686.

1687. that would ſtem the impetuous Torrent of the *Popiſh* Faction. And indeed his very firſt Action gave no ſmall Proof of it, which was to revive the fainting Spirits of the Proteſtants, with thoſe great Aſſurances his Maſter had given him of protecting their Religion. But the reſtleſs Endeavours of the *Papiſts* made the Earl of *Clarendon* find things very uneaſie: To which this remarkable Paſſage not a little contributed. Upon a *Sunday* Morning, going to Church, he perceiv'd an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before, commanding his Guard of Battle-Axes, which very much ſurpriz'd him; whereupon he made a Stop, demanding who he was, and who put him there? The *Iriſhman*, as much frighted, as the Lord Lieutenant was diſturb'd, in broken Expreſſions told his Excellency, he was a Captain put in by the Lord *Tyrconnel*. His Excellency demanding of him, when? he replied, that Morning: His Excellency bid 'em call the former Captain, and diſmiſs this of *Tyrconnel's*. The next Day the Lord Lieutenant queſtion'd *Tyrconnel* for this Action, who replied, he did nothing but by the King's Orders: To which the Earl of *Clarendon* return'd, That whilſt His Majeſty entruſted him with the Government, he would not be diſpos'd by his Lieutenant-General. Complaints on both ſides were made to the King, and ſo ended.

Tyrconnel having compleated his Deſign in modelling the Army, went over for *England*, and there conſulted with his Party to obtain the Government of *Ireland*: The Queen, Father *Petre*, and the Earl of *S*--------, had by this time engag'd the King, in his Favour, but the reſt of the *Popiſh* Faction were againſt it, ſtill urging how unacceptable he was to the *Engliſh*, others therefore were nam'd in Private by the *Romiſh* Lords; but all the while the Proteſtant ſide were wholly Ignorant of any Deſign to remove the Earl of *Clarendon*, not queſtioning but that he ſtood upon a firm Foundation; namely, the King's late Aſſurance to the Earl of *R*----*ter*, who was ſeemingly prime Miniſter of State, but not thought fit to be confided in,

in, as to thoſe dark Secrets of the *Popiſh* Deſigns. 1687.

Conſultation held in the Savoy by the Papiſts.

About this Time Father *Petre* held a Conſultation in the *Savoy* with the Chief *Romaniſts* of *England*, about the Methods that were fitteſt to be purſued for the Promotion of the *Catholick* Cauſe. The *Papiſts* were univerſally afraid of the King's Incapacity, or elſe Unwillingneſs of expoſing himſelf to the hazard of ſecuring it in his Reign. They were ſenſible, that he was advanc'd in Years, nor were they Ignorant of what almoſt inſuperable Difficulties they had to contend with, before they could bring their Projects to any Ripeneſs. Wherefore upon theſe Conſiderations, ſome were for moving the King to procure an Act of Parliament for the Security of their Eſtates, and only Liberty for Prieſts in their own Private Houſes. This Father *Petre* Anathematiz'd as Terreſtrial, and founded upon too fond a Sollicitude for their ſecular Intereſts; but if they would purſue his Meaſures, he doubted not to ſee the Holy Church Triumphant in *England*; others of the *Papiſts* were for Addreſſing the King to have Liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and that His Majeſty would Intercede with the King of *France* to provide for them in his Dominions; after ſeveral Debates, it was at laſt agreed upon to lay both Propoſals before the King, and ſome of the Aſſembly to attend His Majeſty, which was accordingly done: to which the King's Anſwer was, *That he had before their Deſires came to him, often thought of them, and had provided a ſure* Sanctuary *and* Retreat *for them in* Ireland, *if all thoſe Endeavours ſhould be blaſted in* England, *which he had made for their Security, and of whoſe Succeſs he had not yet Reaſon to Deſpair.* This Encouragement to the *Papiſts* was attended with the moſt zealous Aſſurances of his ardent Love to the Holy Church, which, he ſaid, he had been a Martyr for, and was ſtill ready to lay down his Life to advance its Intereſt. Thus the Bigottry of this unhappy Prince tranſported him beyond all Bounds, and carried him to ſuch Extravagancies in Government, as the moderate of the

1686. the *Engliſh Papiſts* themſelves thought to be extreamly hazardous. They would all of them have been content with a Private Exerciſe of their Religion, as thinking it abundantly more ſafe, rather than endanger the loſing their Eſtates and Fortunes, which they almoſt look'd upon as inevitable, if ſuch virulent extream Courſes were purſued, but the King was too much a Creature of the *Jeſuits*, to attend to any but their Counſels. He had enter'd himſelf into their Society, and was become a Lay-Brother of that Order, and ſo in Conſequence to his Profeſſion, muſt needs look upon it as a work of Supererrogation to extirpate Hereſie, and reduce three Kingdoms to an entire Obedience to the Holy See. The Earl of *Rocheſter* having by accident been inform'd of what was then in Agitation, he immediately acquainted the King with it, who abſolutely denied that there was any Intention of removing his Brother from the Government of *Ireland*, but on the contrary, aſſur'd him of his great Satisfaction with his Conduct. Within ſome few Days, the Lord Treaſurer receiv'd from the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* the ſame Intimations, which he had inform'd the King of; and upon which he again accoſted His Majeſty, who as poſitively diſown'd the whole Matter as he had done before; and to remove the Jealouſies of the Lord Lieutenant, wrote a Letter to him, as was ſaid, with his own Hand, aſſuring him, *there was yet no Thoughts, and he believ'd never would be in him, whilſt both liv'd, to remove him from the Government of* Ireland. Notwithſtanding which the *Papiſts* in *Ireland* confidently affirm'd, that the Day before the King writ the Letter, he had given his Word to Father *Petre*, that *Tyrconnel* ſhould be Lord Lieutenant: But 'tis certain, that no other Perſon but the Queen was privy to this, no, not *Tyrconnel* himſelf, for he could not keep a Secret.

'Twas at the ſame time reſolv'd to put the Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of *S*-------- to the Teſt, as to what they would do in Compliance to the Catholick Cauſe. The King undertook the Management of this Affair, and made his firſt onſet on

on *S*——,whom he obſerv'd to be moſt docile,as appear'd already by his ſubmiſſive Bowing to the *Popiſh* Altar. What the Tenor of that Diſcourſe was which the King had with him, was never known; but however, Father *Petre* extreamly magnify'd the Earl's Obedience at a meeting with the Jeſuits; adding that 'twas neceſſary for him as yet to appear a Proteſtant, for weighty Reaſons of State. The King's Negotiation with the Earl of *Rocheſter* having miſcarried in the manner I ſhall Relate in a properer Place, one of the Jeſuits ſaid; *He muſt be Anathematiz'd; and that the King could never Proſper whilſt ſuch an Heretick was near him.* 1856.

It was now become the Publick Diſcourſe, that the two Brothers muſt down; and then the King, tho' he was reſolv'd before hand, ask'd his Council's Advice, who was fit to be plac'd in the Government of *Ireland*. Several Perſons were propos'd, but none approv'd of: After that the Inclination of the Board had been ſufficiently ſifted, the King again brought on *Tyrconnel*, which was withſtood by all but the Lord Preſident, and in Oppoſition to which the *Popiſh* Party contended Vigorouſly. *Powis* (though they knew him to be both a *C*——*d* and a *F*——*l*, as the King in a Paſſion one Day told him he was, yet however) was conſider'd as a Perſon whoſe moderate Carriage had Entitled him to a moderate good Character among the *Proteſtants*, and therefore the fitteſt to be plac'd in this Station, the better to amuſe them. *Powis* was Naturally Covetous, and the Government of *Ireland*, a Poſt of great Profit: Wherefore his Friends adviſ'd him to agree with the Earl of *S*——, and do as the L. *B*—— did with the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, become Tenant for Life; in order to which, *Powis* comes to Terms, and agrees for 4000 Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the bottom of the Deſign was, *S*—— never forſook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-board, and carried it for him againſt all Oppoſition. Some conjectur'd that he acquainted the King with his Bargain with *Powis*; and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the ſame Terms; for 'tis certain *Tyrconnel*, who

Tyrconnel *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

1687. who ſeldom conſider'd what he Spoke, would Swear he got not ſo much by the Government as ſerv'd to maintain him, notwithſtanding that it was worth to him 18000 Pounds *per Annum.*

The Confirmation of this diſmal News reaching the Ears of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, ſtruck like a Thunder-bolt. Perhaps no Age or Story can Parallel ſo dreadful a Cataſtrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the Day of Doom was come; every one lamenting their Condition, and almoſt all that could abandoning the Kingdom. This Gloomy and Melancholy Proſpect of Things, ſeem'd to be attended with ſo many Diſcouragements, that many that had Patentee Employments, obtain'd Licenſe from the Lord Lieutenant under the Broad Seal to come away. All that lay in his Excellency's Power for the Aſſiſtance of the alarm'd Proteſtants, he zealouſly perform'd; and it was Interpreted by many as a Signal Act of Providence, that the Winds continued for ſome time contrary, after that *Tyrconnel* was come to the Seaſide; which Diſappointment did not a little Diſcompoſe him, whoſe Furious Zeal for the *Popiſh Cauſe*, Envy and Ambition equally inſpir'd him with Eagerneſs to Supplant his Predeceſſor, and former Corrival in the Government. But at laſt *Tyrconnel* being Landed at *Dublin*, the Lord *Clarendon* at the Arch-Biſhop's Palace reſign'd the Sword of State to him with a Memorable Speech; wherein he told him, "That the Miſunderſtandings and Fewds of that Kingdom were things much to be lamented, and he could wiſh the Occaſion of them were remov'd, which was this, *viz.* That the *Engliſh* of that Kingdom had been repreſented as a Company of Diſaffected and Fanatical People; that this was a hard Charge if it were true, but from what he had learn'd, both by his own Obſervation, and the Information of others, he believ'd them to be as Loyal Subjects, and generally as true Sons of the Church of *England* as any it has. That it is a Church that can make it her Brags, that in all

Feb. 6. 168$\frac{6}{7}$.

The Earl of Clarendon's *Speech to* Tyrconnel. 12*th* Feb. 168$\frac{6}{7}$.

"all the Conſpiracies, Plots and Rebellions, that 1687.
"ever have been againſt the King, not one Ortho-
"dox Member of her Communion has been any
"way in 'em; that he profeſs'd himſelf to be of
"that Church, and counted it his greateſt Happi-
"neſs that he was ſo. That as for the Proteſtants
"of that Kingdom in Particular, he could ſay in
"their Favour, that when the Reſtoration of the
"King was oppos'd in *England*, they were the
"Men that us'd their Indefatigable Induſtry to
"Effect it. That he deſign'd to tell this to the
"King, and hop'd by his Lordſhip's Prudence theſe
"Calumnies and Aſperſions that had lain upon
"them, would be remov'd; and that as they and
"the *Roman Catholicks* were the Subjects of one
"Prince, ſo they would Unanimouſly agree in their
"Love of one another, and in promoting his Ho-
"nour and Happineſs; He clos'd his Speech with
"telling him, *That as he receiv'd the Sword in Peace,*
"*ſo he deliver'd it in Peace.* *Tyrconnel*'s Anſwer was Tyrconnel's *Anſwer.*
"to this Effect: That it was the King's Deſign,
"and conſequently his Command to him, to Go-
"vern that Kingdom according to the Law, with-
"out any Partiality, and therefore he declar'd that
"all Men ſhould enjoy the Exerciſe of their Religi-
"on and Properties according to Law. That he
"knew there were great Fears in the Kingdom,
"ſome removing their Goods, ſome their Plate,
"others their Money. What the Reaſon of it was
"he could not imagine; but for his own Part he
"would not have any diſtruſt the King's Prote-
"ction. That the Lord *Clarendon* had hinted, that
"no Diſtinction of Names ought to be encourag'd,
"or any thing elſe that might breed Jealouſies
"among the King's Subjects, which he would
"make his whole Buſineſs to bring about, for this
"was the Command of the King, who was both
"the greateſt and juſteſt Prince that ever rul'd
"theſe Kingdoms. Notwithſtanding theſe fine
Promiſes, it ſoon appear'd that the Fears men-
tion'd in *Tyrconnel*'s Anſwer, were but too well
Grounded.

Be-

1687. Before *Tyrconnel* came to the Sword, ſome of the Judges were turn'd out, (as Sir *Standiſh Hartſton*, Bar. one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, Sir *Richard Reynolds*, Bar. one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, both ſince Dead, and *Johnſon*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*) and a Conſult was held in *London*, whether the reſt ſhould not be turn'd out before the Earl of *Clarendon* was remov'd, to repreſent him Odious to the People, if he complied; or Diſobedient to the King, if he ſeem'd unwilling in the Matter, as they believ'd he would. For they obſerv'd that he and the Lord Chancellor, Sir *Charles Porter* began to Startle at the Commands from *England*, before they receiv'd any Account of their Removal, and *Porter* publickly declar'd, *That he came not over to ſerve a Turn, nor would he act againſt his Conſcience.* For which Expreſſions at his Return to *London*, he could not, without ſome Difficulty, obtain the Favour of Kiſſing the King's Hand. To come to the Debate concerning the Judges, ſome were for making a clear Riddance, and to have the Reformation begin in the Courts of Judicature, urging that having the Military Part of the Government in their Hands, they might with greater Eaſe ſecure the Civil; but others did not think it ſafe to turn them all out, nor any more of them, till the Government was veſted in a *Roman Catholick*. For ſome of the Cabal were afraid of proceeding too faſt in their Deſign; eſpecially the Earl of *Powis*, who for that Reaſon was not entruſted with all their Secrets and blacker Projects; though in his Lady they repos'd an entire Confidence, as being thought the greateſt Politician amongſt 'em; and were not a little Proud, that the Earl of *Shaftſbury* in the *Popiſh* Plot had given her that Character. In ſhort, the moderate Party prevail'd, and 'twas agreed that one Judge in a Court ſhould be left, to colour the Actions of the reſt. But that which ſtuck with them was, that Sir *William Davis*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, muſt not be mov'd, becauſe he had been of the Duke's Party in the Time of the *Popiſh Plot*, and becauſe his

his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Clancarty*, whoſe Son had married the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Daughter. However, Sir *William Davis*, being a diſeaſed infirm Man, given over for ſome Years, Judge *Nugent*, (the firſt *Popiſh* Judge that was put in, and whoſe Father had loſt his Honour and Eſtate for being a principal Actor in the Rebellion and Maſſacre of 1641.) had a Patent for his Place of Lord *Chief Juſtice* in Reverſion. This being reſolv'd, the reſt were ſoon Choſen: Lord Chief Baron *Hen* made way for *Rice*, a Profligate Fellow, and in *Rice*'s Room, Sir -------- *Linch* Succeeded in the *Common-Pleas*. Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Man notorious on Record, as convicted of Forgery both in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and at *Cheſter*, and fin'd for it by the Lords in Parliament, was taken out of the *King's Bench-Priſon* to Diſcharge the Office of Lord High Chancellor, tho' he had no other Merit to Recommend him, but his being a Convert to the Popiſh Religion; and to him were added as Maſters in *Chancery*, one *Stafford*, a *Romiſh* Prieſt, and *O-Neal*, the Son of one of the moſt buſie and notorious Murderers in the Maſſacre of 1641. But little Regard was to be had to the Man, ſo long as he was fitted to that Intereſt, which was then promoting: It being Remarkable, that of what Perſuaſion ſoever they were, whom they Employ'd at this Time, they choſe Men of the moſt branded Reputations, and whoſe Principles were ſuch as could over-rule the Dictates of their Conſciences. The Three *Proteſtant* Judges, (for *Davis* was Decreed to Die, and did ſoon after) had their ſeveral Capacities and Inclinations for their Service. *Keating*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, had always been a Servant of the Duke of *York*'s, was a Native of the Place, and ſomewhat *Popiſhly* inclin'd; tho' a Perſon of more Senſe than to purſue the Chace with greater Expedition than Safety. *Lynden*, Judge of the *King's Bench*, though no Friend to the *Iriſh* Government, yet lay under the Temptation of getting Riches to Support his numerous Family; and *Worth*, Baron of the *Exchequer*, was the Perſon the Papiſts moſt depended upon;

1689.

1687. and indeed he was the first Man in the *Exchequer* that struck the fatal Blow in all Causes, where the *English* were concern'd.

Dr. King, *Bishop of* London-Derry, *his State of* Ireland *under King* James.

The Supream Courts being thus fill'd up, it was but reasonable all other Courts should keep pace with them. In the Year 1687, there was not a Protestant Sheriff in the whole Kingdom, except one; and he put in by Mistake for another of the same Name that was a Papist. Some few Protestants were continued in the Commission of the Peace, but they were rendred Useless and Insignificant, being overpower'd in every thing by the great Number of *Roman* Catholicks join'd in Commission with them; and those for the most part of the very Scum of the People; and a great many whose Fathers had been Executed for Theft, Robbery and Murder.

The great Barrier of the Peoples Liberties both in *England* and *Ireland*, being their Right to chuse their own Representatives in Parliament, the Protestants in *Ireland* finding a Necessity of securing this Right in their own Hands, had procur'd many Corporations to be founded, and had Built many Corporate Towns at their own Charges; from all which the *Papists* were by their *Charters* excluded. This Barrier was broken through, by dissolving all the Corporations in the Kingdom, which was effected either by *Tyrconnel*'s Promises and Threats, and the Wheedling Insinuations of *Ellis* his Secretary, or where both fail'd, by the Infallible Means of *Quo-Warranto's* brought into the *Exchequer* Court; and that without the least Shadow of Law. Hereupon new Charters were granted, and fill'd up chiefly with *Papists*, and Men of Desperate or no Fortunes: And a Clause was inserted in every one of them, which subjected them to the absolute Will of the King, by which it was put in the Power of the Chief Governour to turn out and put in whom he pleas'd.

The next Work was to agree upon a Model for the Men. This Debate was strongly canvas'd several ways; and that which chiefly puzzled them, was that the King would have nothing of this

this tranſacted at Court, for fear of meeting with Oppoſition there. This Exigency, of not being ſuffer'd to receive Advice from *England*, expos'd them to great Difficulties; for they were utter Strangers to the Laws and Government of Corporations, having been converſant in nothing but Secret Plots, and Private Contrivances, how to unhinge all manner of Government; and as an Aggravation of their Misfortune, as they own'd it themſelves, except *Rice*, *Daly*, and *Neagle*, there was not a Man in the Privy-Council that had common Senſe. Neceſſity at laſt ſupplied the Place of Invention; and a Method was agreed upon which reduc'd Corporations to perfect Slavery, which was their prime and ultimate Aim; for as to Matter of Trade, or Improving of the Nation, theſe were Speculations of too refined a Nature for their Underſtandings, as was demonſtrated in the firſt Proclamation iſſued forth by *Tyrconnel* and his Council, to break an Act of Parliament in taking off the Duty of Iron, and admitting it ſo into the Kingdom, whereby they might encourage Merchants to bring in Pieces of Eight from *Spain*; and ſo haſty were they to have the Honour of this admirable Contrivance, that without asking the King's Leave (which is ever done before any Proclamation, relating to the Revenue, paſs) they put it in Execution; but as ſoon as 'twas heard of in *England*, a Proclamation came from the King, forbidding this wiſe Act of thoſe great Stateſmen. And ſo ill this preſumptuous Folly of theirs was interpreted, that the Lord *Bellaſis* ſwore in Council, that, *That Fellow in* Ireland *was Fool and Madman enough to ruin Ten Kingdoms*; and Father *Petre* corrected him ſeverely for this foul Miſcarriage. 1687.

And now the *Iriſh* Papiſts being ſupported by a Lord Lieutenant of their own Perſuaſion, they carried all things before them; and the Proteſtants were not only Oppreſs'd, but rendred Infamous; for the Lord Chancellor *Fitton* did not ſtick to ſay even upon the Bench, and at other Places; *That the Proteſtants were all Rogues; and that among Forty Thouſand of them, there was not one that was not a*

1687. *Traytor, or Rebel, and a Villain.* It would engage me to tranſcribe whole Volumes, if I ſhould attempt to relate all the Outrages that were offer'd to the Proteſtants under this *Popiſh* Adminiſtration; and therefore I will only mention the following Particulars. The Prieſts began to declare openly, that the Tythes belong'd to them, and forbad their People, under the Pain of Damnation, to pay them to the Proteſtant Incumbents. This paſt afterwards into an Act of Parliament, by which not only all Tythes payable by Papiſts, were given to their own Prieſts, but likewiſe a way was found out to make the Popiſh Clergy capable of enjoying the Proteſtant Tythes, which was thus: If a Proteſtant happen'd to be poſſeſs'd of a Biſhoprick, a Dignity, or other Living, he might not by this new Act Demand any Tythes or Eccleſiaſtical Dues from any *Roman Catholicks*; and as ſoon as his Preferment became Void by Death, Ceſſion or Abſence, a *Popiſh* Clergyman was put into his Place. The only great Nurſery of Piety and Learning in *Ireland*, is the Univerſity of *Dublin*, conſiſting of a Provoſt, Seven *Senior*, and Nine *Junior* Fellows, and Seventy Scholars, who are partly maintain'd by a Yearly Salary out of the *Exchequer*. This Salary *Tyrconnel* ſtopt on no other Pretence than their ſcrupling to admit to a vacant Fellowſhip, contrary to their Oaths, a vicious illiterate Man, who was a new Convert. Nor could his Excellency ever be prevail'd with to remove the Stop; and ſo in effect he diſſolv'd the Foundation, and ſhut up the Fountain of Knowledge and true Religion. About the ſame Time *Chriſt-Church* was taken from the *Proteſtants* and given to the *Roman* Catholicks.

Severities againſt the Proteſtant Clergy in Ireland.

To return to *England:* One would have thought, that the vigorous Oppoſition the King had met the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, in his Deſign of ſetting up a diſpenſing Power, and eſtabliſhing *Popery*, would have been ſufficient to deter him from that Dangerous, not to ſay Chimerical, Attempt. And indeed it is not poſſible to imagine, that a Prince rather Debonair and Good-natur'd, than either

Character of King James's Miniſters.

either Haughty or Cruel, could have fallen into the Deſire and Exerciſe of a Deſpotick Power, and forgot ſo ſoon what he acknowledg'd himſelf in his Firſt Speech to his Council, *That the Laws of* England *were able to make a King as Great and Happy, as he could deſire to be*, if he had not been elevated by Flatterers, and Time-ſervers; who not only in their Secret Whiſpers, but even in their loud Harangues from the Pulpit, delivered theſe intoxicating Aſſertions: *That Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion were by Divine Right; That the Legiſlature was veſted in the Perſon of the Prince only, and the Two Houſes of Parliament, that of the Commons eſpecially, inconſideralbe Parts of the Conſtitution; and That Kings had an unqueſtionable Power to diſpence with Laws.* What Prince could have withſtood the Temptation of graſping at Arbitrarineſs, and countenancing that Religion which ſeem'd moſt ſubſervient to that End, in ſo favourable a Juncture, when the reigning Part of the Nation was lull'd aſleep by the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance?* I will not endeavour to palliate the Faults committed by the unfortunate King *James*, which are ſo palpable, that even a *Jeſuit* Writer is forc'd to own them; but Truth obliges me to averr, that moſt, if not all of them, are to be charg'd on his Ambitious and Jarring Miniſters, and the aſpiring Eccleſiaſticks, both Proteſtant and *Romiſh*, that were about him. Therefore to form a true Notion of King *James*'s Government, and to know the very Springs of all his Actions, you muſt ſet before your Eyes an Eaſie, Credulous Prince, manag'd by a Light, Proud, Daring, Covetous Father Confeſſor, who is himſelf govern'd by a Crafty, Diſſembling, Deſigning Stateſman, and whoſe Pernicious, Deſpotick Deſigns he firſt adopts out of Vanity, and then makes his Maſter put in Execution out of Avarice. Add to theſe a Bold, Puſhing, Upſtart Chancellor; a Set of Corrupt Judges; two or three *Proteſtant* Biſhops blindly devoted to the Will of the Prince, and ſome few Honeſt and Affectionate Courtiers rendred ſuſpicious by the reſt. 1684.

1686. King *Charles* II. towards the latter end of his Reign, being influenc'd by his Brother and the *Popiſh* Faction, begun to lay the Foundation of a Deſpotick Government, by making Bargains with Corporations, or forcing them by his *Quo-Warranto's*, to Surrender their old Charters, and receive new ones from him; wherein, amongſt other Reſtrictions, he reſerv'd a Power, that if they did not return ſuch Members to repreſent them in Parliament, as pleas'd him, he would reſume the Charters he granted them. He was ſo well ſerv'd in this Affair, both by Chief Juſtice *Jeffreys*, the Earl of *Bath*, and ſeveral other Zealous Courtiers, that in leſs than a Year's Time the Principal Cities and Towns of *England*, ſuch as *London*, *Canterbury*, *Exeter*, *Lincoln*, *Oxford*, *Colcheſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Bedford*, *Durham*, *Plimouth*, *Buckingham*, *Carliſle*, *Lancaſter*, &c. either by fair or forcible Means had ſubmitted to his Pleaſure. King *James*, ſince his Advancement to the Throne, had follow'd the ſame Method to introduce his Creatures into the Houſe of Commons; but nevertheleſs he found by the Proceedings of the laſt Seſſions, that the Spirit of Liberty, and a warm Zeal for the Laws and Priviledges of the Nation, were ſtill prevailing in this Parliament. This Conſideration oblig'd him to Prorogue it from time to time, till at laſt he was adviſ'd to Diſſolve * it. In the mean time, the Lord *Jeffreys* being made Lord High Chancellor of *England*, in the Room of the Lord Keeper *North*, (who died when *Jeffreys* was at his Campaign in the *Weſt*) things were carried on towards *Popery*, and abſolute Monarchy, with all the Diligence and Heats Imaginable. To this End, His Majeſty interrogated the old Judges, and before he would make any new ones, would enter into a Bargain with them, and engage 'em to ſet up his *Power of diſpenſing with the Penal Laws and Teſts*. The firſt Man the King attempted to perſuade, was Sir *Thomas Jones*, who boggled very much at it, and at laſt told the King plainly, *He could not do it*; the King anſwer'd, *He would have twelve Judges of his Opinion*: To which Sir *Thomas* replied,

New Charters.

* July 2d, 1687.

The King ſets up a Diſpencing Power.

replied, *That poſſibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but would ſcarce find twelve Lawyers to be ſo.* Not long after * Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; *William Montague*, Eſq; Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Job Charleton*, one of the Juſtices of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, had their *Quietus*, for refuſing to comply with the Court; and Sir *Henry Bedinfield*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, Sir *Edward Lutwyche*, and *Richard Heath*, Eſq; were preferr'd to their reſpective Places. 1686. * April 21, 1686.

The Toleration which King *James* deſign'd to grant to all his Subjects, and of which the Papiſts were chiefly to reap the Benefit; this Toleration, I ſay, could not ſubſiſt, being contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Realm, unleſs a more illegal Innovation was introduc'd to ſupport it under the Name of a *Diſpenſing Power*; therefore King *James* aſſum'd this Power to himſelf, as his Prerogative and Right, whereby he invaded the very Eſſence of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, by which the *Legiſlature is lodg'd in Kings, Lords and Commons; and every one of them has a Negative upon the other two. Charles* II. was the firſt King of *England* that ever aim'd at any thing like a Diſpenſing Power. In the Year 1662. he was prevail'd upon, for ſome Reaſons of State, to iſſue out a Proclamation, diſpenſing with ſome few things that related to the Act of Uniformity, but without the leaſt Regard to *Roman Catholicks*. And tho' in his Speech to the Parliament upon that Occaſion, he did in a manner acknowledge, that he had no ſuch Power, in ſaying: *That if the Diſſenters would demean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly, he could heartily wiſh he had ſuch a Power of Indulgence to uſe upon Occaſion*; yet the Parliament was ſo Jealous of this Innovation, that they preſented the King with an Addreſs againſt the Proclamation; and plainly told him, *That he had no Power to diſpence with the Laws, without an Act of Parliament.* Notwithſtanding this Remonſtrance, King *Charles* made another Attempt in the Year 1672. and in a Speech to both Houſes, did mention his Declara-

Welwood's *Memoirs.* p. 196. &c. *printed in* 1700.

Attempts towards a Diſpenſing Power.

1686. tion of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the Reaſons that induc'd him to it; telling them withal, how little the *Roman Catholicks* would be the better for it. Upon which the Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to his Majeſty for recalling this Declaration; wherein they told him: *That in claiming a Power to diſpence with Penal Laws, His Majeſty had been very much miſ-inform'd, ſince no ſuch Power was ever claim'd or exercis'd by any of his Predeceſſors; and if it ſhould be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free Courſe of the Laws, and altering the Legiſlative Power, which has always been acknowledg'd to reſide in His Majeſty and his two Houſes of Parliament.* King *Charles* was ſo far ſatisfied in the Matter contained in this Addreſs, that he immediately caucell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, tore off the Seal himſelf, and acquainted both Houſes that he had done ſo; with this further Declaration, which was enter'd upon Record in the Houſe of Lords; *That it ſhould never be drawn into Example or Conſequence.*

Such a Diſpenſing Power King *James* arrogated to himſelf, though of a far larger Extent: And how any thing that look'd that way was reliſh'd by the Houſe of Commons, appears by their Addreſs againſt the *Popiſh* Officers. Neither was it enough for King *James* to aſſume the Right and Exerciſe of this Power; but ſuch was the Miſery of *England*, that the Party about him would have the Nation made to believe, *That a Power in the King to diſpence with Law, was Law.* To maintain this monſtrous Poſition, there were not only mercenary Pens ſet at Work, but a ſet of Judges found out, that to their Eternal Reproach, did all was poſſible for them to Compliment the King with the Liberty of their Country. For theſe Gentlemen gave it for a general Rule in Law, upon a particular Military Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*: Firſt, *That the Laws of* England *are the King's Laws.* Secondly, *That therefore it is an incident, inſeparable Prerogative of the Kings of* England, *as of all other Sovereign Princes, to diſpence with all Penal Laws in particular*

ſular Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons. Thirdly, *That of thoſe Reaſons and Neceſſities the King is the ſole Judge*; and which is a Conſequence thereupon, Fourthly, *That this is not a Truſt inveſted in, or granted to the King, but the ancient Remains of the Soveraign Power of the Kings of* England, *which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.* Thus it ſignified little to the Nation, that the Majority of their Law-makers remain'd firm and unſhaken, whilſt thoſe Men, whoſe Office it was to keep the Laws uncorrupted, proſtituted them to the ambitious Luſt of the Prince. And now this mighty Point being gain'd, the *Papiſts* were not wanting in improving it to their own Advantage. The free and open Exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up everywhere; and *Jeſuit Schools* and *Seminaries* erected not only in *London*, but alſo in the moſt conſiderable Towns. The Church of *England* had now but a precarious Title to the *National Church*, and began to ſee the impending Dangers, which the ſlaviſh Complaiſance of ſome few of her Members had drawn upon the whole Body. *Romiſh* Candidates had ſwallow'd up Eccleſiaſtick Preferments and Dignities already in their Hopes; Four *Roman Catholick* Biſhops were publickly Conſecrated in the Royal Chappel, and diſpatch'd down, under the Title of *Vicars Apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Functions in their reſpective Dioceſſes; their Paſtoral Letters, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were openly diſpers'd up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer, with publick Licenſe; the Regular Clergy appear'd in their Habits at *White-Hall*, and St. *James*'s, and made no Scruple to tell the Proteſtants, *They hop'd in a little time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide. A mighty Harveſt of new Converts was now expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, Shoals of Prieſts and Regulars were ſent over from beyond Sea to reap it. In ſhort, the only Step to Preferment was to be of the King's Religion, ſince all important Affairs were manag'd in the Privy-Council by the Earl of *Powis*, the Lords *Arundel*, *Bellaſis* and *Dover*,

1686.

Growth of Popery.

1686. *ver*, the Earls of *Tyrconnel*, *Caſtelmain* and *Peterborough*, who all profeſs'd the *Romiſh* Perſwaſion, and by *Edward Petre*, Clerk of the Cloſet, and Father-Confeſſor to His Majeſty.

The King's Letter to the Biſhops. Beſides the *Diſpenſing Power*, another Project was ſet on Foot to advance the *Romiſh* Cauſe, which was an Order by way of Letter, directed to the Proteſtant Biſhops, *to diſcharge all their inferiour Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity*, and which in effect was forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the ſame time attack'd by the *Romiſh* Prieſts, with all the Vigour they were capable of; and their Sermons and other Diſcourſes printed by Authority. This Order was taken from a Precedent in Queen *Mary*'s time; for the firſt Step ſhe made to reſtore Popery, (notwithſtanding her Promiſes to the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* to the contrary, upon their appearing firſt of any for her Intereſt) was to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbidding the Preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing Animoſities among the People. But this enſnaring Letter of King *James* was ſo far from being regarded, that the major and ſoundeſt part of the Proteſtant Clergy, redoubled now their pious Efforts to vindicate the Orthodoxy of the Church of *England*, and to expoſe the Errors of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings, with ſuch Force of Reaſoning, and in ſuch a Perſwaſive Stile, as are only peculiar to Truth.

Order againſt Preachers.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, Aug. 3. 1686. To ſtop the Progreſs of theſe Apoſtolical Champions of the Church of *England*, King *James* granted *a Commiſſion of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, which yet was not open'd till the 3d of *Auguſt*, 1686. tho' it had been ſeal'd ſome Months before. It was directed to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, or any Three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one; devolving the whole Care of Spiritual Affairs upon them

them, in the largeſt Extent that ever had been known in *England*. By it they had Power to regulate all Matters, and correct and puniſh all Abuſes. To make new Laws, to reform or aboliſh any ancient Conſtitution, notwithſtanding any Priviledges, Exemptions, Rights or Cuſtoms whatſoever; and all the Acts were to paſs under a peculiar Seal, in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Bridgeman* their Secretary, with this Inſcription, *Sigillum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas*, *The Royal Seal for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* refus'd to act in it from the beginning; and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tho' a great Courtier, excus'd himſelf aſſoon as he came to underſtand that it was levell'd againſt the Proteſtant Religion. 1686.

Foundation of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

That the World may know upon what Foundation, or rather Pretence, this Eccleſiaſtical Court was erected, it muſt be obſerv'd, that before an Act made in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, all Ordinaries and Eccleſiaſtical Judges ought to have proceeded according to the Cenſures of the Church, and could not in any Caſe have puniſh'd any Delinquent, by Fines or Impriſonment, without Parliamentary Authority. But by virtue of a Branch of the ſaid Act, which reſtor'd to the Crown the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, Queen *Elizabeth*, to reſtrain the Growth of *Popery*, and to countenance the Church of *England*, ſet up a *High-Commiſſion-Court*. Now becauſe the Commiſſioners did proceed in all Caſes to Fine, Impriſon, and Oppreſs, not only *Popiſh Recuſants*, but alſo other Diſſenters; *therefore for Repreſſing and Preventing of the aforeſaid Abuſes, Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies*, the Parliament in the Seventeenth Year of *Charles* I. *repeal'd the ſaid Branch, forbidding all Eccleſiaſtical Judges to proceed to Fine or Impriſon the King's Subjects, or tender the Oath* ex Officio.

See The Vindication of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, *printed in* 1688.

The *High-Commiſſion-Court* being thus put down, it was concluded by the *Papiſts* and *Diſſenters*, that all ordinary Juriſdiction was taken from the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Vicar-Generals, or any other Per-

1686. Perſons exerciſing Spiritual Juriſdiction, by any Grant or Commiſſion of the King's Majeſty; but it was declar'd and enacted (13 *Carol.* 2. c. 12.) *That neither the ſaid Act*, (of 17 *Car.* 1.) *nor any thing therein contain'd, does, or ſhall take away any ſuch ordinary Power or Authority; but that they may Proceed, Determine, Sentence, Execute, and Exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and all Cenſures and Coercions appertaining and belonging to the ſame, before the making of the Act*, (17 C. I.) *in all Cauſes and Matters belonging to Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, according to the King's Majeſty's Eccleſiaſtial Laws, uſed and practis'd in this Realm.*

From this Act (13 *Car.* II.) the *Popiſh* Party inferr'd, *That there was no other Power taken from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, than that of Fining, Impriſoning, or tendering the Oath* ex Officio; *That ſo much was ſuppreſs'd by* 17 Car. I. *and no more; That an Eccleſiaſtical Court exerciſing this Power was put down, and the erecting the like for time to come ſtrictly forbidden; but that the Court now ſet up by King* James, *was not like to that, ſince it pretended not to Fine, or Impriſon, or tender the Oath* ex Officio, *but kept within the Bounds of Eccleſiaſtick Cenſures.* Nay, they did not ſtick to averr, *That the Court held by His Majeſties Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, was more legal than* Doctors-Commons, *and the Biſhops Courts, the firſt being in the King's Name, the others in the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Name only.* Thus the *Papiſts*, ſupported by a King of their Religion, beat the *Proteſtants* with their own Weapons, and made uſe againſt them of thoſe very Statutes which were chiefly intended to diſcountenance *Popery*. But to purſue my Narrative, theſe Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners were directed by the Court to exerciſe their new Authority with the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton*, Lord-Biſhop of *London*.

Character of the Biſhop of London.

This Prelate, by his diffuſive Charity, and wiſe Conduct, had gain'd the Love and Eſteem of all the Proteſtant Churches both at home and abroad; and contented with that Diſtinction which his noble Birth, and his eminent Station gave him, had diſdain'd thoſe mean and ſervile Arts, where-

by

by ſome other Clergymen had recommended themſelves to the King's Favour; all which made him the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romiſh* Party at Court. Beſides, the King had a particular Pique againſt this Reverend Prelate upon the following Account: When the Lords, in the laſt Parliament had voted an Addreſs of Thanks to His Majeſty, for his Speech, he mov'd in his own, and the other Biſhops Name, that the Houſe might debate the King's Speech; which as it was extraordinary and unuſual in the Houſe, for the Clergy to thwart the Court; ſo it was no leſs ſurprizing to the King, who now dreaded the Lords would concurr with the Commons in their Addreſs, and conſtrued this Step to be a piece of unpardonable Preſumption in the Biſhop. Nothing therefore was wanting, but an Occaſion to ennoble the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* with the Sacrifice of this illuſtrious Prelate; and ſuch an Occaſion was rather taken than given in the Buſineſs of Dr. *Sharp*, at that time Rector of St. *Giles*'s, and now Archbiſhop of *York*. 1686.

Proceedings againſt him and Dr. Sharp.

The *Romiſh* Prieſts about the King had prevail'd with His Majeſty to ſend to the *Proteſtant* Biſhops the Letter or Order, already mention'd, containing Directions about Preachers. Dr. *Sharp*, a learned Divine, and principally admir'd for his great Talents for the Pulpit, and eaſie, tho' manly Eloquence, taking Occaſion in ſome of his Sermons to vindicate the Church of *England*, in Oppoſition to the Frauds and Corruptions of *Popery*; this, by the Court Emiſſaries was interpreted to be, *the endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and to lead them into Diſobedience, Schiſm and Rebellion*; and conſequently, *a Contempt of the Order about Preachers*. Whereupon the King ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, containing an Order to Suſpend Dr. *Sharp* from Preaching in any Pariſh or Chappel in his Dioceſs, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction, and His Majeſties further Pleaſure ſhould be known. The Biſhop of *London* perceiving what

The King's Letter to the Biſhop of London, June 14. 1686.

1686. what the Court aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd to divert the Storm that threatned not only him, but the whole Church of *England*. He writ a Letter to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the King, ſetting forth: "That he "thought it his Duty to obey His Majeſty in what- "ſoever Commands he laid upon him, that he "could perform with a ſafe Conſcience: But in "this he was to proceed according to Law, and "as a Judge; and by the Law, no Judge condemns "a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cauſe, "and has cited the Party. That however he had "acquainted Dr. *Sharp* with His Majeſties Plea- "ſure, whom he found ſo ready to give all reaſon- "able Satisfaction, that he had made him the "Bearer of that Letter.

Biſhop of London's Letter.

Dr. Sharp's Petition.

With this Letter from the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Sharp* carried a Petition to the King in his own Name, humbly repreſenting, "That ever ſince "His Majeſty was pleas'd to give Notice of his "Diſpleaſure againſt him, he had forborn the pub- "lick Exerciſe of his Function: And as he had "endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he could to "His Majeſty, and His late Brother, in his Station; "ſo he had not vented now in the Pulpit any thing "tending to Faction or Schiſm; and therefore "prayed His Majeſty would be pleas'd to lay a- "ſide his Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him, and "reſtore him to that Favour which the reſt of "the Clergy enjoy'd. All theſe Submiſſions were to no Purpoſe; nothing could ſatisfie the *Popiſh* Cabal, but a Revenge upon the Biſhop of *London* for his exemplary Zeal in the Defence of the Proteſtant Church; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp* was made uſe of as a plauſible Pretence to mortifie him, and in his Perſon the whole Body of the Clergy; who now began to dread the Rod they themſelves had, in a manner, put into the King's Hand, by their late Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*. The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, (*viz.* the Chancellor, the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Rocheſter*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Herbert*) being ſet at *White-Hall* *, the Biſhop of *London*,

* Aug. 4. 1686.

London, according to their Summons, made his Appearance before 'em, and was treated in a manner unworthy of his Quality, and high Station in the Church, not being allow'd ſo much as a Stool to ſit on. *Jefferies* their Chairman told him, with his uſual Bluntneſs, That the King had given them a Commiſſion, by which they were impower'd to take Cognizance of all Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and that they were order'd to Cite him before them; that he had but a ſhort Queſtion to ask him, and deſir'd him to anſwer politively, *Why he had not obey'd His Majeſties Command for ſuſpending Dr.* Sharp? The Biſhop of *London* own'd he had receiv'd ſuch a Command from the King, but "that "if he committed any Fault in that Affair, 'twas "rather thro' Ignorance or Miſtake, than wilful Diſo-"bedience; that he had always been ready to pay all "manner of Reſpect to His Majeſty's Orders; and "that if he had not given him Proofs of his duti-"ful Submiſſion upon this Occaſion, 'twas becauſe "he was aſſur'd he could not lawfully do it; that "he took the beſt Advice he could get concern-"ing the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Sharp*, and was in-"form'd, that the Letter being ſent to him as "Biſhop of *London*, to ſuſpend a Perſon under his "Juriſdiction, he was therein to act as a Judge, it "being a judicial Act; and that no Perſon could "by Law be puniſh'd by Suſpenſion, before he "was call'd, or without being admitted to make "his Defence; that he thought it therefore his "Duty forthwith humbly to repreſent ſo much "to the Lord Preſident, that ſo he might receive "His Majeſties Pleaſure in that Matter; never-"theleſs, that he might obey His Majeſties Com-"mands, as far as by Law he could, he did then "ſend for Dr. *Sharp*, and acquainted him with "His Majeſties Diſpleaſure, and the Occaſion of it; "that the Doctor having never been call'd to an-"ſwer any ſuch Matter, or make his Defence; "but rather proteſting his Innocence, and like-"wiſe declaring himſelf moſt ready to give His "Majeſty full Satisfaction therein, he adviſ'd him "to forbear Preaching, until he had applied him-

1686.

"ſelf

1685: "ſelf to His Majeſty; that at his Requeſt he made "him the Bearer of a Letter to the Lord-Preſident, "waiting for His Majeſties further Orders to pro- "ceed againſt him *judicially*, in caſe he ſhould not "at that time give His Majeſty the Satisfaction "requir'd; and that the ſaid Doctor had not ſince "preach'd within his Dioceſs. He further ſaid, "That he was unprepar'd to anſwer, not knowing "before what he was Cited for; and therefore "pray'd the Court that he might have a Copy "of the Commiſſion by which they acted, and "of his Accuſation. The Chancellor deſir'd him to explain his Demands; for if he ask'd a Copy of their Commiſſion, with Deſign to diſpute the Juriſdiction of the Court, he had an Anſwer ready for him; that till they knew what Uſe he would make of it, he muſt needs tell him his Demand was unreaſonable, and therefore not to be granted; that their Commiſſion was upon Record, and to be ſeen in every Coffee-Houſe; and that he doubted not but that his Lordſhip had ſeen it. The Biſhop replied, he had never ſeen it, neither did he deſire to ſee it with Deſign to diſpute the Legality of it; but that there having been no ſuch Commiſſion granted within an Hundred Years paſt, he might perhaps find ſomething in it either to juſtifie his paſt, or at leaſt to direct his future Conduct in this Affair; that if they would not let him have a Copy of it, he hop'd at leaſt they would allow him to read it, or cauſe it to be read to him, which was refus'd. Then the Biſhop deſir'd a Copy of the Information, which was likewiſe denied; *Jefferies* alledging, That ſuch a Court as theirs was, always proceeded briefly, and *Viva voce*, and therefore he muſt ask him the ſame ſhort Queſtion once more, *Why he did not obey the King?* The Biſhop ſaid, The Queſtion was indeed a ſhort one, but that it requir'd many Words to be anſwer'd; that he deſir'd the Court to conſider he was a Peer and a Biſhop; and that as he bore a publick, tho' undeſerved, Character, he ought to be the more cautious of doing any thing contrary to Law; that as he underſtood there was no

Appeal

Appeal from the Judgments of that Court, but he knew alſo, that when a Man is in danger of being overwhelmed at one Blow, any Court of Judicature will allow him ſome reaſonable time to make his Defence; that the Judges being gone to the Circuits, it was not poſſible for him to adviſe with his Council; and therefore mov'd for a Delay till *October* next following; thereupon the Chancellor exclaim'd againſt the Unreaſonableneſs of his Demand, ſo that the Court granted him but Four Days; which being over, the Biſhop appear'd * again before the Commiſſioners, accompanied by the Earl of *Northampton* his Nephew, Sir *Francis Compton* his Brother, Sir *John Nicholas* his Brother-in-law, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; and ſaid, He was not yet ſo well prepar'd as he ought to be; That being told by the Court the *Wedneſday* before that the Commiſſion was to be ſeen in all Coffee-Houſes, he had caus'd it to be lookt for ever ſince, but could not procure it till the Night before. That he was a Peer of the Realm, and hop'd the Commiſſion did not concern him no more than the Particular Caſe in queſtion, and therefore deſir'd the Court to allow him more time to make his Defence; which Demand was ſupported by Sir *Thomas Clargis*, who happening to be there preſent, ſaid loudly, The Biſhop ask'd nothing but what was reaſonable. The Commiſſioners after a ſhort Conſultation granted him a Fortnight longer, and at parting, Chancellor *Jefferies* made a ſort of an Excuſe to the Biſhop for what he had told him before, that *the Commiſſion was to be ſeen in all Coffee-Houſes*, ſaying, he did not mean it, as if the Biſhop frequented ſuch Places, but only to expreſs that the Commiſſion was publickly ſeen all the Town over. On the 31th of *Auguſt* the Biſhop of *London* appear'd the third time before the Eccleſiaſtical Court with a numerous Attendance, and ſaid, That tho' the time had been but ſhort, conſidering the Importance of the Buſineſs in Debate, yet he had conſulted ſuch learned Civilians as were then in Town; that he hoped the Court would put no ill Conſtruction upon his Expreſſions; that he

1686.

* Monday, Aug. 9.

1686. he did not design to speak any thing derogatory to the King's Authority, or to the Respect he ow'd to the Commissioners, but that his Counsel had assur'd him, that the Proceedings of the Court were entirely against the Laws of the Realm, and that they were ready to prove it, if the Court would give 'em leave. This bold Answer grating the Chancellor's Ear, he told the Bishop, the Court would neither suffer him nor his Counsel to dispute its Jurisdiction, being convinc'd of the Legality of their Commission. The undaunted Prelate replied, That he was a Bishop of the Church of *England*, and that according to the Canons of all the Christian Churches of all Ages, and even according to the particular Statutes of this Kingdom, if he had committed any Fault, he ought to be cited before his Metropolitan, and that he hop'd he should enjoy the Prerogatives of a Christian Bishop. The Bishop's Plea against the Legality of the Ecclesiastical Commission being over-rul'd by this tyrannical Argument, often repeated by *Jefferies*, *Must not the King be obeyed? Must not the King be obeyed?* That reverend Prelate having made his Protestation against it, as a Subject, according to the Laws of the Land, and as a Bishop, according to the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church, he gave in his Answer in writing, being the same in effect which he made by Word of Mouth at his first Appearance; to which were tack'd the King's Letter, an Answer to that Letter directed to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Petition Dr. *Sharp* had drawn to be put up to His Majesty, but which was rejected. As he presented his Answer, he added, That he had done nothing on this Occasion without the Advice of Counsel learned in the Law; that he had consulted the Chancellor of his own Court, and some other Civilians, and that the Law declar'd that what was done by the Advice of Lawyers, ought not to be construed to be done with Malice or Obstinacy; that 'twas a receiv'd Maxim in the Civil Law, that if a Prince commands a Judge to execute an Order which he thinks illegal, he ought humbly *Rescribere Principi*;

and

and that the Law looks upon ſuch a *Reſcription* as a Service done to the Prince; That according to this Maxim he had only diſcharg'd his Duty, having acquainted the Lord *Sunderland* with his Reaſons for not ſuſpending Dr. *Sharp*; and laſtly, That his Council, to wit, Dr. *Oldiſh*, Dr. *Hedges*, Dr. *Brice*, and Dr. *Newton*, would more fully make out his Allegations. Accordingly theſe Doctors examin'd the King's Letter, and the Biſhop's Conduct: They repreſented, that in all the Law-Books there is no Precedent to countenance an abſolute Suſpenſion, without a previous Citation, and Judgment paſt upon the Perſon to be Suſpended; that to act otherwiſe would be a manifeſt Breach of the Laws of God, of Nature, and of all civiliz'd Nations: Beſides, that the Biſhop's Advice to Dr. *Sharp* to forbear Preaching would be interpreted an Obedience to the King's Command in all the Courts of Judicature in *England*; that the Biſhops are *Cuſtodes Canonum*, and therefore ought not to be the firſt that infringe 'em; in ſhort, they alledg'd ſuch Reaſons as would have abundantly juſtify'd the Biſhop before any Tribunal where Juſtice ſhould take Place. But the Court being adjourn'd till the 6th of *September* following, that *Jefferies* might report the Proceedings to the King, and receive His Majeſty's Orders about this Affair, on the appointed Day the Commiſſioners order'd Mr. *Bridgman* their Secretary to read their Definitive Sentence, whereby *they did Declare, Decree and Pronounce, that the Biſhop of* London (who then attended the Court) *ſhould for his Diſobedience and Contempt be Suſpended during His Majeſties Pleaſure, and he accordingly was Suſpended; with a Peremptory Admonition to abſtain from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office, and other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions, during the ſaid Suſpenſion, under the Penalty of Deprivation, and being remov'd from his Biſhoprick.* Theſe Proteſtant Inquiſitors ſuſpended at the ſame time Dr. *Sharp*, but he was ſoon after reſtor'd to the Exerciſe of his Function.

1686.

The Biſhop of London *ſuſpended*, Sept. 6. 1686.

As alſo Dr. Sharp.

1686. The *Jeſuits* to advance their grand Deſign of eſtabliſhing Popery, continually repreſented to His Majeſty the great Progreſs the King of *France* had lately made in the Converſion of his Proteſtant Subjects, by the infallible Arguments of his Military Miſſionaries, and made him ſenſible how precarious his *Diſpenſing* Power would be, unleſs it had a ſtronger Support than the Opinion of his Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The King, who, as I have ſaid before, was eaſily led into any Project that ſeem'd to ſecure him the Poſſeſſion of his airy Miſtreſs, Deſpotick Authority, aſſembled * all his Troops to the number of Fourteen or Fifteen Thouſand Men, on *Hounſlow-Heath*, and caus'd a Chappel to be erected at his Head-Quarters, where Maſs was publickly ſaid every Day. Tho' this ſmall Army conſiſted, for the moſt part, of Proteſtants, there being but few *Roman Catholick* Officers of Diſtinction, ſuch as the Duke of *Berwick*, the Earl of *Dunbarton*, the Lords *Dover* and *Mongommery*, Colonel *Richard Hamilton*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Sackville*, &c. Nevertheleſs it gave no ſmall Jealouſie to a People who were never us'd to ſee Encampments in time of Peace, and who conſider'd how ſome of their Neighbours had loſt their Liberties, by ſuffering their Princes to keep up Standing Forces. Many were afraid, leſt the *Proteſtants* in the King's Army ſhould join with the *Romaniſts* in advancing the Popiſh Cauſe, it being the Principles, as well as Duty of Soldiers, blindly to execute the Commands of their Leaders. To prevent which, Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a learned Divine, who upon ſeveral other Occaſions had ſignaliz'd his Zeal againſt Arbitrary Government, addreſs'd to them the following Advice.

* *Camp on Hounſlow-Heath, June* 1686.

Gentlemen,

Mr. Johnſon's Addreſs to the Army.

"NExt to the Duty we owe to God, which ought to be the principal Care of Men of "your Profeſſion, which carry your Lives in your "Hands, and often look Death in the Face, is "the Service of your native Country, wherein "you drew your firſt Breaths, and breath a free

"*Engliſh*

1686.

"*English* Air. Now I desire you to consider how "you will comply with these two main Points, "by engaging in the present Service. Is it in the "Name of God for his Service, that you have "join'd your selves with Papists? Who indeed "must fight for the *Mass-Book*, but will *burn the "Bible*, and who seek to extirpate the *Protestant Re-"ligion* with your Swords, because they cannot "do it with their own? And will you be aiding "and assisting to set up *Mass-Houses*, to erect that "Kingdom of Darkness and Desolation amongst "us, and to train up all our Children to *Popery?* "How can you do these things, and call your selves "*Protestants?*

"What Service can you do your Country, by "being under the Command of *French* and *Irish "Papists*, and by bringing the Nation under a For-"reign Yoke? Will you help them to make for-"cible Entry into the Houses of your Countrymen, "under the Name of Quartering, contrary to *Mag-"na Charta*, and *Petition of Right?* Will you be "aiding and assisting to all the Murders and Out-"rages which they shall commit by their void "Commissions, which were declar'd illegal, and "sufficiently blasted by both Houses of Parliament, "if there had been any need of it; for it was ve-"ry well known before, that a Papist cannot have "a Commission, but by Law is utterly disabled "and disarm'd? Will you exchange your *Birth-"right* of *English Laws* and *Liberties*, for *Martial "and Club-Law*; and help to destroy all others, on-"ly at last to be eaten up your selves? If I know "you well, as you are *Englishmen*, you hate and "scorn those things. Therefore be not unequally "yoked with *Idolatrous* and *Bloody Papists:* Be "valiant for the Truth, and shew your selves Men. "The same Considerations are likewise humbly "offer'd to all *English Seamen*, who have been the "Bulwark of this Nation against Popery and Sla-"very ever since 1588.

The Tendency of this Address was too fatal to the King's Designs to be left unpunish'd; and

1686. therefore Mr. *Johnſon* being try'd for this high Miſdemeanour, was ſentenc'd * by the Court of
* Nov. 16. *King's-Bench*, Sir *Edw. Herbert* being Chief Juſtice, to ſtand Three times in the Pillory, and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was ſeverely executed upon him after he had been † degraded
† Nov. 20. from performing his Office as Miniſter of the Goſpel, by the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*, appointed Commiſſioners to exerciſe all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction during the Suſpenſion of the Biſhop of *London*. This ſeaſonable Advice began to ſow the Seeds of that Defection which happen'd Two Years after in the King's Army.

It appear'd a little while after how fondly King *James* was poſſeſs'd with his Deſign of reconciling his Proteſtant Subjects to the Church of *Rome*. Over and above the Tie of Affinity, and the grateful Remembrance of Services paſt, His Majeſty ever had a particular Affection and Eſteem for the Earl of *Rocheſter*, his Brother-in-law, on whom therefore he beſtow'd the important and beneficial Place of Lord High-Treaſurer of *England* upon his firſt Advancement to the Throne; but yet nothing was able to maintain the Earl in his Poſt, but the changing his Religion, and embracing the King's, which, by this time, was become the only Step to Preferment. My Lord *Rocheſter* being preſs'd and fatigued by the King's Solicitations, told His Majeſty, that to let him ſee 'twas not through any Prejudice of Education or Obſtinacy that he perſever'd in his Religion, he conſented to hear ſome Proteſtant Divines diſpute with his *Popiſh* Prieſts, and promis'd to ſide with the Conquerors. Thereupon the King appointed a Conference to be held at *White-Hall*, at which His Majeſty, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, aſſiſted. The Proteſtant Champions were Dr. *Stillingfleet*, a Man of univerſal Literature, and Dr. *Jane*, a Perſon of deep Learning, but chiefly famous for Polemick Divinity; Two *Benedictine* Monks ſtood up for the *Popiſh* Cauſe, and the Subject of their Diſpute was, *The Rule of Faith, and the proper Judge*

Conference between Two Proteſtant Divines, and Two Benedictines.

Judge in Controverſie. This Conference was long and tedious, as it always happens where Debates are manag'd with Strength of Reaſoning on one ſide, and Obſtinate Ignorance on the other; but at laſt the *Romiſh* Sticklers were forc'd to leave the Field to their Antagoniſts; whereupon the Earl of *Rocheſter* openly declar'd, that the Victory the Proteſtant Divines had gain'd, made no Alteration in his Mind, being beforehand convinc'd of the Truth of his Religion, and firmly reſolv'd never to forſake it. His Majeſty going off abruptly was heard to ſay, *He never ſaw a bad Cauſe ſo well, nor a good one ſo ill maintain'd.* Not many Days after the King ſent to the Earl for his Commiſſion of High-Treaſurer, which he preſently reſign'd; and which was beſtow'd * on the Lords *Bellaſis* and *Dover*, two *Roman* Catholicks, and on the Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *John Earnly*, and Sir *Stephen Fox*. To alleviate his Diſgrace, His Majeſty aſſign'd him an Annuity of Five Thouſand Pounds upon the Poſt-Office, which ſo engag'd the Earl, that he afterwards went over to *Holland* to take care of the King's Intereſt there, and give a fair Interpretation of his Deſigns. Several other Proteſtants of Diſtinction were cloſeted upon account of their Religion, and turn'd out of their Employments for not complying with His Majeſties Deſire. In ſhort, the King acted in ſo deſpotick a manner, and Popery made ſo rapid a Progreſs, that ſome of the *Roman* Catholicks complain'd of the violent Methods, and unpolitical Conduct of the leading Men of their Party: And as the ſtill Sea is generally obſerv'd to be the Fore-runner of a Storm, the wiſeſt and moſt diſcerning amongſt 'em began to ſuſpect ſome ſudden Change from the quiet and moderate Behaviour of the Proteſtants.

1688, 89.

The Earl of R——ter *ſurrenders his Commiſſion.*

* Jan. 5. 1687.

The Governing Party about King *James* were ſo eager to make a Shew of their Chymerical Trophies, that towards the latter end of the Year 1686. the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was diſpatch'd to *Rome* in Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſador, where he made his publick Entry * with a magnificent Train, and moſt ſplendid Equipage. His Inſtru-

Embaſſie to Rome.

* Jan. 8 1687.

1685. ctions were, to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the Holy See, from which, for more than an Age, they had fallen off by the *Northern* Hereſie. *Innocent* XI. receiv'd this Embaſſie as one who ſaw further than thoſe who ſent it. The Ambaſſador had but a cold Reception from the Holy Father; and none of the Cardinals, but thoſe of a particular Faction, took any further Notice of him, than what Form and good Manners oblig'd them to. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd upon by Shew and Noiſe, and were too well acquainted with *England* to expect great Matters from ſuch precipitated Advances as the King made in his Deſigns. Beſides, *Innocent* being not only ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but having an Averſion to the *French*, (ever ſince he was worſted by one of that Nation in a ſingle Combat, when he was a general Officer in the King of *Spain*'s Army) and a freſh Pique, beſides, againſt the Court of *France*, on account of the *Regale*, and the Bombarding of *Genoa*, He was not over-fond of an Embaſſie from a Prince who was in an Intereſt he wiſh'd to ſee humbled. *Caſtlemain* had ſeveral Audiences of the Pope, but to little Purpoſe; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, his Holineſs had a Fit of Coughing at command, to rid himſelf of the Ambaſſador's Converſation. Theſe Audiences and Fits of Coughing continued from time to time, while *Caſtlemain* ſtaid at *Rome*, and were the Subject of Diverſion to all, but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was adviſ'd to threaten to be gone, ſince he could not have an Opportunity to treat with the Pope about the Buſineſs he came for. The good old Father was ſo little concern'd at the Ambaſſador's Reſentments, that when they told him of it, he anſwer'd with his uſual Coldneſs: *E bene; ſe vuol andarſene, ditegli ad unque che ſi levi di buona matina al freſco, e che nel mezzo giorno ſi riposi, perche in queſti paeſi non biſogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno.* *Well, ſince*

coldly received.

he

he will be gone, tell him he had beſt to riſe early in the Morning, and reſt himſelf at Noon; for in theſe Countries it's dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day. In ſhort, King *James* met with nothing but Mortification at *Rome*, in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador, whom he ſoon after recall'd, being able to obtain of the *Pope* but Two inconſiderable things, *viz.* a Licenſe for the Mareſchal *d'Humieres*'s Daughter to marry her Unkle; and the other a Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the *Jeſuits Order*, that Father *Peter*'s might be a Privy-Counſellor, and enjoy a Biſhoprick; the want of which was ſuppos'd to be the Reaſon of the Vacancy of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. As for the Supplies which *Caſtlemain* had private Orders to ask, his Holineſs excus'd himſelf upon Account of the vaſt Sums he gave the Emperor and the *Venetians* to carry on the War againſt the Infidels. The *Jeſuits* at *Rome* made the Earl of *Caſtlemain* ſome Amends for the cold Treatment he receiv'd from the Pope; for indeed they paid him the higheſt Reſpect imaginable, and entertain'd him with the greateſt Magnificence. 1686/7.

The Privy-Council of *Scotland* having acquainted the *King, that his Commands were exactly obey'd, and that his Royal Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience was printed and publiſh'd; and aſſur'd His Majeſty, that they believ'd his Promiſe to be the beſt and greateſt Security they could have, that he would maintain the Church and their Religion as it was eſtabliſh'd by Law*; This ready Compliance of the *Scots* was very acceptable to His Majeſty, and gave him Hopes to find the ſame Docility in his *Engliſh* Subjects. Thereupon having aſſembled his Privy-Council, he declared to them, "That he had re- "ſolv'd to iſſue out a Declaration for a general "Liberty of Conſcience to all Perſons of what "Perſuaſion ſoever; which he was mov'd to do "by having obſerv'd, that altho' an Uniformity in "Religious Worſhip had been endeavour'd to be "eſtabliſh'd within this Kingdom in the ſucceſ- "ſive Reigns of Four of his Prodeceſſors, aſſiſted "by their reſpective Parliaments, yet it had "prov'd

Letter from the Council of Scotland, 24th Feb. 1686/7.

K. James's Speech to his Council, March 18th, 1686/7.

1686. "prov'd altogether ineffectual. That the Reſtraint "upon the Conſciences of Diſſenters in order "thereunto, had been very Prejudicial to the Na- "tion, as was ſadly experienc'd by the horrid Re- "bellion in the Time of His Majeſties Father. "That the many Penal Laws made againſt Diſſen- "ters, had rather encreas'd than leſſen'd the Num- "ber of them; and that nothing could more "conduce to the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom, "and the Encreaſe of the Number, as well as of "the Trade of his Subjects, than an entire Li- "berty of Conſcience; it having always been His "Majeſties Opinion, as moſt ſuitable to the Princi- "ples of Chriſtianity, that no Man ſhould be per- "ſecuted for Conſcience Sake, which His Majeſty "thought are not to be forc'd; and that it could ne- "ver be the true Intereſt of a King of *England* to "endeavour to do it. And at the ſame Time, he "gave Directions to his Attorney and Solicitor-Ge- "neral, not to permit any Proceſs to iſſue in his "Name againſt any Diſſenter whatſoever.

This Speech ſeem'd ſo Plauſible that it met with no manner of Oppoſition in the Council; or rather the Council was ſo fram'd to the King's Will, and ſo blinded by Ambition and Intereſt, that they neither would nor could ſee the Drift of that Speech; ſo that His Majeſty thinking the Nation was now ready to undergo a Yoke, he impos'd upon them with all the Gentleneſs imaginable, and with the Pomp and Shew of an Indulgence, he caus'd his *gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience to be publiſh'd*, * being much the ſame with that of *Scotland*; ſave only that the Expreſſions of *annulling and repealing Teſts and Oaths*, which were made uſe of in that, were ſoftned in this into thoſe of *Suſpending and Diſpenſing with Penal Laws*, &c. In the Preamble His Majeſty does not ſcruple to ſay, *That he cannot but heartily wiſh, as it will eaſily be believ'd, that all his Subjects were Members of the Catholick Church; yet it is his Opinion that Conſcience ought not to be conſtrain'd*; and for the Reaſons alledg'd in the abovemention'd Speech, which he repeats here at large; by Virtue of his Royal

* April 4th 1687. *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.*

Royal Prerogative, *He thinks fit to iſſue forth this his Declaration of Indulgence; making no doubt of the Concurrence of his two Houſes of Parliament, when he ſhall think it convenient for them to Meet.* First, *He declares, that he will Protect and Maintain his Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of* England, *in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as by Law eſtabliſh'd; and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſſions. He likewiſe declares, that it is his Royal Will and Pleaſure that all Penal Laws for Non-conformity to the Religion eſtabliſh'd, or by Reaſon of the Exerciſe of Religion in any manner whatſoever, be immediately* Suſpended. And to *the End that by the Liberty hereby granted, the Peace and Security of his Government in the Practice thereof may not be indanger'd, he ſtrictly Charges and Commands all his Subjects, that as he freely gives them Leave to meet and ſerve God after their own Way, be it in Private Houſes, or Places purpoſely hired or built for that Uſe; ſo that they take ſpecial Care, that nothing be Preach'd or Taught amongſt them, which may tend to alienate the Hearts of his People from him or his Government; and that their Meetings and Aſſemblies be Peaceably, Openly, and Publickly held, and all Perſons freely admitted to them, and that they do ſignifie and make known to ſome one or more of the next Juſtices of the Peace, what Place or Places they ſet apart for thoſe Uſes. And as he is deſirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, which by the Law of Nature is inſeparably annex'd, and inherent in his Royal Perſon; and that none of his Subjects may for the future be under any Diſcouragement or Diſability, who are otherwiſe well inclin'd and fit to Serve him, by Reaſon of ſome Oaths or Teſts that have uſually been adminiſtred on ſuch Occaſions, he hereby further declares, that it is his Will and Pleaſure, that the* Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, *and the ſeveral* Teſts *and Declarations mention'd in the Acts of Parliament made in the* 25*th and* 30*th Years of his Brother's Reign, ſhall not hereafter be required to be taken, declar'd, or ſubſcrib'd by any Perſons whatſoever, who are or ſhall be employ'd in any Office or Place of* 1687.

Truſt

1687. *Truſt either Civil or Military, under him or in his Government; and it is his Intention from time to time hereafter, to grant his Royal Diſpenſations to all his Subjects ſo to be employ'd, who ſhall not Take the ſaid Oaths, or Subſcribe or Declare the ſaid Teſts or Declarations. And he does hereby give his free and ample Pardon to all Non-conformiſts, Recuſants, and other his Subjects, for all Crimes and Things by them Committed, or done contrary to the Penal Laws, formerly made relating to Religion, and the Profeſſion or Exerciſe thereof. And although the Freedom and Aſſurance he has hereby given in relation to Religion and Property, might be ſufficient to remove from the Minds of his Subjects all Fears and Jealouſies in relation to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their Properties and Poſſeſſions, as well of* Church *and* Abbey-lands, *as in other their Eſtates and Properties whatſoever.*

The *Presbyterians*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Diſſenters, had lately been ſo Haraſs'd and Perſecuted, that 'tis no Wonder they were ſo eager to lay hold of this Opportunity of ſheltering themſelves from Oppreſſion. And indeed 'tis natural for People that labour under violent and racking Pains, greedily and thankfully to receive any Remedies that are offer'd them for preſent Eaſe, without conſidering whether 'tis a friendly or unfriendly Hand that Adminiſters the quieting Potion; but then again, aſſoon as the Treacherous Effects of a Palliative Medicine are over, and the old Diſtemper returns with redoubled Fury, Men are apt to Curſe the Authors of their additional Torments, and have Recourſe to more Effectual, though, perhaps, more violent Remedies. Thus the *Presbyterians* being releas'd from their Priſons, and allow'd the free and publick Exerciſe of their Religion, thought no Praiſes too great to Expreſs their Gratitude; no Bleſſings ſufficient to Reward their Deliverer and Benefactor. Nay, ſo extravagantly Thankful were ſome of them in their Addreſſes, as to fill 'em with Acknowledgments that nearly border'd upon Blaſphemy. But at laſt they open'd their Eyes: They perceiv'd the Venom

Addreſſes of Thanks for the Liberty of Conſcience.

Venom that lay hid in thoſe indulgent Declarations, and plainly ſaw, that though the King had granted a general Toleration to his Subjects, yet the *Papiſts* only were deſign'd to receive the Benefit of it; and that all the Places of Truſt, both Civil and Military, would ſoon devolve into their Hands. And as the ſudden Favours we receive from an inveterate Enemy are always Suſpicious, they likewiſe diſcover'd that the Reaſon of this ſeeming Kindneſs from the Court, was only becauſe their Efforts to engage the Church of *England* in their Siniſtrous Deſigns had prov'd ineffectual. Then reflecting on this Fundamental Maxim of the *Roman* Catholicks, *That they are not bound to keep Faith with Hereticks*, but may uſe all manner of Equivocations and Retractations either to Convert or Exterminate them; leſt they ſhould be Acceſſary to their own Ruin, they held Private Conferences with the Epiſcopal Party, about the moſt Proper Means to diſpel the Storm that threatned them both; to this end, a Reconcilement in Point of Religious Worſhip was chiefly thought Neceſſary; and ſome *Presbyterian* Teachers preſt it ſo much in their Pulpits, that the Diſſenters of *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, and ſome other Places in *Kent*, declared they were ready to join in Communion with the Church of *England*. 1687.

Effects of the Declaration with the Presbyterians.

On the other hand, the Church of *England* ſaw preſently through this Jeſuitical Contrivance, and dreaded the Conſequences; they look'd upon it as a juſt Judgment from Heaven, for the Rigour they had exercis'd againſt the Non-conformiſts in King *Charles* IId's Time; they began to blame the over-ſtrain'd and undiſcreet Zeal of ſome of their Ambitious Prelates; which had reduc'd the Diſſenters, both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the Neceſſity, not only of accepting of, but even of ſuing for this general Indulgence; in ſhort, they were now made ſenſible that thoſe who put them upon executing the *Penal Laws*, did but make them Properties to hinder the Diſſenters from Uniting with the Church of *England*, and play them againſt one another, that their Diviſions might add Strength to the *Papiſts*

With the Church of England.

1687. *piſts* to deſtroy them both. Thus by the Liberty of Conſcience King *James* loſt his *Epiſcopal Party*, who had ſet the Crown upon his Head, without winning the *Presbyterians*, that had endeavour'd to exclude him; and both Church-men and Diſſenters perceiving their Common Danger, forgot, at leaſt ſuſpended their old Animoſities, and join'd Councils to prevent their imminent Ruin.

But in the mean Time the King's Declaration did in ſome Meaſure anſwer the Ends for which it was publiſh'd, and ſcarce a Day paſt without ſome Proteſtant or other being reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*. And indeed if we conſider the Frailties of Humane Nature, and how powerfully the Luſt of Honours and Riches rules over Mankind, how could it prove otherwiſe? 'Tis true the King had declar'd that he would advance to Employments thoſe Perſons only, whoſe Worth and Affection ſhould recommend them to his Favour, without any Regard to their Religion; but yet who could be ſo little diſcerning as not to perceive that to be of the King's Religion was the moſt diſtinguiſhing Merit, and the ſureſt way to Preferment? Therefore thoſe who were already in Employments, and whoſe Conſciences were not over-nice, went to Maſs to avoid Diſgrace; and others of the ſame Stamp, who gap'd after Places, did not ſcruple to Sacrifice their Religion to their Ambition; when thoſe who had nothing but Zeal, Loyalty, and Affection to plead for them, were either turn'd out, if in Place, or if out of Place, left unregarded.

Proteſtants turn'd out of Employment.

The Truth of all this is abundantly confirm'd by Examples: My Lord *S*---- whether to Serve his vaſt Ambition by promoting another Prince's Deſign, or only to Gratifie a Predominant Paſſion that daily exhauſted his Purſe, Profeſt himſelf a *Roman Catholick*, and by that Means preſerv'd the Aſcendant, which his Cunning and Superior Genius gave him over Father *Perre*'s, and the large ſhare he had in the King's Confidence and Favours, though in the Year 1680. he had warmly ſtickled for the Bill of Excluſion, and was therefore turn'd out

out of his Place of Secretary of State to *Charles* II. Whereas the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*, the King's Brothers-in-Law, and who had ſignaliz'd their Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty, by a continued Courſe of Important Services, particularly in the tickliſh Affair of the *Popiſh* Plot and Bill of Excluſion, were remov'd from their Employments, meerly upon account of their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and Roman Catholicks advanc'd in their Rooms. Some will have it, that the Earl of *S*-------- a zealous Competitor, not to ſay an irreconcileable Enemy of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, undermin'd both him and his Brother the Earl of *Clarendon*, to get them out of the King's Favour. But ſtill it's certain, that the Pretence of his Inſinuations againſt them, and the King's main Reaſon for laying them aſide, was their ſtanding up for the Proteſtant Intereſt. The ſame happen'd not long after to the Earl of *Shr---bury*, who refuſing to return within the Pale of the *Roman* Catholick Church, from which he had ſtray'd (as the *Papiſts* phras'd it) ever ſince *Oates*'s Plot, was turn'd out of his Commiſſion of Colonel of Horſe, and his Regiment beſtow'd on *Richard Hamilton*. 1687.

As the *Papiſts* were chiefly intended to reap the Fruits of the Liberty of Conſcience, ſo they were not wanting to acknowledge the King's Favour. The Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, (made * lately Lord Privy-Seal in the Room of the Earl of *Clarendon*) the Marquis of *Powis*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality preſented an Addreſs to His Majeſty, in behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the *Roman* Catholicks of this Kingdom; wherein *They teſtified their Thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and His Majeſty, for ſo happy an Expedient, for the Eaſe and Comfort of all his Subjects; and though they were thought not to deſire the leaſt Eaſe or Good to thoſe that differ'd from them in Opinion, yet they did not only Rejoice in the Univerſality of His Majeſties Bounty, but that it flow'd from a Prince of their own Religion.* And now 'twas high Time for the *Jeſuits* to ſet up Seminaries, in order to cauſe unwary Proteſtant Youths to imbibe the *Po-*

* March 11th, 1687.

The Papiſts Addreſs, May 28th.

1687. *Popiſh* Religion, under the fair Pretence of inſtructing them in Humane Learning. Accordingly they open'd their Schools in ſeveral Places in *England*, particularly in *London*, in the ancient Royal Palace call'd the *Savoy*; which gave Occaſion to Dr. *Tenniſon*, (then Rector of St. *Martin's*, and now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) a Perſon of Exemplary Piety and Charity, to erect his Free-School at St. *Martin's*, adorn'd with a Choice Library, in Oppoſition to that *Jeſuitical* Colledge.

The Jeſuits School in the Savoy, May *the* 25*th*, 1687.

St. Martin's *Free-School.*

Not long after Dr. *Tenniſon* met with an Opportunity of Signalizing his Learning and Zeal in the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, which the *Jeſuits* by ſubtle Arts, and unfair Practices, endeavour'd to undermine. The Dr. being inform'd that an Apprentice of his Pariſh was departing from the Church of *England*, having been at Maſs two Months before, deſir'd the Maſter and his Apprentice to come into his Cloſet, where he ask'd the Youth, what Reaſons could induce him to leave ſo good a Church? After much Importunity he ſaid, that Mr. *Pulton*, Rector of the Jeſuits School in the *Savoy*, had perſuaded him by his Arguments; and being further ask'd, what thoſe Arguments were? He anſwered, Mr. *Pulton* had ſhew'd him in *Luther's* Works, that *Luther* held ſometimes three, and ſometimes ſeven Sacraments; and added, that *Luther* was diſſuaded from going to Maſs by the Devil; and that ever ſince the Pretended Reformed had proceeded upon the Word of the Devil. The Doctor ſhew'd him how frivolous that Story and Argument was; and told him that he believ'd Mr. *Pulton* would not juſtifie this way of reaſoning before him. The Boy had been ſo tamper'd with, that that very Day he had been with the Doctor, he had the Confidence to turn upon him the Story about *Luther* and the Devil, which was told by the Jeſuit. His Maſter carried the Boy to Dr. *Horneck*, ſtill hoping to work Good upon him; but his Perverſeneſs was ſo apparent to the Doctor, notwithſtanding all the things of Moment he could ſay, that he perceiv'd him paſt preſent Cure. Great Boaſt was made in the Neigh-

Dr. Tenniſon's *Conference with Mr.* Pulton, *Jeſuit.*

September 29*th*, 1687.

Neighbourhood about Mr. *Pulton*; and Wagers offer'd by the Papiſts, that Dr. *Tenniſon* would not engage in a free Diſpute with him; tho' there was little Reaſon for that boaſting, the Doctor having already in vain expected the coming of two Prieſts at a Place and Time appointed. That Doctor knew indeed that Conferences of this Nature ſeldom produce any other Effect, than to furniſh ſuch People as are either already ſeduc'd, or inclin'd to be ſo, with a Pretence of ſaying, *That upon what they heard they were converted*; yet being made ſenſible by a Friend, that if Mr. *Pulton* was not met, the *Romaniſts* would give it out, that no Proteſtant was able to confute him, it was agreed on all ſides that there ſhould be a * Meeting. The main Point which the Jeſuit propos'd to be debated, was, *The Rule of Faith*; but the Inconſiſtence of *Luther* about the Sacraments, and his pretended Colloquy with the Devil, being that on which the Boy's Converſion was grounded, the Doctor thought fit to clear that Matter firſt; and ſaid to Mr. *Pulton*, that the Proteſtant Church depended not upon *Luther*, but Chriſt; that *Luther* was indeed an excellent Inſtrument of God, but had his Failings like other Men, as was ſufficiently prov'd in a Book lately publiſh'd at *Oxford*, entituled, *The Spirit of* Martin Luther; that if *Luther* had ſaid any where, there were Three Sacraments, he had ſaid no more than *Paſchaſius Radbertus*, who was the Inventor of Tranſubſtantiation; that admitting the Story, *Luther* after the Monkiſh way had put the Spiritual Conflict into the Form of a Colloquy; and that he might well ſuſpect a Device in the Devil when he diſſuaded him from the Maſs; for the Devil might think the Piety of *Luther* would be apt to move him for that Reaſon to go the rather to Maſs, becauſe he had forbidden him. He added, that one of the firſt Diſſuaſives from the Maſs, which made Impreſſion upon *Luther*, was that having been at *Rome*, and ſaid Maſs there, and heard it ſaid, He took Notice of the Prophaneneſs of the Maſs-Prieſts, and overheard the very Courtezans jeeringly ſaying, that

1687.

* Sept. 29. 1687.

1687. ſome who conſecrated, had us'd theſe Words, *Bread thou art, Bread thou ſhalt be: Wine thou art, Wine thou ſhalt be.* To all this the *Jeſuit* having nothing to reply, with great Noiſe and Aſſurance ask'd the Doctor, *What was the Rule of Faith? Where the Proteſtants had their Bible? Who gave them the Copies? How? Where? When?* And the like. The Doctor anſwer'd, that the Rule of Faith is the Holy Bible; that the Sum of it, in neceſſary Doctrines, is the Apoſtolical Creed; that if the *Romaniſts* had any good Proof of the Bible, the *Proteſtants* had it too; that the firſt External Inducement for the receiving of the Bible, as Written by ſuch and ſuch Perſons, and as ſuch a Book, was, not ſo much the Authority, as the Teſtimony of the Univerſal Church of all Ages, all agreeing in it, and amongſt others the *Roman*, excepting the Apochryphal Books of later Time, rais'd by them into a Level with the primary Canon, whilſt the Proteſtants had the ſame Canon the ancient Church own'd in the Council of *Laodicea*; That the Proteſtants took in the Teſtimony of *Heathens*, as of *Julian* the Apoſtate, who own'd three of the Evangeliſts; and of the *Jews*, who had once the Oracles committed to them, and from whom the firſt Chriſtians receiv'd the Canon of the Old Teſtament, and might believe Men ſincere when they ſpoke againſt themſelves; That by this way of Univerſal Conſent, we were as ſure of this Book's being the Bible, as of *Cicero's* Offices being his Book; and that for the Holy Bible, when Men came to conſider the Propheſies and their Events, the Characters and Hiſtory of Chriſt, and Things in thoſe Books, moſt worthy of the Supream Being, and uſe Pious Means in Humility of Soul, they had further Aſſurance begotten in them. The *Jeſuit* inſiſting upon theſe Paſſages of Scripture, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon thee will I build my Church*; *hear the Church*, &c. that a Church at *Rome* was ſpoken of by St. *Paul*, &c. the Doctor took up the Bible, and made three or four Offers to prove how thoſe Paſſages were miſapply'd; but Mr. *Pulton* turn'd all off by general Diſcourſe about the Bible and Rule of Faith,

Faith, and ſaid, that the *Greeks*, whom the Doctor had mention'd, were all Liars, being Hereticks; and that the *Roman* Catholicks were ſaid by them to be a Corrupt Church, and that therefore the Proteſtants depended upon *Liars* for their Bible. The Doctor anſwer'd, that the *Greeks* were not all Liars and Hereticks; that Father *Simon*, a learned *Romaniſt*, in his Book call'd, *Hiſtoire Critique de la Créance des Nations du Levant*, publiſh'd Three Years before, had ſhew'd how the Miſſionaries had ſlander'd and miſrepreſented the *Greek* Church, and made thoſe Hereticks who were not ſo, and rais'd a Diſpute about Words when they agreed in Meaning; That when every Body in all Ages has conſpir'd in a Teſtimony concerning Books, or ſuch Cities as *Rome*, or *Jeruſalem*, though ſome might be ill Men, and in ſome Particulars Liars, yet we could not believe them ſuch in their Univerſal Conſent, becauſe they could never be in a Confederacy to vent ſuch a Lie: Laſtly, that though the Proteſtants took, in part, the Teſtimony of the *Roman* Church, yet from her Authority the Scriptures could not be prov'd, becauſe ſhe went about to prove her Being from out of the Scriptures, and therefore could not do it, till it was firſt prov'd that the Scriptures were the Word of God, and the Places cited were Infallibly prov'd to carry that Senſe which the *Romaniſts* put upon them. After this, the *Jeſuit* with that Heat and Turbulency which are Natural to thoſe that maintain a bad Cauſe, ſaid, that the *Church was a City on a Hill, and always Viſible*; and ask'd, where ſuch a Church as the Proteſtant was Viſible in all Ages? The Doctor learnedly reply'd, that it ſuffices the People that they have heard Chriſt's Promiſe; that there ſhall be a Society of Men profeſſing Chriſtianity to the end of the World; That they believe Chriſt will make good his Word, and that they find among the Proteſtants ſuch Doctrine and Rules of Life, as are in the Scriptures; That the *Greeks* have always had Churches; that among the *Latins* we have Catalogues of Witneſſes againſt *Romiſh* Errors; that a true Church may, (though not as ſuch) have 1687.

1687. many Corruptions; and that the preſent Corruptions in the *Roman* Church were not formerly made Articles of Faith; That we had the true Faith before any Miſſion came from *Rome*; That St. *Gregory*'s Faith was not that which *Rome* now teaches; That here the Synods of the Second of *Nice* and *Trent* could not prevail; That a Doctrine contrary to *Tranſubſtantiation* had been Taught in the *Saxon* Church. This Debate about the Rule of Faith, and the Viſibility of the Church, having laſted upwards of two Hours, and the Jeſuit having nothing more to ſuggeſt, he introduc'd a Diſcourſe about Tranſubſtantiation, and the real Preſence; in this Controverſie Mr. *Pulton* diſcover'd his Ignorance of Hiſtory and Chronology, and how unacquainted he was with Eccleſiaſtical Writers; and though he made a ſhift to maintain a noiſie, rambling Fight, by the help of ſhifting Cavils, groſs Anachroniſms, and Quotations of ſpurious Authors, particularly of St. *Jerome of the Sacraments*; the Third Epiſtle of St. *Anacletus*, Canon 39. Arab. of the firſt Council of *Nice*; St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* againſt *Ruffinus*, &c. yet both he, and the Prieſts that ſupported him, were at laſt forc'd to yield to the invincible Proofs and Arguments of one ſingle learned Proteſtant Divine. The Doctor would make no other Advantage of his Victory, than to tell Mr. *Pulton*, that though he had in a printed Paper promis'd not to tamper about Religion with the Proteſtant Boys who ſhould come to the *Savoy*-School, yet it appear'd that he had tamper'd with thoſe out of his Care, and would do ſo much more with ſuch as were under it; for it being his Principle, that all out of his Communion were Damn'd; as a Jeſuit and a Papiſt, he muſt break his Word for the neceſſary Good, as he thought, of the Souls of thoſe Boys. The Jeſuit and his Aſſiſtants were ſo netled by this home Expoſtulation, that being at a loſs how to anſwer it, they ſaid aloud, *It reflected upon the King*; alledging, that the King, as a *Roman* Catholick, was alſo bound to break his Word given to his People, of not forcing their Con-

Conſciences; but many of the Hearers, provoked with Indignation, cry'd out againſt them, and ſaid it was *a knaviſh Trick*. The Doctor likewiſe juſtly incens'd by their unfair Proceeding, told one *Meredith*, a new Convert, who had firſt rais'd the Accuſation, that for his own part he thought his Loyalty to be more valuable than his, becauſe as a Son of the Church of *England* he had profeſs'd he would not rebel againſt the King, notwithſtanding he might be of another Religion; whereas *Meredith* being of the ſame Religion, could not ſo well ſeparate Loyalty from Intereſt. Thereupon the Jeſuits abruptly broke up the Conference, muttering enſnaring Words about Perſecution, the Queen of *Scots*, the Bill of Excluſion, and the *Penal Laws*, to which laſt Point the Doctor replied, That he pity'd People of differing Aſſemblies, but that for ſuch as his Order *, who had taught excluding and depoſing Doctrines, and brought in a foreign Juriſdiction, it ſeem'd fit to keep up ſome Laws againſt them. 'Twas not without Reaſon that the Doctor apprehended the old Trick of making a Converſion of one chang'd already, to turn upon a verbal Conference; for ſoon after, the before-mentioned Boy being ask'd by a *Romaniſt*, *If he was now ſatisfied in the Religion he was brought up in?* He anſwer'd, *Not:* But it appear'd by his Carriage before Dr. *Tenniſon*, and Dr. *Horneck*, that he was already taught how to fence in this Matter; which was further evidenc'd by a Letter he wrote to his Father Nine Days before the Conference, wherein he gives an Account of thoſe Motives which oblig'd him in Conſcience to betake himſelf to the Church of *Rome*. Theſe Motives, or rather Suggeſtions of the crafty Jeſuits, were theſe: *That the* Roman *Catholick Church was allow'd to have been once the true Church built upon the Rock, againſt which our Saviour promis'd Hell ſhould never prevail; whence, unleſs we will give our Saviour the Lie, ſhe is ſtill ſo; That the Church had Power, during the Four firſt Centuries, to decide all Controverſies about Religion, and they were reputed Hereticks who obey'd not her Deciſion; which Power ſhe muſt ſtill*

1687.

* Suarez, Mariana, &c.

1687. *retain; That those of that Church are all of one Faith in all Countries: Whereas the Reform'd Churches all clash among themselves, and divide and sub-divide without end; That it is the Catholick Church alone which is taught in all Countries, and that God has seconded the Labour of her Missionaries with manifest Miracles: That among them abundance of noble and rich People follow the Evangelical Counsels, and leave all for God's sake; and that they built and founded all these Monuments of Devotion and Churches we see now extant; whereas the Reformed Religions have only serv'd to pull them down, and were founded on the Leachery of* Henry VIII. *the Ambition of the Tutor of King* Edward VI. *and Violence of Queen* Elizabeth, *and only preserv'd by the Rigour of* Penal Laws, *and spilling the Blood of those who for a Thousand Years had profess'd the Catholick Faith.* Notwithstanding their Defeat, the *Jesuits* had the Assurance to boast, both in private Conversations, and in their Pulpits, that the Advantage was on their side; nay, some of their Emissaries spread it all about the City, and afterwards all *England* over, that One *Jesuit* had silenc'd Five Protestant Ministers, to wit, Dr. *Tenison*, the Deans of *Peterborough* and *Windsor*, Dr. *Horneck* and Mr. *Wake*; but the first of these Reverend Divines soon undeceiv'd the World, by publishing an Account of the Conference, of which I have given the Reader the foregoing Abstract, to let him into the bold Designs and insinuating Practices of the Jesuits, in order to subvert the establish'd Religion of these Realms.

French Protestants *reliev'd.*

At the same time that King *James* advanc'd Popery, it cannot be denied but that his Generosity extended, in a particular manner, to the distress'd Protestants who had lately fled from *France* upon account of Religion; for he not only granted them *Briefs*, but gave 'em also large Sums out of his Privy Purse, to excite the Charity of his Subjects by his Royal Example. Nevertheless, those Briefs had not all the good Effect which was intended by His Majesty: Many People refusing to contribute towards those charitable Collections,

ons, upon an ill-grounded Suſpicion that they were deſign'd by the Court for the Maintainance of *French* Papiſts that were invited over to ſerve the King's Deſigns. Others endeavour'd to leſſen King *James*'s Bounty, by ſaying it was but a Piece of Policy, in order to curry Favour with his own Proteſtant Subjects. All that an Hiſtorian can ſay in this Matter is, that where the Benefit is real, 'tis a kind of Ingratitude too nicely to enquire into the Motive of it. 1687.

Some of the *French* Refugees had a better Senſe of the King's Favours. For Monſieur *Daillon*, one of their Miniſters, to compliment the Court upon their beloved Project of *Liberty of Conſcience*, ſollicited a *Patent* for the erecting a Nonconforming and Independant *French* Church in *Soho-Fields*, which was readily granted: And from hence it is that the *French* call that Meeting-Houſe *La Patente*, to this very Day.

The Miniſters of the *French* Church in the *Savoy* were not wanting in expreſſing their Gratitude to His Majeſty; but yet they did it with more Reſerve and Circumſpection, as appear'd upon the following Occaſion: The *Jeſuits* ever ſince their Settlement in the *Savoy*, had a Deſign upon the *French* Chappel there, and Mr. *Pulton*, their Rector or Principal, tamper'd with Dr. *Dubourdieu*, in order to engage him to reſign that Church, promiſing him, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they ſhould think moſt convenient between *White-Hall* and *Temple-Bar*, with a large Sum of Money into the Bargain. Monſieur *Dubourdieu* made Anſwer, That being but one, he deſir'd Time to communicate his Propoſal to the other Miniſters, and Church-Wardens of the *Savoy*. Theſe being met upon this critical Affair, it was agreed, That before they ſhould give the *Jeſuits* a poſitive Anſwer, they ſhould conſult with ſuch Lords who were moſt conſpicuous for their Wiſdom, and their Affection to the Proteſtant Intereſt. Accordingly Mr. *Dubourdieu* waited upon the Lords *Halifax*, *Danby*, *Nottingham*, and ſome few others,

1687. thers, who all, as it were by Consent, advis'd 'em after this manner: *Never hearken to any Terms with the Jesuits; let them pursue their violent Measures; suffer your selves to be thrust out of your Church; for by that Means you'll do your own Business and the Nation's.*

Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners against the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge,

The Thunderbolts of the Ecclesiastical Commission fell next on both the Universities, and first of all upon Dr. *Peachel*, the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, *for refusing to admit one* Alban Francis, *a* Benedictine Monk, *to the Degree of Master of Arts, without taking the Oaths, according to the King's Mandate, wherein His Majesty dispens'd with* Francis *for not having that necessary Qualification.* This Mandate being read in the Consistory, it was unanimously agreed, That they could not admit the *Monk* to a Degree, without taking the usual Oaths, unless they broke their own; and thereupon appointed Two of their Body to wait upon His Majesty, and acquaint him how ready they were to obey all his Commands, where their Compliance did not clash with their Consciences; humbly hoping His Majesty would not force them to *Wilful Perjury*; of which, by the Statutes of the University, they must be guilty, if they should admit *Alban Francis* thus unqualify'd to that Degree. When the Two *Fellows* came to *London*, they first made their Application to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, who us'd his Interest to serve them, tho' to little Purpose; for at length they receiv'd this Answer from the Secretary of State, *That His Majesty had seen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at the Proceedings of the University, and would take Order shortly to give them a further Answer.* What this Answer was appear'd in a little time, for *Atterbury* the Messenger came to *Cambridge*, to summon the Vice-Chancellor to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and answer to such things as should be objected against him, on His Majesties Behalf. The Vice-Chancellor, and Eight more of that Body, appear'd, and put in their Answer in writing in the Name of the University; alledging Three Acts of Parliament

ment in their Juſtification, with many unanſwerable Arguments againſt the Illegality of this new Court; which being read, the Court took ſome time to conſider on the Matter, and adjourn'd till *Saturday* the 7th of *May*, 1687. That Day being come, and the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates appearing, after ſome trifling Queſtions propounded by Chancellor *Jefferies*, they were commanded to withdraw; and being call'd in again, *Jefferies* told the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, That he being guilty of great Diſobedience to the King's Commands, and other Crimes and Contempts, the Court had ſentenced him, *To be deprived of his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and ſuſpended him* ab Officio & Beneficio *of his Headſhip of* Magdalen-Colledge, *and that he ſhould not preſume to meddle in any publick Buſineſs relating to the Univerſity.* 1687.

Proceedings againſt St. **Mary Magdalen *College in* Oxon.**

The Storm which ſoon after broke out upon the whole Colledge of St. *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford*, as it was a longer time a-gathering, ſo it proved more furious and diſmal in its Effects. And becauſe the boldeſt Strokes of that Arbitrary Spirit, by which King *James*'s Councils were animated, were ſeen in a particular manner through the Courſe of this Affair, a full Relation of the whole cannot be thought foreign to this Hiſtory. St. *Mary Magdalen* Colledge is one of the nobleſt Foundations that, perhaps, was ever erected for Learning in the World, and therefore 'twas no wonder the *Popiſh* Clergy look'd with an envious and greedy Eye upon this rich Prize, and made their utmoſt Efforts to ſnatch it from the Hands of thoſe they call'd Hereticks. This illuſtrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, confirm'd by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and from their own Statutes, were in an uninterrupted, as well as unconteſted, Poſſeſſion of a Right to elect their own Preſident. That Place being vacant, by the Death of Dr. *Clark*, the Vice-Preſident, Dr. *Aldworth*, gave notice to all the Fellows preſent in the * Chappel, to proceed to the Election of another on the 13th of *April* following, to fill up the Vacancy. But before the Day of Election, being inform'd that

* March 31. 1687.

1687. that his Majeſty had granted his Letters Mandatory, in Behalf of Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, a Man of an ill Reputation, who had promis'd to declare himſelf a Papiſt, They moſt humbly repreſented to His Majeſty in their Petition, *That the ſaid Mr.* Farmer *was a Perſon in ſeveral Reſpects uncapable of that Character, according to their Founder's Statutes; and did moſt earneſtly beſeech His Majeſty, either to leave them to the Diſcharge of their Duty and Conſciences, according to His Majeſties late moſt gracious Toleration, and their Founder's Statutes, or to recommend ſuch a Perſon, who might be more ſerviceable to His Majeſty, and to this Colledge.* The Petition was delivered to the Earl of *S------d*, Preſident of the Council, by Dr. *Tho. Smith*, and Capt. *Bagſhaw* †; and lay Four Days in his Lordſhip's Hands, with a Promiſe of his Favour; but at laſt his Anſwer was, *That the King muſt be obeyed.* On *Monday*, *April* 11. His Majeſties Mandate was deliver'd by Mr. *Robert Charnock* *, Maſter of Arts, Fellow of the ſaid Colledge, a new Convert, and a Man wholly devoted to the Court, directed to the Vice-Preſident and Fellows, requiring them forthwith to elect the ſaid Mr. *Farmer*, and admit him Preſident. This Mandate the Vice-Preſident read, with decent Reſpect, in the Chappel of the Colledge, before the Fellows there preſent, and ask'd them whether they, in Obedience to His Majeſties Letters, would forthwith elect Mr. *Farmer* Preſident? They all agreed to defer their Anſwers till * *Wedneſday* following. All the Fellows being then met, the Vice-Preſident read the Statute concerning the Choice of a Preſident, and another againſt corrupt and irregular Elections; then he read the King's Letter in Behalf of Mr. *Farmer*, and a ſecond time demanded their Anſwer, which was to this Effect; *That having a Petition lying at that time before His Majeſty, they ought not to proceed to Election, till they had receiv'd His Majeſty's Anſwer to the ſame.* And thereupon they all agreed, except Mr. *Charnock*, that the Election ſhould be deferr'd till the next Day. On *Thurſday* † in the Morning the Vice-Preſident told them, That the Choice of

† April 9.

* *Since executed for the Plot to murder King* William *III.*

* April 13.

† April 14.

a

a Preſident had been put off upon Account of their Petition to His Majeſty, in anſwer to which they had not then receiv'd His Majeſties Pleaſure; that the next Day was the utmoſt time they had Power to prorogue the Election to by the Statutes, and therefore it was neceſſary they ſhould come to ſome Reſolution: He told them further, That the King had commanded them to elect Mr. *Farmer*, and ask'd their Senſe therein, which was unanimous (except Mr. *Charnock*) that the Election ſhould be deferr'd till the next Morning. Accordingly, *Friday*, *April* the 15th, at Eight a Clock in the Morning, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows being met, Dr. *Tho. Smith*, and Capt. *Bagſhaw*, Two of the Fellows, acquainted the reſt, from the Lord Preſident of the Council, that in Anſwer to their Petition, *His Majeſty having ſent his Letter to the Colledge, expected to be obey'd*. After which the Vice-Preſident read again the King's Mandate, and ask'd them whether they would comply with it? They deſir'd they might proceed to an Election: And the Vice-Preſident having propos'd, whether they would make any further Addreſs to His Majeſty? The Vice-Preſident, Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *Pudſey*, and Dr. *Tho. Smith*, were for a ſecond Addreſs, but all the reſt declar'd immediately for proceeding to an Election. Then the Vice-Preſident propos'd whether they would go to an Election *Viva voce*, or by *Scrutiny?* The Vice-Preſident, Mr. *Thompſon*, and Mr. *Charnock*, were for proceeding in it *Viva voce*, but all the reſt were for a Scrutiny, except Dr. *Tho. Smith*, who was for deferring the Election till they had once more petition'd the King. Therefore it being the Senſe of the Majority, that they ought to proceed to the Election of a Preſident, according to the Statutes, and this the laſt Day limited; in order to it, the Holy Sacrament was ſolemnly taken by all, except *Charnock*; then the Statutes relating to the Choice of a Preſident, and againſt corrupt Election, were read by the Vice-Preſident. Every one took the Oath preſcrib'd in the Statutes, except Mr. *Thompſon* and Mr. *Charnock*, who refus'd it, and the two Senior Fellows 1687.

1687. lows were ſworn Scrutators in the Scrutiny of the whole Society. For the Nomination of a Preſident, Dr. *Hough* and Mr. *Maynard* had each of them the major part of the Voices; and then the Thirteen Senior Fellows being met to Elect one of theſe Two, Dr. *Hough* * had Eleven Voices, and was accordingly pronounc'd Preſident by the Senior Scrutator; and Mr. *Maynard* was appointed by the 13 Senior Fellows to preſent him as Preſident Elect to the Viſitor, in order to his Admiſſion. After this Mr. *Charnock* and Mr. *Thompſon* declar'd *Viva voce* for Mr. *Farmer*, according to His Majeſties Letter. The next Day † Dr. *Hough* being preſented to the Viſitor, was ſworn and admitted Preſident by his Lordſhip, according to the Statutes; and on the *Sunday* * next following he took the ſame Oath again before the Society, and afterwards, as Preſident, took his Seat in the Chappel. The King being inform'd of it, order'd the Lord *Sunderland* to write to the Fellows, which he did in the following Terms: *Gentlemen, The King being inform'd, that notwithſtanding his late* Mandate, *ſent to you for electing Mr.* Farmer *to be Preſident of your Colledge, you have made Choice of another Perſon; His Majeſty commands me to let you know, he is much ſurpriz'd at theſe Proceedings, and expects you ſhould ſend me an Account of what paſt on that Occaſion, and whether you did receive His Majeſties ſaid* Mandate *before you choſe Dr.* Hough. Thereupon the Vice-Preſident and Fellows drew up their Caſe relating to their late Election of a Preſident, which was preſented * to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with a Letter, wherein *they humbly begg'd his Grace to interpoſe with his moſt ſacred Majeſty for them, that they might not lye under the Weight of his Diſpleaſure, for not being in a Capacity of obeying his Commands.* This Submiſſion not being ſatisfactory, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s Interpoſition little regarded, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows were cited † to appear before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners at *White-Hall* *. On *June* the 6th, the Vice-Preſident, and Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*,

* *Now Biſhop of* Litchfield *and* Coventry.

† April 16.

* April 17.

* April 21.

† May 28.

* June 6.

mond, Mr. *Dobſon*, and Mr. *Fairer*, deputed Fellows, appear'd before the Lords Commiſſioners, according to the above-mention'd Citation. And it being demanded of them, *Why they refus'd to obey the King's Mandate?* They deſir'd time to conſider of it, which was granted to the 13th, at which time appearing, the Vice-Preſident deliver'd in their Anſwer, which was read by Mr. *Bridgeman*, and wherein they alledged; *That the Colledge of St.* Mary Magdalen *in* Oxon *is a Body Corporate, govern'd by Local Statutes, granted and confirm'd to them by His Majeſties Predeceſſors; That by the ſaid Statutes of the Colledge, to the Obſervation of which each Fellow is ſworn, it is ordered, That the Perſon elected Preſident thereof ſhall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, of approv'd Underſtanding, and good Temper, Diſcreet, Provident, and Circumſpect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs; That at the time of Election of a Preſident, the ſaid Fellows are bound by the ſaid Statutes to take an Oath that they ſhall nominate none to that Office but ſuch as are or have been Fellows of the ſaid Colledge, or of* New-Colledge *in* Oxon; *or if they are not actually Fellows at the time of Election, that they be ſuch as have left their Fellowſhips in their reſpective Colledges upon credible Accounts: And when two qualified Perſons ſhall be nominated at the time of Election, by the greater number of all the Fellows, to the ſaid Office of Preſident; the Thirteen Seniors alſo ſwear, That they will elect one of them, whom in their Conſciences they think moſt proper and ſufficient, moſt diſcreet, moſt uſeful, and beſt qualified for the Place, without any Regard to Love, Hatred, Favour or Fear. That every Fellow when he is admitted into his Fellowſhip in the ſaid Colledge, ſwears that he will inviolably keep and obſerve all the Statutes and Ordinances of the Colledge; and that he will not procure any Diſpenſation, contrary to his aforeſaid Oath, or any part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates; and if it ſhall happen that any Diſpenſation of this ſort, of whatſoever Authority it ſhall be, be granted, that he will neither make uſe of it, nor in any ſort* con-

1687.

1687. *conſent thereunto. That on the* 11*th of* April *they receiv'd His Majeſties Letters Mandatory to elect and admit Mr.* Anthony Farmer *Preſident of the ſaid Colledge; But foraſmuch as the Vice-Preſident and Fellows apprehended the Right of Election to be in them, and believ'd His Majeſty never intended to diſpoſſeſs them of their Rights, and foraſmuch as the ſaid Mr.* Farmer *had never been Fellow either of* Magdalen *or* New-Colledge *in* Oxon, *and had not thoſe Qualifications which by the ſaid Statutes of the Colledge are requir'd in the Character of a Preſident; and in regard that they could not comply with His Majeſties Letter, without the Violation of their Oaths, and Hazard of their Legal Intereſt and Property, wherewith they were by their Statutes poſſeſs'd, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain, They repreſented the ſame by their humble Petition to His Majeſty, and that having deferr'd their Election to the laſt Day limited by their Statutes, then they had made Choice of the Reverend Mr.* John Hough, *B. D. one of the Fellows of their Colledge, and a Perſon every way qualified to be Preſident, who had been ſince confirm'd by the Biſhop of* Winton, *their Viſitor, as the Statutes of the ſaid Colledge direct: And that they might not lye under His Majeſties Diſpleaſure by their Proceedings, they did make an humble Repreſentation thereof to His Majeſty, by his Grace the Duke of* Ormond, *Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxon, *ſetting forth their indiſpenſable Obligations to obſerve their Founders Statutes. All which Matters they humbly offer'd to their Lordſhips, and pray'd to be diſmiſs'd with their Lordſhips Favour.*

This Anſwer was ſign'd but by Five of the Delegates, Dr. *Fairfax* * not conſenting to it; and therefore he deſir'd their Lordſhips to hear him apart, and take his Reaſons why he could not ſubſcribe. After the reading of the Anſwer, the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* being in hopes he would ſubmit, gave him Leave to ſpeak, ſaying; *Ay, this looks like a Man of Sence, and a good Subject, let's hear what he will ſay;* —— But finding his Miſtake, and that Dr. *Fairfax* chiefly inſiſted, *That in Eccleſiaſtical Courts there ſhould be a Libel*

* *Now Dean of* Norwich.

given

given to the Party appeal'd, that he may know what he is accus'd of; that he deſir'd that Libel, and did not know what he was call'd there for; and that the Matter did not lye in that Court, but in Weſtminſter-Hall; the Chancellor endeavour'd to baffle his Plea, by telling him, *He was a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Law.* To this the Doctor reply'd, *That he deſir'd to know by what Commiſſion and Authority they ſat?* Which put *Jefferies* into ſuch exceſſive Paſſion, as made him cry out; *Pray what Commiſſion have you to be ſo impudent in Court? This Man ought to be kept in a dark Room; why do you ſuffer him without a Guardian? Why did you not bring him to me to beg him? Pray let the Officers ſeize him*----Then the Delegates were order'd to withdraw, and after a whole Hours Debate, the Vice-Preſident was call'd in alone, and order'd to attend the Court with the reſt of the deputed Fellows, on *Wedneſday* the 22d of the ſame Month. On the appointed Day the Delegates appear'd again, according to the Commiſſioners Order, and gave in their Allegations againſt Mr. *Farmer*; the moſt material of which were: *That he had miſbehav'd himſelf in* Trinity-Colledge *in* Cambridge, *and had there receiv'd Admonition from the Maſter, in order to his Expulſion; That having left* Cambridge, *he taught School at* Chippenham *in* Wiltſhire, *under a Nonconformiſt Miniſter without Licenſe; That in* September 1683. *he was admitted of St.* Mary Magdalen-Hall *in* Oxon, *where ſuch frequent Complaints were brought againſt him to the Principal, for his troubleſome Humour and unquiet Temper; that to preſerve the Peace of the Society he was deſir'd to leave the ſaid Hall; That after his leaving* Magdalen-Hall *he was admitted into* Magdalen-Colledge, *where diſcourſing about Religion, he declar'd,* That there was no Proteſtant but would cut the King's Throat; *tho' at other times he ſaid,* That whatſoever he pretended, he was really a Member of the Church of *England*; and that he made an Intereſt with ſome *Roman* Catholicks only to get Preferment by their Means, and for that Reaſon was willing to be thought of their Religion; *and that in general the* 1687.

ſaid

1687. *ſaid Mr.* Farmer *had had the Unhappineſs to lye under an ill Fame, as to his Life and Converſation.* Theſe Allegations were confirm'd by ſeveral Letters and Certificates produc'd in Court, which Mr. *Farmer* vainly endeavour'd to confute; But † June 22. nevertheleſs the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners † deprived Dr. *Hough* of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended Dr. *Aldworth* and Dr. *Fairfax*, and order'd the Fellows of the Colledge to cauſe their Sentence to be executed, and affixed to the Gates of their Colledge; which they neglecting to do, they were cited to appear before the Commiſſioners at *White-Hall* upon the 29th of *June*, to anſwer the ſaid Contempt.

The Court by this time finding that *Farmer* was a Man of ſo profligate a Life, that tho' he had promis'd to advance the Intereſt of the Papiſts, and even to declare himſelf one of them, upon his Promotion to that Place, yet they began to be aſhamed of him; and therefore inſtead of inſiſting on the former Mandate in his Favour, the King † Aug. 14. granted another †, in Behalf of Dr. *Parker*, then Biſhop of *Oxford*, and one of the Court Creatures. The Place of Preſident being already in a legal manner fill'd up by Dr. *Hough*, (which tho' it had not been, yet the Biſhop of *Oxford* was likewiſe incapable, by the Statutes of the Colledge, of being choſen,) the Fellows did not think themſelves oblig'd to proceed to a ſecond Election. The King was ſo incens'd at this freſh Contempt of his Orders, * Sept. 4. that he came to *Oxford* in Perſon *, and having commanded the Fellows of *Magdalen-Colledge* to attend him at *Chriſt-Church*, he ask'd Dr. *Pudſey*, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, *Whether they did receive his Letter?* When the Doctor anſwering, *They did*; the King in an angry Tone reply'd, *Then you have done very uncivilly by me, and undutifully*-------Here they all kneel'd, and Dr. *Pudſey* offer'd a Petition, wherein they humbly ſhew'd, *it was an unexpreſſible Affliction to them, to find themſelves reduc'd to ſuch an Extremity, that either they muſt diſobey His Majeſties Command, contrary to their Inclinations, and that conſtant*

ſtant Courſe of Loyalty, which they had ſhew'd upon all Occaſions, or elſe break their Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure themſelves. Then they mention'd the Statutes, and the Oaths, that every one of them had taken at their Admiſſion to their Fellowſhips, and concluded with an humble Prayer to His Majeſty, *To give them Leave to lay their Caſe and themſelves at His Majeſties Feet, earneſtly beſeeching him to extend to them that Grace and Tenderneſs which he vouchſafed to all his other Subjects.* But their ſubmiſſive Poſture did not appeaſe the King, who refuſing to receive their Petition, vented his Reſentment in theſe paſſionate Words: *Ye have been a ſtubborn, turbulent Colledge; I have known you to be ſo theſe Six and Twenty Years: You have affronted me in this——Is this your Church of* England *Loyalty? One would wonder to find ſo many Church of* England-*Men in ſuch a Buſineſs. Go home and ſhew your ſelves good Members of the Church of* England----*Get you gone*----*Know I am your King*----*I will be obey'd; and I command you to be gone. Go and admit the Biſhop of* Oxon *Head, Principal, what d'ye call it? of your Colledge*; (one that ſtood by ſaid, Preſident) *I mean Preſident of the Colledge. Let them that refuſe it look to it; they ſhall feel the Weight of their Soveraign's Diſpleaſure.* The Fellows offering again their Petition on their Knees, the King told them: *Get you gone, I will receive nothing from you, till you have obey'd me, and admitted the Biſhop of* Oxon. Thereupon they went immediately to their Chappel, and Dr. *Pudſey* propoſing, *Whether they would obey the King?* They anſwer'd, They were as ready to obey His Majeſty in all things that lay in their Power, as any of the reſt of his Subjects; but the electing the Biſhop of *Oxon*, being directly contrary to their Statutes, and the poſitive Oaths they had taken, they could not apprehend it in their Power to obey him in this Matter. 1687.

Whereupon they drew up an Addreſs, expreſſing in moſt ſubmiſſive Terms the ſaid Reſolutions, which they gave * to the Lord *Sunderland*, Preſident of the Council, and which was after- * Sept. 6.

1687. wards deliver'd to His Majeſty at *Bath*. Where-ever His Majeſty came, he work'd a miraculous Converſion, (as his Flatterers expreſs'd it) except in *Oxford*; and therefore this being the only Oppoſition he receiv'd in his Progreſs, it could not but provoke a Monarch, who expected to be obey'd in every thing. Yet before he made *Magdalen-Colledge* feel the Weight of his Diſpleaſure, *William Penn*, the Head of the *Quakers*, or as ſome then thought, an ambitious, crafty *Jeſuit*, who under a phanatical Outſide promoted King *James*'s Deſigns, was induſtriouſly employ'd: *Not to trapan them* (as he pretended in his Letter to Dr. *Baily*, one of the Fellows) *but out of a paſſionate Concern for their Intereſt, to perſwade 'em either to a Compliance with His Majeſties Letter, or to think among themſelves of ſome Expedient, to prevent the Ruin of their Colledge and themſelves; and to offer it to His Majeſties Conſideration, that the Order for the* Quo Warranto *againſt the Colledges might be recall'd, before it was too late; for they could not but be ſenſible how highly His Majeſty was incens'd againſt them. Every Mechanick*, (adds Penn) *knows the Temper of his preſent Majeſty, who never will receive a Baffle in any thing that he heartily eſpouſes; and that he does this, your ſelves have had too late and manifeſt an Inſtance to doubt of his Zeal in the Affair. Where there are ſo many Statutes to be obſerv'd, 'tis impoſſible but ſome muſt be broken at one time or other; and I am inform'd by the Learned in the Law, that a Failure in any one Point forfeits your Grant, and lays your Colledge open to the Royal Diſpleaſure. I could* (ſays he in the Concluſion) *give many other prudent Arguments that might poſſibly encline you to put an end to your Troubles almoſt at any rate; but I ſhall only ſuggeſt this one thing to you; That your fatal Overthrow would be a fair Beginning of the ſo much aim'd at Reformation, firſt of the Univerſity, then of the Church, and adminiſter ſuch an Opportunity to the Enemy, as may not perhaps occurr in His Majeſties Reign.* To this Letter the Colledge return'd an Anſwer, wherein amongſt other things they declare: *They are not conſcious of ever having given His Majeſty any juſt Offence, and there-*

William Penn's *Letter to Dr.* Baily, *a Fellow of* Magdalen-Colledge.

therefore have no Reaſon to fear the iſſuing out of a Quo Warranto *againſt them; and as for the reſt, they believe no Inſtance can be given of a* Quo Warranto, *brought againſt a Colledge or Hall in the Univerſities, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Corporation, for the Abuſes of ſome of the Conſtitutions and Franchiſes in them; That the Miſdemeanors of particular Perſons will not deſtroy a Colledge; and that if the Corporation of a Colledge ſhould be diſſolv'd, the Revenues thereof will return to the Founder's Heirs, and not devolve to the Crown. That if their Colledge muſt be the firſt Example of that kind, they ſhall be better juſtified by the Obſervation of their Statutes, at leaſt to God and their own Conſciences, than they could have been by a voluntary and deliberate Breach of them.* They conclude with mentioning *their Loyalty to the Crown, particularly in* Monmouth's *Rebellion, when they rais'd a Company at their own Charges, and under the Command of their Fellows engag'd againſt him.* Several other Perſons uſed their Endeavours to bring the Fellows to a Compliance, which proving ſtill ineffectual, they were cited * before the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Robert Wright*, Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, and Sir *Thomas Jenner*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*; theſe Three being added to the other Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and particularly impower'd to viſit *Magdalen-Colledge* only. On *Friday* Morning † the Preſident, Dr. *Hough*, and the Fellows appearing, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made a Speech, *And began with ſevere Reflections upon Diſloyalty and Diſobedience, particularly on their undutiful Behaviour to His Majeſty when at* Oxon, *in denying Compliance with his juſt and reaſonable Requeſt.* He urged, *That the Church of* England *taught* an unconditional and unlimited Obedience, *then enlarg'd upon His Majeſties Gracious Temper, that would have no Man oppreſs'd in Things againſt his Conſcience, but would ſuffer all Men to worſhip God in their own way. In the mean time* (continued he) *we cannot but ſuppoſe that His Majeſty will make uſe of all prudent and lawful Methods to encourage thoſe of his own Religion, without injuring*

1687.

* Oct. 19.

† Oct. 21.

Biſhop of Cheſter's Speech.

1687. *ring the Church of* England, *which is, at preſent, the Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd; for His Majeſty will maintain that Altar, at which he himſelf does not worſhip; but at preſent we are in more Danger of* Prophaneneſs *than* Popery. He told them, *That their Corporation, as others, was a Creature of the Crown; and that it was Inſolence in their local Statutes to ſpurn againſt their Maker; That their Diſtempers had brought this Viſitation upon them, the Conſequences of which might be ill to the Church and Univerſities; He exhorted them by the Bowels of Chriſt to conſider theſe Things;* He told them, *That the Eyes of the World were upon them, and they ought to take care, that their Practices might not influence their deluded Admirers.* In ſhort, the whole Deſign of this Speech ſeem'd by Promiſes and Threats to aim at the inducing them to comply. In the Afternoon the Commiſſioners being ſat, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd Dr. *Hough* whether they would ſubmit to this Viſitation? To which the Doctor anſwer'd in the Name of himſelf, and the greater part of the Fellows, that they ſubmitted to it, as far as it was conſiſtent with the Laws of the Land, and the Statutes of the Colledge, and no further; and deſir'd their Lordſhips that this Declaration might be recorded. The next Queſtion the Biſhop put to him was, whether they obſerv'd all thoſe Statutes? And the Preſident anſwering, He hop'd they did: *You have a Statute there for Maſs*, reply'd he, *why don't you read Maſs?* This Queſtion from a Biſhop was a little ſurprizing, but the Preſident ſoon ſatisfied it, by telling him, *That the Matter of that Oath was unlawful, and in ſuch a caſe no Man was obliged to obſerve an Oath; and beſides, that that Statute was taken away by the Laws of the Land.* After ſeveral other frivolous Expoſtulations, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* demanded, Firſt, *All their Regiſters.* Secondly, *The Revenues of their Colledge, with an Account of their Benefactors, to what uſe the Money was aſſign'd, how employ'd, and how far converted to other Uſes, or in plain Engliſh, how far 'twas deſign'd for Hoſpitality.* And Thirdly, *A Copy of all the Leaſes*

they

they had let for Two Years last past. On *Saturday* Morning * Dr. *Hough* was several times required to deliver up the Keys and quiet Possession of the Lodgings, to the Person whom His Majesty had appointed President; which the Doctor refusing to obey, alledging the Legality of his Election, the King's Proctor stood up, and accus'd him of Contumacy; and then the Bishop of *Chester* admonish'd him Three times, *To depart peaceably out of the Lodgings, and to act no longer as President, or pretended President of his Colledge.* The same Day, in the Afternoon, the Bishop of *Chester* ask'd the Fellows, *Whether they would admit the Bishop of* Oxon. *President, since Dr.* Hough's *Place was declared void?* To which the greater Part answer'd, They could not do it without premeditated Perjury, and therefore would not do it. During this Examination Dr. *Hough* came into Court, without any Attendance, and having waited till it was ended, and the Commissioners at a Pause, he desir'd Leave to speak a few Words; which being granted, he said, *That they having been pleas'd to deprive him of his Place of President of that Colledge, he did protest against all their Proceedings, in Prejudice of him and his Right, as illegal, unjust and null; and therefore he appeal'd to his Sovereign Lord the King in his Courts of Justice.* Upon which the Strangers and young Scholars in the Room gave a *Hum*, which so incens'd their Lordships, that notwithstanding all the Protestations the President and Fellows could make, the President in particular offering to purge himself by Oath, that he was no ways accessary to it, yet the Lord chief Justice was not to be pacified, but charging it upon Dr. *Hough*, bound him in a Bond of 1000 *l.* and Security to the like value, to make his Appearance at the *King's-Bench* Bar the Term following. Moreover, the Lord Chief Justice said they had met with nothing but Affronts from the Colledge: That as for himself, he valued not what People said of him, but was resolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Master to the last Drop of his Blood; and if *the Civil Power could not keep 'em in order,*

1687.

* Oct. 22.

Doctor Hough deprived.

His Protestation.

1687. *the Military ſhould.* The ingenious (as he was nick-nam'd by way of Irony) Baron *Jenner* likewiſe ſhew'd his Reſentment upon this Occaſion, by punning on the late Preſident's Name, and ſaying to him, *Sir, you muſt not think to huff* (Hough) *us.* About which time ſeveral Officers, then in Town, came into the Room. On *Tueſ-*
† Oct. 25. *day* † the Court being met, Dr. *Stafford*, one of the Fellows, offer'd a Paper in Anſwer to what was objected the *Friday* before, that the King's Mandate in Favour of Mr. *Farmer* implied an Inhibition, which their Lordſhips having perus'd, would not ſuffer to be read publickly, but ask'd the Fellows, whether they would ſign it? Bidding them do it at their Peril. The Fellows being withdrawn, and not thinking it was neceſſary to ſign a Plea, which the Commiſſioners refus'd to have argued, they return'd the Paper into the Court, ſubſcrib'd only by Dr. *Fairfax* and Dr. *Stafford.* Their Lordſhips taking no further Notice of that Paper, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows whether they would inſtall the Biſhop of *Oxon* Preſident, or aſſiſt at the inſtalling of him? To this they anſwer'd, as before, that as they could not do it without deliberate Perjury, ſo it was not in their Power to do it. Thereupon Mr. *Wiggins*, Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Oxford*, impower'd as a Proxy, to be inſtall'd Preſident for his Lord, (then confin'd to his Chamber by ſome Indiſpoſition) was put into the Preſident's Stall by the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, none of the Fellows being preſent but Mr. *Charnock*, and took the Oaths which the Statutes enjoin the Preſident at his Admiſſion, and the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Then their Lordſhips conducted him to the Preſident's Lodgings; where knocking three times, and the Door not being open'd, a Smith was ſent for to force it open, and Mr. *Wiggins* took Poſſeſſion of the Lodgings. Immediately after the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ask'd the Fellows whether they would obey the Biſhop of *Oxon*, as now inſtall'd Preſident, by virtue of the King's Mandate? Dr. *Fairfax* anſwer'd, he neither could nor would obey him, having already a lawful and ſtatutable Preſident; others

others * comply'd with His Majeſties Pleaſure, and others again deſir'd time to conſider on ſo weighty a Queſtion; which was granted, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* bidding them go and conſult about it among themſelves. In the Afternoon this Anſwer was given in by the Society, (except Dr. *Fairfax*): *That whereas His Majeſty had been pleas'd, by His Royal Authority, to cauſe the Biſhop of* Oxon *to be inſtall'd Preſident, they did ſubmit as far as was lawful and agreeable to the Statutes of the Colledge, and no Way prejudicial to the Right and Title of Dr.* Hough. This Anſwer was accepted, except the laſt Clauſe, which the Lord Chief Juſtice, and Baron *Jenner* declar'd, as Judges, to be inſignificant, ſince nothing they could do, could any way invalidate Dr. *Hough*'s Title, but left them ſtill at Liberty to be Witneſſes for him, or to be any other way ſerviceable to him in the Recovery of his Right; and upon this Aſſurance, the Society was prevail'd with to leave out the laſt Clauſe. Dr. *Fairfax* perſiſting in his former Anſwer, receiv'd Sentence of *Expulſion*, againſt which he proteſted as null, unjuſt and unlawful. This Proteſtation was over-ruled by the Commiſſioners, and a Copy of the Sentence denied, tho' moſt earneſtly deſir'd at the Inſtance of Dr. *Hedges*, and Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Two Days after. Their Lordſhips thinking they had gain'd their Point, declar'd, that they were well ſatisfied with the Anſwer the Society had given them; and tho' before they had laid a Libel to their Charge, yet that Night they declar'd they had met with nothing but Civility, and that they ſhould receive the ſame from them; that they had ſhewn themſelves Men of excellent Tempers, and that they would repreſent it faithfully Above to their Advantage, and immediately diſpatch'd an Expreſs to Court with an Account of their Proceedings. On *Wedneſday* † Morning the Fellows having been order'd the Day before to bring in their Anſwer to the following Queſtions. 1. *What Gifts and Proviſions they had for the Entertainment of Strangers?* 2. *What was the Value of them?* 3. *How they were applied?* 4. *And where*

1687.

* Dr. Thomas Smith, *and Mr.* Charnock.

† Oct. 26.

1687. *was the Place of Entertainment?* They made it appear very ſatisfactorily, that one Year with another they gave almoſt 100 *l.* in Charity Money over and above what by their Statutes they were oblig'd to give. Upon which their Lordſhips expatiated upon their generous Bounty and Liberality, ſaying, the Complaint on this Account was groundleſs, and that it would induce His Majeſty to entertain better Thoughts of them in all other
* Oct. 27. Matters. On *Thurſday* * the Fellows having preſented to the Commiſſioners a Liſt of Leaſes, which had been renewed for Two Years laſt paſt, Mr. *Charnock*, the new Convert, aſk'd their Lordſhips whether theſe Leaſes ſtood good, which had been ſeal'd ſince Dr. *Hough*'s Election? The Lord Chief Juſtice anſwer'd, *Yes, for Corporations always ſpeak by their Seals.* Then their Lordſhips peruſed the Colledge Regiſters; and finding nothing in them to object againſt, they were return'd, and the
† Oct. 28. Court adjourn'd. On *Friday* † Morning the Commiſſioners acquainted the Fellows they had repreſented them fairly to the King, but that His Majeſty expected ſome farther Submiſſion, which they adviſ'd them to make, *by acknowledging their Contempt to His Sacred Majeſty in Perſon, and to his Letters; That they ſhould promiſe to behave themſelves loyally for the future; That they ſhould own the Proceedings and Legality of the Court, implore His Majeſties Pardon, and lay themſelves at his Feet; And that they ſhould declare their entire Submiſſion to the Biſhop of* Oxon, *as their Preſident.* The Fellows anſwer'd in writing, *That they had endeavour'd in all their Actions, to expreſs their Duty to His Majeſty; and being conſcious to themſelves, that in the whole Conduct of the Buſineſs before their Lordſhips, they had done nothing but what their Oaths and Statutes had indiſpenſably obliged them to, they could not make any Declaration, whereby they acknowledged that they had done any thing amiſs, having acted according to the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, ſo far as they could without doing Violence to their Conſciences, or Prejudice to their Rights, (one of which they conceived the Electing a Preſident to be) from which they were*

Submiſſion impos'd by the Court upon the Fellows.

The Fellows Reaſons why they refuſe to ſign it.

ſworn

ſworn upon no account to depart. Upon the peruſal of this Anſwer their Lordſhips expreſt their diſlike of it, ſaying, it did not come up to the Addreſs ſent to His Majeſty at *Bath*, nor to the Paper they deliver'd in on *Tueſday:* Whereupon a freſh Queſtion being put to the Fellows, whether they would obey the Biſhop of *Oxford* as their Preſident, all, except one or two, Anſwer'd, They could not do it. Then Mr. *Fulham*, being particularly interrogated, he alledg'd, *That the Biſhop of* Oxford *had not Poſſeſſion in due Form of Law, nor by proper Officers; and that he was inform'd that the proper Officers to give Poſſeſſion of a Freehold was the Sheriff with a* Poſſe Comitatus. To this the Lord Chief Juſtice reply'd in a Paſſion: *Pray, who's the beſt Lawyer, you or I? Your* Oxford *Law is no better than your* Oxford *Divinity; if you have a mind to a* Poſſe Comitatus, *you may have one ſoon enough.* Mr. *Fulham* endeavour'd to make an Excuſe for what he had ſaid, which their Lordſhips rejected; and having thought fit to Suſpend him from the Profits of his Fellowſhip, for *his Contempt and Opprobrious Language*, they Adjourn'd till the 16th of *November*, and immediately went for *London*. The King having ſeen an Account of the Proceedings of the Viſitors, His Majeſty Order'd them, that at their Return to the Colledge, they ſhould Summon all the Fellows to appear before them, and endeavour to make them ſenſible of their Offences; and if they ſhould refuſe to Subſcribe the abovemention'd Submiſſion, immediately to Expel them for their Obſtinacy. Purſuant to theſe Inſtructions, the Lords Commiſſioners return'd to *Oxford*; and being ſate * the firſt thing they did, was to ſend for the *Buttery-Book*, then they call'd for Mr. *Joyner* and Mr. *Allibone*, two *Roman* Catholicks, whom they entred actual Fellows, all Oaths being Diſpens'd with, beſides that of the Colledge. That done, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made a Speech to the Fellows, wherein he told them: *That their many Contempts and wilful Diſobedience had occaſioned this Viſitation, which would end at*

1687.

* Nov. 16.

Biſhop of Cheſter's *Speech.*

1687. *at last in their Ruin; That their Society had been long exercised in the Methods of Quarrelling, had always been troubled with factious Spirits, and testy Mutineers ever since the Restauration of the late King; That they had encourag'd Quarrels among themselves; Quarrels between themselves and President; Quarrels, at length, between themselves and Visitor. That by these steps, from Quarrelling with the President and Visitor, they had at last advanc'd to the highest pitch of Insolence, to Quarrel with their Prince, and Affront his Sacred Majesty.* Then he endeavour'd to make them sensible of their irregular Conduct, and heinous Offences, from their first Disobeying the King's Mandate, to that Day; he told them, *They urg'd the Observances of their Statutes, of which they had not been so constant Observers when their own Humour prompted them to a Dispensation; Witness, said he, that of being served* per Masculos, *by which great Scandals have come to this Society by Reason of Bastards. His Majesty,* added he, *was extreamly amaz'd that his Clemency should be despis'd; but yet, to your Comforts be it spoken, his Patience and Goodness extend as far as your Provocations can: But if you still persist in your Obstinacy, those that are too Tall to Stand, and too Stubborn to Bend, deserve to be Broken. And now, I think, I have said enough to let you know, that the Fig-leaves you have so artificially stitch'd together, are not sufficient to cover your Nakedness. I wish to God you had the same Tenderness for your Concern, as His Majesties Commissioners have for you. But if you still persist to oppose the Royal Power of the King, we who are come to Vindicate the Right and Honour of his Majesty, resolve to discharge our Consciences, and Duties to God and the King, without any Respect of Popularity; that's but the Paradise of Fools, and Scorn of Wise Men;* and *therefore, as for us, we have no more Regard to People's Dislike, than what they Dream. By Reason therefore of your late Hypocritical Submission, the Commissioners have thought fit to draw up an Instrument, to which, if you shall immediately Subscribe, before you leave the Room, we shall leave you to His Majesties Pardon: And this we expect from you all, except*

1687.

ept *Mr.* Thomas Smith, *and Mr.* Charnock, *with whoſe Behaviour the King is ſo well ſatisfied, that he expects no more from them.* The abovementioned Submiſſion being Read to the Fellows, all, except Dr. *Tho. Smith* and Mr. *Charnock*, refus'd to Sign it; Mr. *Thompſon* being call'd in in his turn, alledg'd he had always been Obedient to the King's Commands; that he was not concern'd in the Election of Dr. *Hough*; that he Voted for Mr. *Farmer*, and was ready to ſubmit to the Biſhop of *Oxon*, and ſo he was excus'd. After a ſhort time, all who refus'd to Sign the Submiſſion, being 25 in Number, were call'd in, and by Sentence of their Lordſhips depriv'd and expell'd from their Fellowſhips, for their Diſobedience to His Majeſty's Commands, and obſtinately contemning his Royal Authority; againſt which they all proteſted, Declaring they would uſe all Juſt and Legal ways of being relieved. This Sentence was confirm'd by a Decree made at *Whitehall* by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, Declaring, *That Dr.* Hough, who had been depriv'd before, *and the ſaid 25 Fellows, ſhould be incapable of receiving, or being admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, Benefice or Promotion; and ſuch of them who were not yet in Holy Orders, they adjudged incapable of receiving or being admitted into the ſame.* Thus by a Sentence of an illegal Court, were a Society of Learned and Worthy Proteſtants turn'd out of their Freeholds, to make room for a *Popiſh* Seminary; and thus was King *James* prevail'd with by his Evil Miniſters to aſſume a Power, not only to Diſpence with *Laws*, but with *Oaths* alſo. After the Expulſion of the Fellows, moſt of the *Demy*'s were likewiſe turn'd out of *Magdalen-Colledge* by the Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Charnock*, his Vice-President, and *Roman* Catholicks put in their Places. To acknowledge the King's Favours, the Biſhop of *Oxford* publiſh'd a Book containing Reaſons for arrogating the *Teſt* and *Penal Laws*, and His Majeſty commanded the Stationers not to Print any Anſwer to the ſame.

Dr. Hough *and* 25 *Fellows expell'd.*

The

1687. The numerous Addreſſes which were daily preſented to the King by the Diſſenters, upon Account of the late *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, could not but mortifie the Sound Party of the Church of *England*, who juſtly look'd upon that Declaration as a Jeſuitical Invention to advance *Papiſts* to Places of Truſt, and by degrees, to introduce them into the Legiſlature. But to aggravate their Affliction, the Court Creatures gave 'em to underſtand that they ought themſelves to imitate the Non-Conformiſts, and fill up the Chorus of the grateful Acknowledgers of the King's Indulgence; urging, as an undiſputable Motive, that His Majeſty had Graciouſly been pleaſed to Declare, *That he would Protect and Maintain his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of* England, *in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Poſſeſſions, without any Moleſtation or Diſturbance whatſoever.* The Biſhop of *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and St. *David's*, prevailed the firſt with the City of *Durham*, and the reſt with the Clergy under their Paſtoral Care, to Sign Addreſſes of Thanks, which they preſented to His Majeſty; the Dean and Chapter of *Ripon*, and ſome few Corporations, did the like; but yet theſe Proteſtant Addreſſes were ſo dry and jejune, that they ſeem'd rather like the forc'd Thanks, which a corrected Child gives to a ſevere Parent, whilſt he ſtill holds the Rod in his Hand; or the awkward Compliments we Pay to ſuch as have injur'd us, when 'tis in their Power to do us further Miſchief; than like the hearty and unforc'd Acknowledgments which flow from the Senſe of a Favour receiv'd. The Biſhop of *Oxford* was not ſo ſucceſsful as the reſt of the Court Prelates; for notwithſtanding the extraordinary Zeal he ſhew'd upon this Occaſion, his Clergy ſtill refus'd to Sign an Addreſs which might prove of ſo dangerous Conſequence: Yet to let the World know, that 'twas not either out of a ſullen Caprice, or Diſloyalty, that they denied to Pay that Homage

Homage to His Majesty, they gave their Reasons in Writing to their Bishop. 1687.

Whilst the Priviledges and Liberties of the Nation were assaulted on every side; whilst the Dissenters fawn'd upon the Hand that was putting Chains about their Necks, and whilst the corrupted Bishops endeavour'd to decoy their Flocks into the same Compliance, the King gave a Spectacle to his Subjects, which made 'em sufficiently to understand that he design'd to keep no more Measures with them, nor shew the least Regard to the establish'd Laws. For Signior *Ferdinando d'Adda*, Domestick Prelate and Assistant to the Pope, who was the Queen's Favourite, had follow'd the Court ever since the King's Accession to the Crown, was declar'd Apostolick *Nuncio* the Year before, and Consecrated Archbishop of *Amasia* in the Royal Chappel at *Whitehall*, by Bishop *Leyburn*, Vicar Apostolical in *England*, and two other *Irish* Bishops, did now make his publick Entry at *Windsor*, * tho' by Law it was High Treason for any to assume the Character of the *Pope*'s *Nuncio*. There having been no such Sight in *England* for about a Hundred and Fifty Years before, the concourse of People was extraordinary great upon this Occasion: and 'tis hard to say whether their surprize at the Pomp and Magnificence of the Solemnity, was greater than their Indignation to behold the Nuncio in all his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Cross-bearer, and attended with Priests and Monks in the Habits of their Respective Orders. This Ceremony occasion'd the Disgrace of that Illustrious Patriot, the Duke of *Somerset*, first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King. For as it happen'd, being then in Waiting, and the King having order'd him to attend the Nuncio to his Audience, he desir'd His Majesty to excuse him from an Office which the Laws of the Land made Criminal. The King reiterated his Orders; but his Grace persisting in his Denial, His Majesty told him in a Passion, that he would trouble him no more with any Commands, and therefore expected he should re-

Pope's Nuncio in England.

1686.

* July 23. 1687.

The Duke of Somerset disgraced.

1687. sign his Places of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Collonel of Dragoons; the Duke obey'd the very same Day, without the least concern, as one whose unshaken Principle is, to serve his King and Country as far as neither of them endeavour to encroach upon the Prerogatives of the other; and to be contented with that Reward which Virtue brings along with it. The Duke of *Grafton* was more Complaisant, and made no scruple to Conduct the *Nuncio* to his Audience. Soon after Signior *d'Adda* appear'd publickly in *London*, and on the Lord Mayor's Day was received at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Paston*, and Sir *Basil Firebrass*, the two Sheriffs, and was one of those who Din'd with His Majesty at *Guildhall*. Some have been of Opinion that the *Nuncio* was an Instrument to push things to Extremities; yet 'tis certain that he had a greater share in the Intrigues of the *Ruelle*, than in those of the *Cabinet*; and had too much Sense to approve of all the Measures that were taken. And therefore he often desir'd to be recall'd, lest he should be thought to have a hand in them.

His Character.

Popish *Judges, Deputy Lieutenants, &c.*

To maintain the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, Sir *Richard Allibone* *, and some other Romanists, were made Judges in *Westminster-Hall*; and *Popish* Justices of the Peace, and Deputy-Lieutenants establish'd all *England* over; the Judges in their Circuits had their private Instructions to know how Men stood affected towards the King's Dispensing Power, and to turn those who shew'd the least dislike of it out of their Offices and Employments. The Soldiers by this time were grown intollerably Insolent: The Officers too, when they pleas'd, wou'd be exempt from the Civil Power; and tho' the King was in perfect Peace, yet he would make an absolute Act of Parliament, that made it Death for any Soldier, taking Pay in the King's Service, in his Wars beyond Sea, or upon the Sea, or in *Scotland*, to Desert from his Colours, to extend to his new rais'd Army; and because the Worthy Recorder of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, would not expound that Law

* April 28. 1687.

Law according to the King's Deſire, he was put out of his Place; and ſo was Sir *Edward Herbert* from being Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench* * to make way for Sir *Robert Wright* to Hang a Soldier upon the ſaid Statute. 1687.

* April 22, 1687.

Parliament diſſolv'd, July 2d, 1687.

The Court and their Emiſſaries having hitherto vainly endeavour'd to raiſe a prevailing Party in the Houſe of Commons, that would give Sanction to the King's Diſpenſing Power, and Repeal the Penal Laws, His Majeſty was advis'd to Diſſolve his Parliament, and to Maintain his Supream Authority by his Land and Sea-Forces. Yet as Men who follow wrong Meaſures are always Fluctuating in their Councils, it was not long before they Conſider'd that the Superſtructure they were erecting upon an illegal Foundation, would tumble to the Ground aſſoon as the Legal Power ſhould take place; that the Army and Fleet encreaſing every Day, the King's Neceſſities would at laſt inevitably oblige him to call a Parliament; and that the longer the Meeting of that Auguſt Aſſembly was put off, and their Authority diſregarded, the more Fatal to the King's Deſigns their Reſolutions would prove. Theſe Reflections made the *Popiſh* Party ſenſible of the Neceſſity of calling a Parliament, and therefore all the Methods and Artifices imaginable were us'd to procure ſuch a Lower-Houſe as would confirm all the King's Proceedings; in Order to that Writs, of *Quo Warranto* were again iſſued out againſt Corporations, and the Magiſtrates thereof terrified with His Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, if they dared to inſiſt upon their Legal Right, and contend with him at Law. Beſides that, Judges were prepar'd to over-rule the Pleas of all ſuch Cities and Towns as would ſtand upon their Franchiſes and Priviledges; Witneſs the Cities of *Oxford* and *Wincheſter*, which were declar'd to be diſſolv'd at the King's Pleaſure. In ſhort, by a Decree of the Court of the *King's-Bench* moſt Cities and Burroughs were order'd to Surrender their Charters, which reduc'd them to that Condition as to have no Magiſtrates or Officers but at His Majeſty's Will.

About

1687. About this time the King went on his Progreſs, in Order, as 'twas given out, to view the Southern and Weſtern Parts of the Kingdom, particularly the Haven and Fortifications of *Portſmouth*, but chiefly with Deſign to tamper with the Electors of the Corporations thro' which he paſt. And as the Preſence of a Soveraign ſtrikes an awful and commanding Veneration on the Minds of thoſe who ſeldom approach Majeſty, it can hardly be expreſs'd with what joyful Acclamations he was receiv'd, and what dutiful Acknowledgments were paid him at *Portſmouth*, *Bath*, *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, *Cheſter*, *Newport*, *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, *Banbury*, *Briſtol* and *Wincheſter*. The Univerſity of *Oxford* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves upon this Occaſion, endeavouring by all poſſible demonſtrations of Duty and Reſpect to Diſſipate the King's Prepoſſeſſions againſt them; but all their Pompous Entertainments, and Eloquent Speeches, were not able to attone for the Oppoſition the *Popiſh* Cabal met with in *Magdalen-Colledge*; ſo that the King left *Oxford* very much diſſatisfied, as has already been related. In almoſt all other Places, beſides *Oxford*, the King's Solicitations had a wonderful Succeſs, the Electors promiſing to ſend ſuch for their Repreſentatives in Parliament, as would concur with His Majeſty's Deſigns. And indeed how could they refuſe what the King deſired of them, when he declar'd, at the ſame time, that to remove all Jealouſies, he would not ſuffer any *Roman* Catholick to be a Member of that Aſſembly? The generality of People, who are apt to have an implicit Faith in any thing that is deliver'd by a King's Sacred Mouth, conceiv'd great Hopes of this His Majeſties Declaration; but the Politicians ſaw thro' the Artifice, which appeared moſt plainly when the King declar'd in Council: *That having granted a Liberty of Conſcience to all his Subjects, and reſolving not only to maintain the ſame, but to uſe his utmoſt endeavours that it might paſs into a Law, and become an eſtabliſh'd Security to After-Ages, he had thought fit to review the Liſts of the* Deputy Lieutenants, *and* Juſtices of the Peace,

The King's Weſtern Progreſs, Auguſt 16. 1687.

Sept. 5.

Dec. 11. 1687.

Peace, *in the ſeveral Counties, that thoſe might be continued, who ſhould be ready to Contribute, what in them lay, towards the Accompliſhment of ſo good and neceſſary a Work; and ſuch others added to them, from whom His Majeſty might reaſonably expect the like Concurrence and Aſſiſtance:* For ſince the King in his Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience claim'd it as one of the Rights inſeparably annext to, and inherent in his Royal Perſon by the Law of Nature, *to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects*, if by means of the Abrogation of the Penal Laws, the *Romaniſts* were once made capable of exerciſing publick Offices, they might alſo be call'd or elected to ſerve in Parliament. 1687.

To further the Deſigns of the Court, the new-modell'd Lord-Lieutenants were order'd by the King to Summon in his Name the Chief Officers and Gentlemen in their Reſpective Counties, and to lay the Caſe before them ſo, as to flatter or terrifie 'em out of their Freedom in the Election of Parliament-Men. Another ſort of Men, call'd *Regulators*, were Commiſſion'd to the ſame Purpoſe, being ſent all over *England*, to delude the People, either by fair Promiſes or Menaces, into a fatal compliance with the King. But notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, His Majeſty found himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of having a Parliament at his Devotion. In ſome Counties almoſt all the Gentry diſappear'd on the ſudden; to avoid the Solicitations of the Lord-Lieutenants. The Gentlemen of *Dorſetſhire* being aſſembled by the Earl of *Briſtol*, were no ſooner acquainted with the King's Intentions, but they Anſwer'd, that an Affair of ſo great Importance deſerv'd to be diſcuſs'd in the Grand Council of the Nation; to which they would ſend their Deputies, when His Majeſty ſhould think fit to call a free Parliament. The ſame Anſwer was made in the Aſſemblies of ſeveral other Counties; and in *Cheſhire*, amongſt about Seven Hundred Perſons, there were only Seventeen who gave their Conſent to the Repealing of the Teſts and Penal Laws.

1687. Tho' there was little reaſon to believe that King *James* ſhould ever compaſs his Ends by a Parliament, conſidering the Averſeneſs the chief Counties ſhew'd to his Deſigns, the free Spirit, which is the diſtinguiſhing Character of a Houſe of Commons, and the Difficulty of Bribing the Majority of that numerous Aſſembly, yet the Proteſtants were not without Fears: They conſider'd that the Council was almoſt filled with *Popiſh* Lords, that Father *Petre*, His Majeſty's Confeſſor and chief Almoner, was lately * made Clerk of the Cloſet, and had the leading Vote in their Conſultations; that the Church of *England*-Men were turn'd out of the higheſt Employments to make room for *Romaniſts*, or ſuch as under the Name of *Diſſenters* promoted the Popiſh Deſigns; and that the King having the Power of *England* in his Hands, and that of *France* to ſupport him, in Caſe of need, he might enter upon deſperate Meaſures to eſtabliſh Popery. However, the moſt moderate amongſt them comforted themſelves with the Thoughts that the King being advanc'd in Years, his Reign therefore could not be long; and that a Proteſtant Princeſs, who was the next Heir to the Crown, would ſoon make 'em forget the Hardſhips of a *Popiſh* Government, and reſtore the happy Days of Queen *Elizabeth*: but they were ſtruck with Conſternation when they heard the Whiſpers of the Queen being with Child, loudly confirm'd by a Proclamation, * *appointing a time of Publick Thankſgiving for ſo Signal a Bleſſing to His Majeſty and his Kingdoms.*

* Nov. 11. 1687.

* Dec. 23. *The Queen is ſaid to be with Child.*

The *Papiſts*, who ſeem'd already to Triumph over the *Proteſtants*, were ſtill more elevated upon this News. Nay, ſome of them had the Impudence to aſſert, that tho' the Child ſhould prove a Daughter, yet it would cut off the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark* from the Succeſſion, upon a fooliſh Poſition, that a Daughter born ſince the King's Advancement to the Throne, ought to take place before Princeſſes born whilſt he was but Duke of *York*. And becauſe the Queen's Big-Belly was in a manner Miraculous, the *Jeſuits* gave it out

Diſcourſes about it.

that

that it was either the Effect of a Petition which the lately deceas'd Dutcheſs of *Modena* had put up in Heaven to the Bleſſed *Virgin Mary*, or of a Vow the Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, with a Preſent of a Golden Image enrich'd with Precious Stones. 1687.

The moſt diſcerning among the Proteſtants began at firſt to ſuſpect the Queen's Bigneſs to be only a publick Report rais'd by the *Jeſuits* and Prieſts then in *England* to ripen their Sinister Deſigns; and were confirm'd in their ſuſpicion by reflecting, that 'twas not the firſt Impoſture thoſe ſort of People had made uſe of to alter the Lineal Succeſſion of Kingdoms, in order to ſerve the Church. They call'd to mind, that upon the like Occaſion the *Romiſh* Prieſts gave it out that Queen *Mary* was with Child, that they might procure her a Succeſſor that would advance their Intereſt, and the *Papiſts* began to Triumph at *Rome*, when God was pleas'd to diſappoint their Deſigns in *England*; That a ſet of Prieſts were the wicked Inſtruments of the cruel and unnatural Uſurpation of *Richard* III. by preaching at St. *Paul*'s Croſs, that *Edward* IV. his Brother was born in unlawful Wedlock; that by the Inventions and crafty Intrigues of a Prieſt, *Lambert Simnel*, a Baker's Son, ſuppoſed Iſſue of the Earl of *Warwick* roſe up againſt *Henry* VII. and was Proclaim'd King in *Ireland*; and laſtly, that by the Advice of the ſame Prieſt, another ſuppoſed Perſon was ſet up againſt the ſaid *Henry* VII. by *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, who was prevail'd with to affirm that he was *Richard*, one of the Sons of *Edward* IV. And this pretended Son of *Edward* form'd ſo conſiderable a party in *Ireland*, and was ſo well receiv'd in *Scotland*, that he put in fair for the Crown of thoſe two Kingdoms. The Remembrance of theſe and the like Impoſtures, join'd with the fabulous Stories relating to the Cauſe of the Queen's Conception, after ſhe had been Childleſs ſeveral Years; the great Care the *Jeſuits* took, openly to inſinuate that ſhe would certainly be deliver'd of a Prince, and ſeveral other concurring Accidents, gave the Proteſtants reaſon

1687. to look upon the Queen's Big-Belly as a meer ſuppoſition. However, it could not but keep 'em in perpetual Alarms; for ſuppoſing it, as they did, to be a pious Fraud, the Diſcovery of it would have been ſo much the more difficult, as it was the intereſt of the *Popiſh* Party to conceal it with extraordinary Care.

One may well imagine that the Papiſts did not fail to improve the Queen's Bigneſs, to the Advancement of their Deſigns. The Court Party gathered viſible Strength upon it, and taking advantage of the Alarms and Conſternation of the Proteſtants, they procured Addreſſes from ſeveral Counties, wherein His Majeſty's Dutiful Subjects, not only Congratulated him upon ſo joyful an Occaſion, but aſſured him alſo of * *Their ready Compliance in the Electing ſuch Members as ſhould concur with His Majeſty's Gracious intentions for the Abrogation of the* Penal Laws *and* Teſts, *equally pernicious to His Majeſties Prerogative, and his Subjects Liberty.* The Addreſſes of the Counties of *Stafford*, *Monmouth*, and *York*, the Cities of *Canterbury*, and *Carliſle*, the Towns of *Northampton*, Borough of *Totneſs*, &c. were to the ſame Effect; but none was ſo artfully penn'd as that of the Corporation of * *Scarborough*, which therefore I ſhall ſet down here at length.

* *The Addreſs of the County of* Glouceſter, March 17. 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

* Scarborough *Addreſs*, April 28. 1688.

May it pleaſe, your Majeſty, the Union of York *and* Lancaſter, *made the Inheritance of this Empire one; the Conjunction of* England *and* Scotland, *made two Kingdoms one; but your Majeſty's* Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, *has made our Intereſt one; thus our Bleſſings have riſen by degrees to their laſt Perfection; every Happineſs was ſucceeded by a greater, and every ſucceeding Age ſtrove, as it were, to outvy the former. 'Tis true, our Civil Wars have been renewed in the time of our Fathers,* England *and* Scotland *have again been diſunited by an unnatural Rebellion; but* Liberty of Conſcience *is ſo ſtrong a Cement that no Age ſhall be able to Diſſolve it; its firmneſs will encreaſe by its Duration; for all Men will endeavour to propagate that Bleſſing which brings a viſible Reward along with it: And if the*

darling

darling Argument prevail, we have already an Ocular Experience of our Profit; Men will not be more ſtudious of tranſmitting a clear Title of their Poſſeſſions to their Children, than they will be of leaving an undoubted Inheritance of Trade, Society and Brotherly Affection. 1687.

In the Firſt Place therefore, on our Knees we thank the God of Heaven for your Majeſty; and in the next, with all Humility we thank your Majeſty, who as a true Father of your People, have provided for them ſo rich a Patrimony of immortal Happineſs: 'Tis a Portion put out to uſe for Poſterity, which in every Seven Years will double and redouble the Principal. God Almighty, as we Hope and Pray, will grant you, an Heir Maſculine of your Body; but you have already given us one of your Mind in your Gracious Declaration; 'tis to your ſelf alone, O Sacred Majeſty! *that we ſtand oblig'd for it: We own it not to be the Council or Procurement of any other; none but a wiſe and gracious King could have found it out; none but a Catholick King has been able to effect it. We hope a Parliament will concur and ratifie this Bleſſing, for this Bleſſing has, in a manner, ratified it ſelf by its own Succeſs. 'Tis an Act already paſt in the Hearts of all your Loyal People, and what it wants in formality of Law, is ſupply'd in the concurring Votes of all unintereſted Men. It will ſpread like the Tree in the Viſion of Holy* Daniel, *till it overſhadow the Three Nations; and the Birds of the Air ſhall not only build in it, but alſo the Beaſts of the Foreſt ſhall be ſecure beneath it. May your Majeſty long enjoy the Fruits of ſo happy a Plantation; may it be fenc'd about by the Care of the preſent Age; and made Sacred to all future Time, as ſet by your auſpicious Hands: And as it is in our Power, ſo we ſolemnly engage our ſelves to return your Majeſty two ſuch Members to ſerve in Parliament, as ſhall Vote for Repealing, the* Teſt *and all* Penal Laws *in matters of Religion; Laws which were begot under a doubtful Title, were bred up in Perſecution, and would ſubvert the fundamental Freedom of the Conſcience, which is God's* Magna Charta *to all his reaſonable Creatures.*

1687/8 Beſides the forementiond Methods to introduce Popery, the *Jeſuits* publiſh'd every Day ſome Book or other to bring their Religion into Eſteem; ſuch as *The firſt and ſecond Vindication of the Biſhop of* Condom's *Expoſition of the Catholick Church*; *A Chriſtian Doctrine compos'd by* Bellarmine; *The Maſs triumphing*; *The Maſs vindicated*; *The Catechiſm of Penance*; *The Catechiſm for the Curates, compos'd by a Decree of the Council of* Trent; *An Agreement between the Church of* England, *and the Church of* Rome; Vane's *loſt Sheep return'd home*; Veron's *Rule of Faith*; *The Guide in Controverſies*, &c. *A Defence of the Doctrine and Rule of the* Roman *Catholick Church*, &c. This obliging the *Engliſh* Divines to draw their Pens likewiſe in the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Jeſuits were ſoon overmatch'd; for the famous *Stillingfleet*, *Sherlock*, *Tillotſon*, *Tenniſon*, *Wake*, &c. beſides a deeper Stock of Learning, and a greater Force of ſound Reaſoning, had alſo a far better Cauſe to maintain; whereas the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, being only palliated by frivolous Arguments, falſe Quotations, and trifling Equivocations, were the more eaſily expos'd, and their Aſſertors ſhamefully defeated. The People, who are generally fond of Controverſies, read greedily all thoſe polemical Writings, ſo that the Church of *Rome* was ſo far from getting Ground, that the Proteſtants were daily convinc'd of her Idolatry, and look'd upon it with Horror. If the *Engliſh* Miſſionaries, and thoſe who were ſent over from *France*, had been wiſe, they would not have follow'd a Courſe in which they have always miſcarry'd; for nothing leſs forcible than armed Troops is able to perſwade ſo monſtruous Tenets as thoſe of the Worſhip of Images, the Invocation of Saints, and the Tranſubſtantiation. But the Jeſuits were ſo daring and preſuming, that they muſt needs try this Method, which however they ſoon abandon'd, when they found it prejudicial to their Deſigns. Yet, leſt the Proteſtants ſhould take Advantage of their Superiority, His Majeſty was prevail'd with to regulate the Preſs, and under Pretence that the

the ſeveral Parties in the Kingdom maintain'd a ſeditious Paper-War, a Proclamation was iſſued out †, grounded upon a Statute made in the 14th Year of King *Charles* II. prohibiting the Printing, and expoſing to Sale of all unlicens'd and treaſonable Books and Pamphlets, under the Pains and Penalties provided by the ſaid Act. By this Means the Proteſtants were cunningly debarr'd the Freedom of confuting the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, which ſoon after appear'd to be the main Deſign of the reſtraining of the Preſs: For the King caus'd ſome Books to be ſuppreſs'd, which contain'd nothing but a Defence of the Reformed Religion, and Diſputes concerning Controverted Tenets. 1687/8

† *Proclamation to regulate the Preſs*, Feb. 13. 1687.

While the *Popiſh* Project was going on to abrogate the Teſt and Penal Laws, and the Proteſtants were in amaze what to expect, an Accident fell out that contributed to buoy up the ſinking Spirit of the Nation. King *James* meeting every Day with Difficulties, which he plainly ſaw he could never ſurmount without having Recourſe to violent Methods; the tutelar Genius of *England*, and his own ill Fate, ſet him on to make a trial of the Inclinations of the *Prince and Princeſs of Orange*; not doubting but if he could engage them to ſide with him in his Deſign, it would find leſs Oppoſition in the enſuing Parliament: But becauſe His Majeſty did not think proper to addreſs himſelf directly to their Highneſſes, he employ'd Mr. *James Stuart*, a Lawyer, whom he had pardon'd and receiv'd into Favour after a long Baniſhment, and who pretended an intimate Acquaintance with Mr. *Fagel*, Penſioner to the States of *Holland*, a wiſe Miniſter, in whom the Prince repos'd an intire Confidence, and for whom he had a particular Eſteem and Affection. To him Mr. *Stuart* writes a Letter upon this Subject; but ſo averſe were the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to meddle in ſo nice an Affair, and ſo unwilling to allow *Myn Heer Fagel* to return an Anſwer, which they knew would not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stuart* was oblig'd to repeat ſeveral times his preſſing

The Prince of Orange's *Opinion concerning the repealing of the* Teſt, *&c.*

1687. Inſtances, owning in his Letters, that he writ them by the King's Direction.

'Tis certain His Majeſty flatter'd himſelf that Their Highneſſes would not contradict his Intentions; eſpecially in a Conjuncture, when ſo many Reaſons ſeem'd to oblige them blindly to concur with him in every thing; otherwiſe he would not have been ſo eager to have their Opinion. But as their Royal Highneſſes were Strangers to Diſſimulation, and incapable of a Condeſcenſion that might prove fatal to thoſe Laws, which the *Engliſh* Nation juſtly looks upon as the Bulwark of their Liberties againſt the Attempts of the *Papiſts*; and for which, as preſumptive Heirs to the Crown of *England*, they always expreſs'd a great Tenderneſs; they were at laſt in a manner forc'd to direct Mr. *Fagel* to write an Anſwer to Mr. *Stuart*, through the Reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread in *England* by the Emiſſaries of the Court, as if the Penſioner had acquainted Mr. *Stuart*, that the Prince and Princeſs agreed with the King, in the Deſign of taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt; which Report was maliciouſly confirm'd by ſeveral Letters, which the Marquis of *Albyville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon to write; intimating, That the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very ſame thing; which Letter was alſo made publick.

To diſſipate thoſe injurious Reports, the Penſioner wrote to Mr. *Stuart* to this Purpoſe: *That underſtanding he earneſtly deſired to know of him what the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange's *Thoughts were concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws*, and *more particularly of the* Teſt; *he would deal very plainly with him in that matter, and without reſerve, ſince Mr.* Stuart *had ſaid in his Letters, that they were Written by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. Firſt, He moſt poſitively aſſured him, That their Highneſſes had often declar'd, as they did in a particular manner to the Marquiſs of* Albyville, *that it was their Opinion, that no Chriſtian ought to be perſecuted for his Conſcience, or be ill uſed becauſe he differ'd from the publick and eſtabliſhed Religion, and therefore that*

Penſioner Fagel's Letter, Nov. 4th, 1687. Oct. 24th, 1687.

that they could consent, that the Papists in England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *should be suffer'd to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them in the United Provinces, where it cannot be denied but they enjoy full Liberty of Conscience. And as to the Nonconformists, their Highnesses did not only consent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any trouble, hinderance or molestation upon that score; and that their Highnesses were ready to concur at any time with His Majesty in the settling and confirming this Liberty, and to protect and maintain it, as far as in them lay, according to the Language and usual Form of Treaties, and likewise to confirm it with their Guarantee, which Mr.* Stuart *had mention'd in his Letters. And if His Majesty thought fit to have their Concurrence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, provided these Laws still remain'd in their full vigour by which the Roman Catholicks are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all publick Employments, both Civil and Military; as likewise all those other Laws which confirmed the Protestant Religion, and which secur'd it against all the Attempts of the* Roman *Catholicks. But their Highnesses could not by any means agree to the Repeal of the* Test, *and those other* Penal Laws *last mention'd, that tended to the security of the Protestant Religion: Since the* Roman *Catholicks receive no other prejudice from these, than their being excluded from Parliament and publick Employments; and that by them the Protestant Religion is shelter'd from all the Designs of the* Roman Catholicks *against it, or against the publick Safety. That neither the Test nor these other Laws can be said to carry in them any Severity against the* Roman Catholicks *upon account of their Consciences; being only Provisions qualifying Men to be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of bearing Office; by which they must declare before God and Men, that they are for the* Protestant Religion. *So that indeed all this amounts to no more, than a securing the Protestant Religion from any Prejudices that it may receive from the* Roman Catholicks. 1687.

More

1687. *More than this,* adds the Penſioner, *their Highneſſes have thought and do ſtill think it ought not to be ask'd or expected from them; ſince by that means the* Roman Catholicks *and their Poſterity will be for ever ſecured from all Troubles in their Perſons or Eſtates, or in the exerciſe of their Religion; and they think the* Roman Catholicks *ought to be ſatisfied with this, and not diſturb the quiet of the Kingdom, under pretenee, that they are ſhut out of Parliament and Employments; and becauſe thoſe Laws, in which the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion principally conſiſts, are not Repeal'd, by which they may be put in a Condition to overturn it.*

As to what Mr. Stuart *had writ; That the* Roman Catholicks *in* Holland *were not excluded from Employments and Places of Truſt, Mr.* Fagel, told him, *He was groſly miſtaken. For,* ſays he, *Our Laws are expreſs in that Point, excluding* Roman Catholicks *by Name, from all ſhare in the Government, and from all Employments whatſoever. It is true,* (continu'd he) *I do not know of any expreſs Law that ſhuts them out of Military Employments: That had been hard indeed, ſince in the firſt Foundation of our State, they join'd with us in aſſerting the publick Liberty, and did us eminent Service during the Wars; therefore they were not excluded from Military Employments; for the publick Safety was no ways endanger'd by this; both becauſe the Numbers of thoſe of their Religion that ſerv'd in our Troops were but ſmall, and becauſe the* States *could eaſily prevent any inconvenience that might ariſe from thence; which could not have been done ſo eaſily, if the* Roman Catholicks *had been admitted to a ſhare in the Government, and in the Policy and Juſtice of our State.*

I am, proceeds he, *aſſur'd of this Truth, and I might give undeniable Proofs of it, that their Highneſſes deſire nothing more earneſtly, than that His Majeſty may Reign happily, and in a perfect good Intelligence with his Subjects; and that his Subjects being perſwaded of His Majeſty's paternal Affection towards them, may upon all Occaſions make ſuitable Returns to his Goodneſs, by all poſſible Demonſtrations*

ſtrations of Duty and Loyalty; but their Highneſſes are convinc'd in their Conſciences, that both the Proteſtant Religion, and the ſafety of the Nation, would be expos'd to moſt certain Dangers, if either the Teſts, *or thoſe other* Penal Laws, *of which I have made frequent Mention, ſhould be repeal'd; therefore they cannot concur with His Majeſty in theſe Matters; for they believe they ſhould have much to Anſwer to God, if the Conſideration of any preſent Advantage, ſhould induce them to conſent to things which they believe would not only be very dangerous, but prejudicial to the Proteſtant Religion.* 1687.

Mr. *Fagel* concludes, *That their Highneſſes ever had, and are reſolv'd ever to preſerve a profound Submiſſion to His Majeſty; as they thought themſelves in Duty Bound by the Laws of God and Nature; but ſince the matter that is now in Hand relates not to the making of new Laws, but to the total Abrogation of thoſe already made both by King and Parliament, Their Highneſſes do not ſee how it can be expected of them, that they ſhould conſent to ſuch an Abrogation, to which they have ſo juſt an Averſion; as being a thing that is contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of all* Chriſtian States, *whether* Proteſtants *or* Papiſts, *who admit none to a ſhare in the Government, or publick Employments, but thoſe who profeſs the publick and eſtabliſhed Religion, and endeavour to ſecure it againſt all Attempts whatſoever.*

Mr. *Stuart* communicated this Letter to the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Melfort*, and to the King himſelf, and acquainted Mr. *Fagel* with it, without letting him know whether the Court deſir'd it ſhould be kept ſecret or made publick. In the mean time it was printed in *England*, at which Mr. *Fagel* was not in the leaſt concern'd, it being done without his Knowledge; and that wiſe Miniſter deſign'd to have troubled himſelf no farther about that Matter, notwithſtanding the ill Conſtructions which the *Popiſh* Emiſſaries might put upon it; but there being publiſh'd a little after * a Pamphlet, entitled, *Parliamentum Pacificum*, 1687. * Feb. 21.

or

1687. *or the Happy Union of King and People in an healing Parliament*, &c. wherein it was affirm'd, that the Letter written to Mr. *Stuart*, not only was a Suppoſition, but likewiſe that the Author had miſ-repreſented the Sentiments of their Highneſſes, concerning the Repeal of *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*; Mr. *Fagel* thought himſelf oblig'd to prevent the World's being impos'd upon by that Impoſture, and to that Purpoſe he not only printed ſome of Mr. *Stuart*'s Letters, but writ alſo to the Marquis of *Albyville* the following Letter †, which he caus'd likewiſe to be made publick.

Mr. Fagel's *Letter to the Marquis of* Albyville, March 30. † April 9. 1688.

My Lord,

WE have ſeen here a Pamphlet in Engliſh, *entitled*, Parliamentum Pacificum, *printed this Year in* London, *with the Earl of* Sunderland's *Allowance; of which I cannot forbear complaining, how averſe ſoever I am to make Expoſtulations. The Author of it maintains, that the Letter I writ on the 4th of* November *laſt, relating to the* Teſts *and* Penal Laws, *is either a Forgery, or that I writ it without the Order or Approbation of their Highneſſes, or at leaſt of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs. Not that I pretend to enter into the Particulars of that Pamphlet, with Deſign to confute any thing in it, it being little agreeable to my Character and Inclination to meddle with publick Diſputes of that Nature: But you muſt not think it ſtrange if I put you in mind, that 'twas not of my own ſelf that I engag'd in writing the ſaid Letter, but rather after I had been powerfully preſs'd to it for Four Months together, from, or in the Name of His Majeſty; and when at laſt I was prevail'd with to write it, I did it with all the Precaution which ſo nice an Affair ſeem'd to require; inſomuch, that in all that Letter there is not one Period, which I ought to fear might diſpleaſe His Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, I ſee that in a Writing, printed by publick Authority, that Letter is branded as ſuppoſititious, although His Majeſty, and even all the Court, know the Truth of the Buſineſs; and beſides that, I have own'd it here to your Lordſhip, as the King's Miniſter, and to all thoſe that have ſpoke to me of it. But what's*

moſt

moſt injurious to me, is that I am therein charged with having abus'd their Highneſſes Names particularly that of Her Royal Highneſs, as if I were a Perſon capable of ſo infamous a Cheat, and of a Falſity ſo unworthy of all Men of Honour, and that too in an Affair of the higheſt Importance. You will not take it ill, my Lord, if in this Matter I refer my ſelf to the Knowledge you have of it, and to what you have often told me your ſelf, to wit, that Their Highneſſes, and in particular Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, had declared their Thoughts to you concerning the Teſts and Penal Laws, in the ſame manner as I had repreſented them; That you had acquainted the Court with it a long time before I wrote my Letter, and that you could not conceive what Reaſon there was for preſſing me to write to Mr. Stuart. *I do aſſure you that I would not be much offended at that Pamphlet, nor at any other of that Nature, having already foreſeen that I ſhould not fail being attack'd upon that ſcore, wherein I could eaſily have allow'd every Body the Liberty of pleaſing themſelves; but that Writing being publiſh'd under the Authority of the Preſident of the King's Council, and Secretary of State, my Honour is concern'd to clear my ſelf to the World of ſo unjuſt an Accuſation as is laid to my Charge. Therefore I thought I could not do better than to addreſs my ſelf to you, my Lord, as being His Majeſties Miniſter, and a Perſon perfectly well inform'd of the Buſineſs in queſtion, deſiring you would be pleas'd to write to the Earl of* Sunderland *about it. I believe he has neither ſeen nor examin'd the Paſſages of that Pamphlet which reflected upon me; and I am alſo perſwaded, that if he had, he would not have ſigned the Printing Allowance; for the ſaid Earl of* Sunderland *knows as well as any Body that the ſaid Letter of Mr.* Stuart *is no Suppoſition, ſince he has ſeen the Letter it ſelf, or the* Engliſh *Copy of it, which I had ſent along with it. He ought alſo to be no leſs aſſur'd by your Letters, and by what you have related by Word of Mouth, that Their Highneſſes, and particularly Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, have ſeveral times told you their Opinion concerning the* Teſt *and* Penal Laws, *as I have expreſs'd it in my Letter to Mr.* Stuart.

1683.

Therefore

1687/8. *Therefore I dare promiſe my ſelf, from the Juſtice and Goodneſs of the Earl of* Sunderland, *that he will take care that the Allowance which was ſurreptitiouſly obtain'd for the printing of that Pamphlet may be recall'd, and the Author of ſo manifeſt and outrageous a Calumny brought to condign Puniſhment. Neither will I conceal from you, that I deſign to publiſh what has paſs'd in this Affair, as well as what I now take the Liberty to write to you, not with Deſign to engage any farther in the main Buſineſs, much leſs to gratifie any Body, but ſolely to ſhelter my Honour from ſo falſe and heinous an Imputation.*

What was yet more ſurprizing in this Affair, was, That Mr. *Stuart* poſitively denied in a Letter, which was made publick, that he ever wrote to Mr. *Fagel*, altho' the Latter had convinc'd him of the contrary, and had ſtill by him the Originals of his Letters. But becauſe the King had ſeen the Penſionary's Letter, which he was unwilling the World ſhould know, and becauſe Mr. *Stuart* was very much puzzled how to return a ſolid Anſwer, he choſe to have Recourſe to a Jeſuitical Evaſion. An Anonimous Author, who preſum'd more upon his own Sufficiency, publiſh'd † his Animadverſions upon the Heer *Fagel*'s Letter, which he addreſs'd to *William Penn*, and wherein he maintains, *That no Man can for the Cauſe of Religion plead any juſtifiable Excuſe for his not rendring Subjection to ſuch as are his Superiors in a natural or civil Station, in their lawful Commands, and that the inflicting Temporal Penalties for ſuch Errors in Religious Opinions, as cannot be evinc'd by the Principles of Reaſon, and Conſcience, to be againſt the common Light of Nature (though they may be prov'd by Scripture to be againſt ſuch myſterious Truths as are proper only to the Chriſtian Religion) is not to be juſtified either by the general Law of Nature, or general Rules of Scripture.* Then he enquires, *Whether contrary to Their Highneſſes declared Opinion, many Chriſtians are not ſubject to be very ill us'd, becauſe they differ from the publick eſtabliſh'd Religion, if the Teſts continue without any further Proviſion by a*

† July 1688.

new

new Law to ſecure them from ſuch Uſage? Whether thoſe Penal Laws and Teſts are effectual to exclude Roman Catholicks *from any Share in the Government? Or whether they have not been improv'd to a Damage, rather than to any real Advantage to the Reformed Religion? And laſtly, whether more juſtifiable and ſuitable Security, both for our Religion and civil Rights, may not be obtain'd, if His Majeſty pleas'd to give his Aſſent, by eſtabliſhing the ſeveral Matters propos'd in his Declaration, and ſome other Proviſions, to be made by a new Law, than can be had or expected by continuing the Penal Laws?* 1684. These Animadverſions were ſo far from confuting Mr. *Fagel*'s Letter, that they rather confirm'd every one that peruſed it in this Opinion; That it was not the Liberty of Conſcience, or the free Exerciſe of Religion alone, that mov'd the *Popiſh* Party to ſtir ſo much for the Repealing of the Teſt, ſince by that Letter Their Highneſſes conſented to ſecure them that Liberty, and free them from the Penalties of the Laws; but that their true Aim was to have their Excluſion from Places of Truſt taken off, which was the only Security of the Proteſtant Religion. However, the Penſionary's Letter ſerv'd at this time to ſupport the true Intereſt of the Nation, and gain'd an intire Confidence in Their Highneſſes, both from the Epiſcopal Party, and the Diſſenters, who did not doubt but that they would endeavour their Reſcue, if the Court ſhould proceed to violent Methods to rob them of their natural Rights and Liberties.

The King perceiving the Effect, which the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*'s Unwillingneſs to concur with him in the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws, had wrought in the Minds of his Proteſtant Subjects, redoubled his Endeavours to get a Parliament at his Devotion; and, for that end, ſent down his Creatures into the ſeveral Counties, in order to procure the Election of ſuch Members as were inclin'd to acquieſce in his Deſigns. At the ſame time he gave out Commiſſions for the raiſing of new Troops, and caus'd a great Fleet to be equipp'd with extraordinary Diligence, that in

1687. case fair Means ſhould prove ineffectual, he might have Recourſe to forcible. The ſecond of *March*, 1687. a Proclamation was iſſued out, forbidding the King's Natural-born Subjects to enter into the Service of foreign Princes and States, either by Sea or Land; and a little before† His Majeſty wrote a Letter to the States of *Holland*, to demand the Six *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service.

† Jan. 17. 1687.

The States return'd a civil Anſwer to His Majeſties Letter, but withal excus'd themſelves for not complying with his Deſire. They declar'd by a Reſolution taken in their Aſſembly *, that having examin'd all the Treaties of Alliance, and all that had paſt thereupon, when thoſe Regiments were form'd, they could find no Agreement or Capitulation that could oblige them to grant His Majeſties Demand, eſpecially in that Juncture of time. They own'd indeed, that by the Treaties concluded between *England* and the States-General it was agreed, that in caſe that Crown ſhould have War with ſome of her Neighbours, and ſhould have Occaſion for Troops, the States ſhould be oblig'd to ſend back the Six Regiments into *England*, as they did in the Year 1685. at the time of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion; but that his *Britannick* Majeſty being in Peace with His Neighbours, and having no Troubles at Home, they ſaw no Reaſon that could oblige them to ſend back thoſe Troops; that beſides, moſt of the Soldiers that ſerv'd in thoſe Regiments were *Dutch*; and laſtly, that properly ſpeaking, thoſe Six Regiments did not belong to his *Britannick* Majeſty, being partly made up of thoſe Regiments and Companies, which in the Year 1674. were in the Service of the States; in a word, That thoſe Regiments had been rais'd at divers Times with vaſt Expence, either for Liſting-Money or Tranſportation, the late King *Charles* II. having forbid all Levies for foreign Princes and States throughout his Dominions.

* Febr. 2. 1687.

To underſtand the Force of theſe Reaſons of the States, 'tis neceſſary to know, that in 1665. all the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Troops, which had been ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Holland*, even in Queen *Eliza-*

beth's

beth's time, were disbanded by the States; so that those who had a mind to return home, were left at their Liberty; and those who were willing to remain in the Service of the States, were also free to stay. Now because there were many, both Officers and Soldiers, who had their Reasons not to return into *England*, Two Regiments were form'd out of them, which oblig'd themselves by Oath to acknowledge no other Sovereign besides the States. Thus 'tis plain, that the States had a Right to dispose not only of the *English* and *Scotch* Soldiers in their Service, but also of their Officers; but however, to preserve a good Correspondence with his *Britannick* Majesty, they offer'd Passes to all the Officers of the Six Regiments that were willing to return home, which about Forty of them accepted. The Marquis of *Albyville* presented a Memorial to the States, to press them to comply with His Majesties Desire; but they persisting in their Resolution, a Proclamation was issued out, commanding the Return of all the King's Subjects, who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of the States-General of the United Provinces, either by Sea or Land; tho' upon no other Allegation, than that the King thought it for his Service. This Proclamation caus'd a Debate among the States-General, the Result of which seem'd to be an Unwillingness to let the *English* and *Scotch* Regiments return, alledging, besides what has been already mention'd, *That there was nothing so agreeable to Nature, as that he who is born free should have the Right and Liberty to settle himself wheresoever he shall think it most advantageous for him; and that it is in his Power to be naturaliz'd and become a Subject to them under whose Soveraignty he submits his Person; And that any Government receiving such, does thereby acquire over him the same Right it has over its own proper and natural Subjects.* The Marquis of *Albyville*, by express Orders from His Master, deliver'd in a second Memorial to the States, peremptorily demanding the Dismission of the said Troops; *for that pretended natural Liberty could not subsist, after that*

1687.

Proclamation recalling the English *and* Scotch *from* Holland, March 14. 1687.

1687/8 *Dominion and Obedience had been introduc'd; ſo that the Rights of Soveraignty and Subjection were now only to be conſider'd: And that by virtue of theſe Rights, it had been the common Opinion in all times, that no natural Subject can withdraw himſelf from the Obedience he owes to his lawful Prince*; and therefore he inſiſted upon his Demand, as a Right the King would never depart from. But it ſeems few or none were willing to return, which juſtified the Reſolutions of the States-General, and rendred the Inſtances of His Majeſties Envoy ineffectual.

Threatning Letters ſent to Perſons of Quality by the Papiſts.

As the Court was buſie in increaſing the Land and Sea Forces, and corrupting Electors, the *Jeſuits* were not wanting in putting all their crafty Methods in Practice, in order to eſtabliſh Popery; and among the reſt, they bethought themſelves of thoſe Stratagems which the Monks made uſe of in Times of Ignorance, and which they ſtill employ at this very Day in *Spain* and *America*, to terrifie People out of their Senſes. Several Perſons of Quality, particularly the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Lords *Dorſet* and *Lumley*, receiv'd Letters from an unknown Hand, by which they were threatned with ſudden Death, unleſs they ſhould make their Peace with God and the King, by reconciling themſelves to the *Roman Catholick* Church before the beginning of *February* *. But thoſe illuſtrious Peers laugh'd at the Predictions of thoſe unhallow'd Prophets, and turn'd into Ridicule their viſionary Way of making Converts. A little while after the Papiſts poſſeſs'd themſelves entirely of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, the King having beſtow'd the Preſident's Place, vacant by the Death of Dr. *Parker*, Biſhop of that City, on a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*.

* 1688.

Differences among the Popiſh *Party chiefly between* Tyrconnel *and* Sheridon.

Whilſt the *Papiſts* were induſtriouſly contriving to eſtabliſh their Religion, there aroſe ſome Jealouſies and Diſputes amongſt 'em, which went near to break all their former Meaſures, and to render their whole Party ridiculous. *Tyrconnel* began to diſcover that *Sheridon*, Principal Secretary of State in *Ireland*, and one of the Commiſſioners of

of the Customs, sold Employments of all sorts, both Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military; and that whenever he met with an Opportunity of making an advantageous Bargain for a Place in the Custom-house, he would pretend, that 'twas upon the Lord-Lieutenant's Recommendation that such a Person was employ'd. This by degrees encreas'd so much upon the rest of the Commissioners, that *Dickison*, who was one of them, writ over to the Lords of the Treasury, that they were so clogg'd with *Irish* Officers, recommended by the Lord-Deputy, that he was afraid that the Revenue would sink by ill Management. Upon this *Tyrconnel* was ordered not to recommend a Man, nor any Ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The Commissioners also issued forth their Orders, that all Persons who had petition'd for Places in the Customs or Revenue, should return to their respective Abodes, for that there would be no Employments dispos'd of. This Bustle created various Quarrels betwixt *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*, and from this time forward *Sheridon* bent his Thoughts upon the Ruin of *Tyrconnel*. His first Stratagem to undermine, him was to prepossess the *Romish* Clergy against him; which to accomplish, he contracted an intimate Acquaintance with his Chaplain, who pick'd up what he had observ'd of *Tyrconnel*'s Contempt of the Mass and Religion. Of this, *Sheridon*, a bigotted *Papist*, gave an Account to Father *Petre*, whose Niece he had married, by which Means he gain'd an Interest not only with that Favourite Jesuit, but likewise with all the *Irish* Clergy, especially with the titular Primate of *Armagh*, who had no Kindness for *Tyrconnel*, and both together, with the before-mention'd Priest, form'd Articles of Impeachment against the Lord-Lieutenant. This could not be transacted with that Secresie, but that *Tyrconnel* had some Intelligence of it; to countermine his Enemies, he made use of a third Priest, a Confident of his own, by whose Means he intercepted a Pacquet which *Sheridon* was sending over to the Court of *England*, with his Accusation against *Tyrconnel*. *Rice* and 1687.

1687. *Neagle*, the Lord-Deputy's Two grand Counſellors, adviſ'd him to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he did accordingly, ſetting forth *Sheridon*'s Briberies, and other ſiniſter Practices, not taking notice of *Sheridon*'s Contrivance againſt himſelf. Afterwards he ſent for *Sheridon* into his Cloſet, and in the Preſence of ſeveral Perſons, demanded of him, whether or no he had written any thing againſt him to *London*? *Sheridon* confidently anſwer'd, He had not; but that he had heard that his Excellency had writ againſt him; which ſo enrag'd the Deputy, (who was a Man that could not contain his Paſſion) that he call'd him Traitor, Cheat, and other abuſive Names; and pulling out *Sheridon*'s Letter, ask'd him if that was not his Hand? Which for the preſent put him into great Diſorder; but after ſome Recollection he began to juſtifie himſelf, and to enter into a Capitulation with the Lord Deputy; at which *Tyrconnel* riſing in Exceſs of Fury to kick him, *Sheridon* was turn'd out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party held a long Conſultation how to proceed in this nice Affair: They dreaded not *Sheridon*'s Intereſt, or Accuſation ſo much, as this Opportunity of awakening his Excellency's Enemies at Court; after various Debates 'twas at laſt agreed, That *Daly* ſhould take *Sheridon* to task, and ſo accommodate the Matter, as to ſtifle any farther Noiſe of it, which *Sheridon* was ready enough to embrace; but at the ſame time both the Lord-Deputy and he ſtrove who ſhould firſt entrap his envious Competitor; *Tyrconnel* to execute his Revenge upon the titular Primate, for ſiding with *Sheridon*, revived the Quarrel that the *Iriſh* Clergy had with the Primate, eſpecially the titular Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, which happen'd in this manner. Upon an Aſſembly of the titular Popiſh Biſhops of *Ireland*, great Debates aroſe concerning the Priority of their Juriſdictions, in reference to which, the Primate uſurp'd over them all, not diſtinguiſhing the Archbiſhop, which he of *Caſhell*, reſenting as an Indignity, inflam'd the Difference to a great height, and caus'd the Aſſembly to break up abruptly, and

and in great Diſcontent with one another. This Quarrel had been dormant for ſometime, nor did it now continue long upon the Stage, for *Tyrconnel* ſoon receiv'd a ſevere Reprimand from Father *Petre* for this raſh Action, which tended to expoſe and ruin their Party. 1687.

Sheridon to purſue his Deſigns againſt *Tyrconnel*, ſollicited an Order from the King for his going over, which having obtain'd, and being arriv'd at *London*, he ſoon found by the cold Reception he had from *S——d*, that there was no Expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*; for he was fortified with the *French* Intereſt, and was, in a manner, Deputy to *Lewis*, not *James*; it being ſaid in *Paris*, when News came there of *Tyrconnel*'s being ſtruck out, That there was none in *England* durſt move him. *Sheridon* wanted not thoſe who were Well-wiſhers to his Deſign againſt the Deputy, as *Caſtlemain*, *Powis*, and ſome others; but they durſt not truſt him with their Sentiments, but ſent ſome of their Confidents to animate him with general Promiſes, without naming any Body. He had not continued Three Days in *London*, when he was follow'd by the Lord *Dongan*, Son to the Earl of *Lymerick*, who brought Letters to *S——d* and others, ſetting forth *Sheridon* to great Diſadvantage; which Negotiation ſo ſucceeded, that even Father *Petre*, his Wife's Uncle, would admit him no longer to his Preſence; and ſoon after being return'd to *Ireland*, by Sentence of the chief Judges he was diſmiſs'd from all his Employments: A juſt Reward for his former Apoſtacy from the Church of *England*. *Sheridon's Fall.*

Another Blow came from *Rome* againſt *Tyrconnel*, which requir'd the Aſſiſtance of his beſt Friends to divert: The Earl of *Caſtlemain* had for ſome time been return'd from his Embaſſie to the Pope, but was advanc'd to no Preferment, which he complain'd of to his Holineſs, and was ſeconded by Father *Petre*. Upon the Receipt of their Letters the Pope writes over to his *Nuncio*, to addreſs to the King in *Caſtlemain*'s Behalf; nor would his Holineſs's Recommendation have prov'd ineffectual, had *Vain Endeavours to ſupplant* Jefferies *and* Tyrconnel.

1687. there been a Vacancy. But to ſupply that, Father *Peters* takes Opportunity to ſtrike at *Jefferies*, the Lord Chancellor, for tampering in the Buſineſs of *Magdalen-Colledge:* In order to which, he acquaints the King, that the beſt courſe to accompliſh his pious Deſign of eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion, was to let his prime Miniſters underſtand, that no Pretence of Service done ſhould protect 'em, if they fail'd in the minuteſt Circumſtance relating to the Catholick Cauſe. This Argument was ſo purſued with conſtant Vigour, that 'twas brought
* Dec. 17. 1687. to the Cabinet, and it was reſolv'd * that *Jefferies* ſhould be put out, and that Three of the Lords of the Treaſury ſhould be made Lords Commiſſioners of the Broad Seal, and that *Caſtlemain* ſhould be Lord-Treaſurer. This Reſolve continued not Ten Days, but upon the ſudden the Scene chang'd, and *Jefferies* was more fix'd than ever. The true Cauſe of this was never known, but 'twas obſerv'd that the Queen and *S——d* adhered to him. This gave freſh Cauſe of Diſguſt to *Caſtlemain*, and to the Church-Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs mov'd by the *French* Intereſt, in Oppoſition to that of *Rome:* Such inſuperable Difficulties had the Eaſineſs and Bigottry of the unfortunate King *James* expos'd him to: His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to *Rome*, but his Dependance was intirely built upon *France.*

The *Church-Cabal* embrac'd the Opportunity of the Lord Deputies and *Sheridon*'s Quarrelling, to recommend *Caſtlemain* as a fit Perſon for the Government of *Ireland*, repreſenting in lively Colours how injurious thoſe ſcandalous Impeachments of *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon* had been to the Catholick Cauſe, and how much they had retarded its Progreſs; farther urging, That *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too ſlow a Motion, and that he had effected nothing but the turning out of a few Soldiers, and frightning away the induſtrious *Engliſh*, who might by Indulgence and Encouragement be allur'd to turn Converts; and that *Caſtlemain* was a Man of great Parts, and of an inſinuating Carri-

age,

age, for the accompliſhing of ſuch a Work, as the reducing of Hereticks. 168?

This was ſoon ſent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Penſioner in *London* communicated to *Paris*: To prevent the impending Danger, the Lord-Deputy and his Two grand Politicians, *Rice* and *Neagle*, ſit up Night and Day, and conſulted what Apology they ſhould make for their ſmall Proficiency in proſelyting Men to their Religion; and what Method they ſhould take, for the future, to endear Proteſtants to the Eſpouſal of the *Romiſh* Cauſe and Intereſt. They conſider'd that whilſt the *Engliſh* were Maſters of their Lands, they fear'd not the Government; but that if they were touch'd in their Eſtates, they would either run into Treaſon or Converſion; and therefore upon mature Deliberation *Rice* and *Neagle* were order'd to draw up the Subſtance of an Act, whereby the Lands of the whole Kingdom were, in a manner, given into the Power of the King; and altho' the Catholicks were to have but half of their Eſtates, yet the other part was to be under ſuch Qualifications, as that the King might diſpoſe of it to ſuch as he found to be obedient Sons. This, if the King would have purſued, a Parliament they could have had when they pleas'd, fitted for their Turn, all Corporations being already put into *Popiſh* Hands, and all the Sheriffs of the Counties being *Papiſts*, would not fail to make Returns to their Advantage. This Conſult being come to this Ripeneſs, 'twas concluded that *Rice* ſhould go over as Plenipotentiary in negotiating this Affair, and Chief Juſtice *Nugent* obtain'd Leave to accompany him, tho' 'twas not thought fit to intruſt him with the ſecret Intrigue. The *Iriſh* Ambaſſadors, (for ſo they were call'd here in *England*,) being come over, *Rice* made his firſt Court to the Lord *S*——*d*, and was ſo active and induſtrious in advancing the Deſign that Father *Petre* was influenced to join in it, tho' at firſt he could not be prevail'd upon to hear of it: For he was abſolutely biaſs'd by *Caſtlemain*'s Intereſt; and being no Politician, but of a vain, imperious Temper, was wont to contemn

1687. every thing that was not to his Humour; however this Project being to convert or confound the Hereticks, he at last embrac'd it, and so 'twas concluded, that he and *S——d* should wait on the King with it. But notwithstanding Father *Peter*'s Adherence to this Design, yet did he continue in his former Inclinations for removing *Tyrconnel*; and 'twas believ'd that happy Difference among the several *Romish* Factions, was the prime Occasion of diverting this fatal Blow design'd for *Ireland*.

The Business was in the Closet fully discours'd to the King by *S——d* and *Petre*; and His Majesty was soon inclin'd to the thing; but how to pass it in the Council, there lay the Stress of the Difficulty; for he was very apprehensive that such as were opposite to *Tyrconnel*'s Continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, would be more violent against his being there with a Parliament, too great for such a Man whom the Council had in Contempt. Father *Petre* thought he could easily remove that Obstacle, by introducing the Pope's Recommendation of *Castlemain*; but that was cancell'd by the powerful Protection the King of *France* afforded to *Tyrconnel*. Amidst these Difficulties 'twas hard to form a Resolution; but however 'twas agreed to, that the Two Judges should be publickly introduc'd to the King with their Project for calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to represent to His Majesty the deplorable Condition of his *Catholick* Subjects, occasion'd by the Injustice and Oppression of the Act of Settlement. All this was done accordingly, and they brought to *Whitehall*, where the King receiv'd their Project in writing, and told them, he would advise with his Council about it.

The first Council-Day the King brought this Project to the Board, and in few Words acquainted them with its Importance and Contents, and by whom it was presented to him. No Man spoke a Word, either in Favour of, or in Opposition to the thing, but desir'd it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellasis*, in a Gust of Passion inveigh'd

veigh'd bitterly againſt it, ſaying, *That if ſuch Deſigns as thoſe were encourag'd, they of* England (meaning the *Romaniſts*) *had beſt in time to look out for ſome other Country, and not ſtay to be a mad Sacrifice to* Iriſh *Rebels*. *Powis* according to the beſt of his Underſtanding ſeconded, and in ſhort 'twas ſo run down, that neither *S——d* nor *Petre* durſt attempt to ſpeak in its Vindication, but only deſir'd that theſe Gentlemen who brought over thoſe Papers might be heard. *Bellaſis* was for committing them, or commanding their immediate Return, but 'twas at laſt thought reaſonable to hear 'em. The Day for theſe Ambaſſadors to be heard at Council-Board being come, *Rice* made a Speech full of Policy and Artifice, and anſwer'd the Objections made by the Lords *Bellaſis* and *Powis*; but when *Nugent* came to ſpeak, he unravell'd all that *Rice* had plauſibly work'd together; and *Bellaſis* preſently found out the Defect of his *Iriſh Underſtanding*, as he call'd it, abuſing him beyond the Reſpect due to the Place where the King was, calling him *Fool* and *Knave*; and *Powis* did the ſame. They were not long in tearing this fine Project to pieces, which when they had done, *Bellaſis* bid them make haſte *to the Fool their Maſter, and bid him the next Meſſage he ſent, to Employ wiſer Men, and upon a more honeſt Errand*. *Powis* bid them tell him, *That the King had better Uſe to make of his* Catholick *Subjects in* England, *than to Sacrifice them for a Repriſal to the* Proteſtants *of* Ireland, *in lieu of their Eſtates*. The King remain'd Silent, and without any Reſolve or Order broke up the Council; the Ambaſſadors appear'd no more upon the Stage, but march'd off with great Precipitation, and no leſs Confuſion. 1687.

This Miſcarriage gave freſh Opportunity to *Caſtlemain*'s Friends to raiſe Objections againſt *Tyrconnel*, ſetting forth what Miſchiefs he had done in *Ireland*; that the Revenue was ſunk to an incredible Abatement, and that in one Year more, there would not be left Money enough in the Kingdom to Pay the Army; and that this laſt Project of his would exaſperate and frighten away thoſe

1688. thoſe of the *Engliſh* which were left, who being the dealing and induſtrious People of the Nation, would put a fatal Period to all Trade in that depopulated Iſland: But all theſe juſt and reaſonable Allegations, judiciouſly laid down before the King by ſober and conſidering Perſons, were all to no Purpoſe: For though His Majeſty kept it ſecret from moſt of his Council, yet certain it is that he had promis'd the *French* King the diſpoſal of that Government and Kingdom.

Things were now arriv'd at that paſs, that the *Papiſts* carried on their Deſigns without Oppoſition; for if any Man offer'd to maintain that *Popiſh* Juſtices or other Officers were not to be obey'd, he was preſently committed to Priſon, though by the Laws of the Land they are totally excluded from Publick Places. The Prieſts and *Jeſuits* were openly countenanc'd, and their Books either againſt the Proteſtant Religion, or for the repealing of the Teſts and Penal Laws printed by the King's Printer, or by the Allowance of the Secretary of State; whilſt *the Reaſons of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *for not Addreſſing the King*; *ſome Reflections on Mr.* Fagel's *Letter*, containing a Vindication of their Highneſſes Opinion concerning the Repeal of the Teſts, and ſome other Writings of that Nature, were publickly Burnt. Now becauſe the firſt Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience was not eſteem'd favourable enough to the Romaniſts, the Court, thought fit to iſſue out * another in a higher Strain, in which they were chiefly included, and indeed, it was for their Sakes alone that any ſuch thing was granted, it being wholly inconſiſtent with *Popiſh* Principles, to give Toleration to ſuch as they call Hereticks: This new Declaration was as follows.

New Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

* April *the 27th*, 1688.

" *James Rex.* Our Conduct has been ſuch in all " Times, as ought to have perſuaded the World, " that we are firm and conſtant to our Reſolutions, " yet that eaſie People may not be abus'd by the " Malice of crafty wicked Men, we think fit to de- " clare that our Intentions are not chang'd ſince " the fourth of *April* 1687. when we iſſued out " our Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience——

" (*which*

"(*which was here inſerted verbatim*)ever ſince we gran- 1688.
" ted this Indulgence, we have made it our principal
" Care to ſee it preſerv'd without Diſtinction, as
" we are encourag'd to do daily by multitudes of
" Addreſſes, and many other Aſſurances we re-
" ceive from our Subjects of all Perſuaſions, as
" Teſtimonies of their Satisfaction and Duty; the
" Effects of which we doubt not but the next
" Parliament will plainly ſhew, and that it will
" not be in vain, that we have reſolv'd to uſe our
" uttermoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh *Liberty of Con-*
" *ſcience* on ſuch juſt and equal Foundations, as
" will render it unalterable, and ſecure to all Peo-
" ple the free Exerciſe of their Religion for ever;
" by which future Ages may reap the Benefit of
" what is ſo undoubtedly for the general Good of
" the whole Kingdom. It is ſuch a Security we de-
" ſire, without the *Burthen* and Conſtraint *of Oaths*
" *and Teſts*, which have been unhappily made by
" ſome Governments, but could never Support
" any, nor ſhould Men be advanced by ſuch Means
" to Offices and Employments, which ought to be
" the Reward of Services, Fidelity and Merit. We
" muſt conclude, that not only good Chriſtians will
" join in this, but whoever is concern'd for the
" Increaſe of the Wealth and Power of the Nati-
" on. It would, perhaps, Prejudice ſome of our
" Neighbours, who might loſe part of thoſe vaſt
" Advantages they now Enjoy, if Liberty of Con-
" ſcience were ſettled in theſe Kingdoms, which
" are above all others moſt capable of Improve-
" ments, and of commanding the Trade of the
" World: In Purſuance of this great Work, we
" have been forc'd to make many Changes both of
" Civil and Military Officers throughout our Do-
" minions, not thinking any ought to be employ'd
" in our Service, who will not Contribute towards
" the Eſtabliſhing the Peace and Greatneſs of their
" Country, which we moſt earneſtly Deſire, as
" unbiaſs'd Men may ſee by the whole Conduct of
" our Government, and by the Condition of our
" Fleet, and of our Armies, which with good
" Management ſhall conſtantly be the ſame, and
" greater,

1688 "greater, if the Safety or Honour of the Nation "require it. We Recommend theſe Conſiderati- "ons to all our Subjects, and that they will reflect "on their preſent Eaſe and Happineſs, how for "above three Years that it has pleas'd God to per- "mit us to Reign over theſe Kingdoms, we have "not appear'd to be that Prince, our Enemies "would have made the World afraid of; our "chief Aim having been not to be the Oppreſſor, "but the Father of our People; of which we "can give no better Evidence, than by conjuring "them to lay aſide all Private Animoſities, as well "as Groundleſs Jealouſies, and to chuſe ſuch Mem- "bers of Parliament, as may do their Part to finiſh "what we have begun for the Advantage of the "Monarchy, over which Almighty God has plac'd "us, being reſolv'd to call a Parliament that ſhall "meet in *November* next at furtheſt.

The King was not contented to cauſe this Declaration to be publiſh'd in the uſual manner, but to carry his Arbitrary and Diſpenſing Power to the higheſt Pinacle, and to render the Church of *England* Acceſſary to their own Ruin, either by complying with or diſobeying his Commands, an Order of Council was * made, *Enjoining the ſaid Declaration to be read at the uſual Time of Divine Service, in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, and ordering the Biſhops to cauſe it to be ſent and diſtributed throughout their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſſes, to be read accordingly.*

* *Order to read the Declaration, in Churches* May, 4*th*, 1688.

Conſultation of the Clergy about the Declaration.

'Tis eaſie to imagine how much the Biſhops and the whole Clergy of the Church of *England* were ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Order, which they had Reaſon to take as the greateſt Hardſhip and Oppreſſion that could be put upon them. They had no ſooner receiv'd it, but many of them aſſembled in the Archiepiſcopal Palace at *Lambeth*, to conſult how they ought to behave themſelves in ſo tickliſh an Affair. And having firſt implor'd the Divine Aſſiſtance by extraordinary Prayers, after mature Deliberation, it was agreed, that "The "Matter of the Declaration was altogether illegal, "the Foot upon which it ſtood, being a Power not "only

" only to diſpenſe in contingent and particular Ca- 1688.
" ſes, which if the Law-givers could have fore-
" ſeen, then they would have provided againſt it:
" But the diſpenſing with all ſorts of Laws in Caſes
" contrary to the very Deſign and End of making
" them; That ſuch Power was not properly a diſ-
" penſing, but a diſannulling Power, highly Preju-
" dicial to the King himſelf, becauſe it took away
" that Faith and Truſt which the People repoſe
" in him when a Law is made, which they look
" upon as their Security; That 'twas true, each
" Biſhop or Miniſter was not a capable Judge in
" ſuch Caſes; but however he was a Judge for his
" own Private Conſcience, againſt which he muſt
" not go; that this Caſe was publickly adjudg'd
" in Parliament, 1672; That the general Forbear-
" ance of Addreſſes, grounded upon the illegality
" of that diſpenſing Power, ſhew'd this to have
" been the Judgment of the greateſt part of the
" Clergy and others; That the Declaration of the
" preſent Judges, went no further than the par-
" ticular Military Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*, which
" in whatſoever Words it was expreſt, yet never
" came legally to the Cognizance of the Subject;
" That an unlawful Matter was not to be publiſh'd,
" if he who publiſhed it, thought the Matter Un-
" lawful; for it cannot come to him, being illegal,
" by any legal Authority; for the King can do no
" illegal Thing; and if his Officers do it, they do
" it not by the King's Authority; and therefore the
" refuſing of it is no Diſobedience, being no illegal
" Refuſal; That if, then, the Biſhops publiſh'd the
" Declaration, they did it voluntarily as their own
" Act, and conſequently publiſh'd an illegal Thing,
" without legal Authority, and were puniſhable
" for it; That many and great were the ill Conſe-
" quences of Reading the Declaration; *Firſt*, That
" many would juſtly judge the Clergy either Cow-
" ards or Hypocritical Time-ſervers, in publiſhing
" what they thought Illegal, and Illegally ſent to
" them; *Secondly*, That many who had Votes
" for Parliament-Men, would take this for the
" Conſent of the Publiſhers, and be ſtrengthened
" in

1688. "in the chuſing ſuch Men, as ſhould be Friends not "only to the Indulgence, but to the Foundation "of it, the Diſpenſing Power; *Thirdly*, That the "World would have Reaſon to take this Publica-"tion for an Approbation, becauſe there could be "no other Intention in ordering it to be Publiſht, "but to make the Clergy Parties to it; for it was "as much known before it was Read, as it would be "after the Reading of it; and therefore the making "it known was not the only thing intended; and, "*Fourthly*, That after this they muſt expect fur-"ther things to be publiſh'd by them, at which "they muſt make a ſtand; and their making a "ſtand when they had loſt their Reputation, would "be of no Force; That therefore in Prudence as "well as Conſcience, they ought not to Publiſh a "Declaration, which they knew to be againſt "Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was "levell'd againſt their own Intereſt, and that of "their Religion. Some objected, that their Refuſal "would be interpreted by the Papiſts, as a Failure "in the great Principles of Loyalty, to which the "Church of *England* made Pretence; others ſaid, "that Diſſenters would conſtrue it, as a Declaration "againſt all Tenderneſs to them; and others a-"gain, that Suſpenſion or Deprivation of the Re-"fuſers might follow, whereby the People of their "Church might be left as Sheep without a Shep-"herd. To the firſt Objection it was anſwer'd, "That their Non-Addreſſing had been reflected on "in Books as well as Diſcourſes, but had no Effect "to blaſt their Loyalty, though the Clergy re-"fus'd to Addreſs even in a Branch that made for "themſelves, becauſe of that one Foundation on "which that Clauſe ſtood, with the reſt of the "Diſpenſing Power; That Loyalty being Obedi-"ence according to Law, they were the Loyal "Men who acted not contrary thereunto; That "the beſt Friends to the Crown are thoſe who ſup-"port the Law; and that they ſtill maintain'd the "Principle of ſuffering without any unchriſtian "Oppoſition. To the Second, That the Diſſenters "had never ſuch Aſſurances from Churchmen of

"their

"their Inclination to Tenderneſs to them as they "then receiv'd; That they could not but ſee, "that this Refuſal was not to hinder any Favours "towards them, by this Indulgence, but the "Diſpenſing Power; which if it took Place, they "could not but diſcern, that a new *Magna Charta* "for Liberty of Conſcience would be of no Validity "to them, for a new Declaration might diſpence "with it at Pleaſure; and that the wiſeſt and "beſt of them would look upon their Refuſal "as a Teſtimony of their Sincerity to the Pro-"teſtant Religion, and not of any Diſaffection "to them. To the laſt Objection it was anſwer'd, "That the Church and their Religion would ſuffer "leſs by the Conſciouſneſs of their ſuſpended Pre-"lates or Miniſters, than it would by their illegal "Compliance in ſo great and fundamental a Point; "That they had better Thoughts of the King's Cle-"mency and Juſtice, when he ſhould be inform'd "by Men of Conſciences againſt the Counſels of "Men of Intereſt; for how could the King, at the "very Time he proclaim'd entire Liberty of Con-"ſcience to all, even thoſe who formerly were look'd "upon as his Enemies, do an open Violence to the "Conſciences of thoſe who had ever been acknow-"ledg'd to be his Friends? And in ſhort, that they "ought to Perform their Duty, and leave the Event "to God; and that a Certain Evil muſt not be "done to avoid a Contingent one. Upon this Con-ſultation, the Biſhops conſidering how great a Pu-niſhment was falling upon the whole Clergy of *England*, if they ſhould be ſuſpended for not Read-ing the Declaration; and being unwilling to lay them under ſo great a Temptation, as to ſave them-ſelves from Ruin by a ſinful Compliance, choſe ra-ther to take the Blame upon themſelves, in refu-ſing to ſend the Declaration to their Clergy. An Act becoming the Character of Proteſtant Biſhops, and ſcarce to be parallell'd, except among the Martyrs of the Primitive Ages of the Church. The ſame Day, Dr. *Sancroft*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of *Aſaph*, Dr. *Kenn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*, 1688.

1688. *Ely*, Dr. *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, drew up the following *Humble Petition in behalf of themſelves and abſent Brethren, and in the Name of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſſes*, ſhewing, *That the great Averſeneſs they found in themſelves to the diſtributing and publiſhing in all their Churches His Majeſties late Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, proceeded neither from any want of Duty or Obedience to His Majeſty, (their Holy Mother, the Church of* England, *being both in her Principles, and in her conſtant Practice, unqueſtionably Loyal; and having, to her great Honour, been more than once publickly acknowledg'd to be ſo by his Gracious Majeſty) nor yet from any want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters, in relation to whom they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhould be thought fit, when that Matter ſhould be conſider'd and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation; but amongſt many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that Declaration was founded upon ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years* 1662, *and* 1672, *and in the beginning of His Majeſties Reign; and was a Matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that the Petitioners could not in Prudence, Honour or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the Diſtribution of it all over the Nation, and the Solemn Publication of it once and again, even in God's Houſe, and in the Time of his Divine Service, muſt amount to, in common and reaſonable Conſtructions. Therefore they did moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech His Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleas'd not to inſiſt upon their diſtributing and reading the ſaid Declaration.*

The Petition of the Seven Biſhops, May 18th, 1688.

The ſame Evening Six of thoſe Prelates repair'd to *Whitehall*, and being introduc'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, deliver'd their Petition to His Majeſty. Upon the reading of it, the King ſtartled, and being greatly provok'd, told them angrily: *I have heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did not expect this from the Church of* England, *eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change my Mind, ye ſhall hear*

The King's Anſwer.

hear from me: If not, I expect my Command ſhall be obey'd. The Biſhops replied, they reſign'd themſelves to the Will of God, and immediately retired. 1688.

The King's threatning Anſwer, though it ſtruck a kind of Terror into the Minds of thoſe Reverend Prelates, yet it was not able to make them forget their Duty; they remain'd firm and unſhaken; and there were but two or three Court-Biſhops that cauſed His Majeſties Declaration to be publiſh'd; Nay, it was obſerv'd, that in moſt Churches, where the Miniſters, either thro' Fear or Miſtake, comply'd with the Orders of their Superiors, the greateſt Part of the Congregation diſappear'd as ſoon as they begun to read the ſaid Declaration.

This Affair of the Biſhops made a great deal of Noiſe throughout the Kingdom; The Church of *England* was alarm'd, and upon the Ferment; The Diſſenters ſtood gazing at a Diſtance, and the Court was both uneaſie and unreſolv'd what Courſe to Steer in ſo Critical Juncture. Some thought the King would now exert his Arbitrary Power, and Deprive thoſe Prelates of their Dignities, by his ſole Diſpenſing Authority; others, that he would be contented to deliver them to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and cauſe 'em to be Suſpended; and others again, that he would refer the Matter to the enſuing Parliament. But the Popiſh Party had other Methods in View.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Six Biſhops were ſummon'd before the Council, and having made their Appearance, * they were ask'd whether they own'd the Petition? They immediately anſwer'd, they humbly hop'd, as they ſtood there as Criminals, His Majeſty would not take Advantage againſt them, however they were ready to Obey his Command. Thereupon they were order'd to withdraw, and being call'd in a ſecond Time, they made the ſame Anſwer to the former Queſtion; but the Chancellor preſſing them to own the Paper, at the third coming in the Archbiſhop confeſs'd, that it was Written with his own Hand, and the reſt, that they had ſign'd it. Add-

* June 8th, 1688. *Mr.* Blathwait *Depoſition.*

1688. ing withal, that they had done nothing but what they were ready to Juſtifie. The Chancellor ſomewhat ſurpriz'd at their Conſtancy, endeavour'd to make them ſenſible of the ill Conſequences of their Diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King's Authority; and ask'd them whether they would give their Recognizances to appear before the Court of *King's-Bench*, to anſwer this High Miſdemeanor? This they all refus'd to do, alledging the Priviledge of their Peerage; which they were reſolv'd to maintain, as well as the Prerogatives of the Church; being equally bound by their Callings to oppoſe all Innovations both in Government and Religion.

This bold Anſwer caſt the whole Council into Aſtoniſhment; and *Jeffreys* threatned to ſend them to the *Tower*, and to Proſecute them to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, unleſs they did immediately recant, and withdraw their Petition. They Unanimouſly anſwer'd, that they were ready to go whitherſoever His Majeſty would pleaſe to ſend them; that they hoped the King of Kings would be their Protector, and their Judge; that they fear'd nothing from Men; and that having acted according to Law, and their Conſciences, no Puniſhments ſhould ever be able to ſhake their Reſolutions.

Biſhops committed to the Tower.

Thereupon a Warrant was drawn and ſubſcrib'd by Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earl of *S-----land*, the Lord *Arundel*, the Marquis of *Powis*, the Earls of *M-----ve*, *H---gton*, *Peterborough*, *Craven*, *Moray*, *Middleton*, *Melfort*, and *Caſtlemain*, Viſcount *Preſton*, the Lords *D---mouth*, *G----phin*, and *Dover*, Sir *John Earnly*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler*, to commit them Priſoners to the *Tower*. 'Tis ſaid ſome of the Judges there preſent refus'd to ſet their Hands to that Warrant; but however it was immediately put in Execution; and thoſe Venerable Prelates were led to the Place of their Confinement, with that Serenity of Countenance, which only reſults from a Calmneſs of Mind, and the Conſcience of a Duty honourably diſcharg'd. This Apoſtolical Deportment exacted the Admiration even of the moſt hard-hearted, and drew

drew Tears from those of a softer Nature; Now lest the People should be too strongly affected with so moving a Spectacle, they were sent to the *Tower* by Water. This Precaution was in some Measure useless; People flock'd in Shoals to the River-side, and with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Bishops Constancy, and craved their Benedictions. The Court apprehending a Tumult, order'd some Companies of Soldiers to be up in Arms; but the People were now under too deep a Consternation, to have Recourse to any thing but Sighs and Tears to vent their Resentments. 1688.

Melancholy Passions are best Expresst by Silence: Nor is it in the Power of Words to frame lively Images of that tender Affection, which the *English* Nation shew'd upon this Occasion to their Spiritual Leaders. Not only the People, but Persons of Quality, and even the Soldiers, murmur'd at this Violence, and did not stick to say, that their Duty to the King was not sufficient to stifle their just Concern for those Reverend Divines, who were so unworthily us'd, only because they would not betray their Consciences, and the Trust repos'd in them. Thus instead of falling into the Hands of a rude, severe Guard, They were no sooner landed at the *Tower*, but most of the Officers and Soldiers fell on their Knees to beg their Blessings; and thus was a Place polluted before by the Residence of so many Traiterous Criminals, in a manner sanctified by the Presence of these tutelar Angels of the Church of *England*, and of the Liberties of the Nation. The King being inform'd of all the Demonstrations of Tenderness and Respect that were paid to the Bishops in Disgrace, and fearing the Consequences thereof, caus'd the Guard of the *Tower* to be doubled.

The Princess of Denmark *retires from Court.*

And now her Royal Highness being retir'd from Court, upon account, as 'twas reported, of an Indignity offer'd her by the Queen, and the Bishops secur'd in the *Tower*, the *Jesuits* Prophesie concerning the Birth of a Prince of *Wales* was at last accomplish'd. It had been a long Time uncertain, whether *Windsor*, *Hampton-Court*, or

1688. *Whitehall* was the Place where the Queen design'd to Lye-in; but on the ſudden Her Majeſty gave Orders for the fitting up of an Apartment for that Purpoſe in St. *James's* Houſe; whither ſhe was carried * after ſhe had play'd at Cards at *Whitehall* till eleven of the Clock at Night: And the next Morning, between the Hours of Nine and Ten, People were not a little ſurpriz'd to hear that ſhe was brought to Bed of a Prince. The former Suſpicions concerning Her Majeſty's Big-Belly, were now ſtrengthned by the Circumſtances of her Delivery: At a Time when moſt Proteſtant Ladies were at Church, the Biſhops impriſon'd, the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark* at *Bath*, and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador never call'd to be a Witneſs, in behalf of the Princeſs of *Orange*; And one who had the Imprudence to ſpeak his Thoughts too freely about this Matter, was immediately committed to Goal. The next Day was iſſued out a Proclamation appointing a Day of Publick Thankſgiving throughout the Kingdom, which was ſolemniz'd with extraordinary Rejoicings by the *Popiſh* Party. Their former Apprehenſions of the ſhortneſs of their Triumph, by reaſon of King *James's* declining Age, and the Proſpect of a Proteſtant Succeſſor, had extreamly imbitter'd their greateſt Comforts, and caus'd an Intermixture of Hopes and Fears; but now that they had got a young Prince that would become a Patron to the Holy Church, all their Troubles were ſoon diſſipated; loudly preſuming, that upon this Fund they might not only extirpate Hereſie, but ſo eſtabliſh the Catholick Religion, as to perpetuate it to future Ages. His Majeſty to Expreſs his Satisfaction, beſtow'd great Preſents upon ſeveral of his Subjects, gave conſiderable Charities to the Poor, both Natives and Foreigners, and knighted the Queen's Phyſician. The Earl of *S*-------*d*, who had often promis'd Her Majeſty to make open Profeſſion of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, if ſhe brought forth an Heir to the Crown, was call'd upon to Perform his Promiſe, which he did, like a true Stateſman. Another Lord and a Biſhop were reported to have follow'd his Example, but

* Saturday *the 9th, of* June 1688.

Prince of Wales *born*, June 10.

but Time did ſoon diſſipate thoſe ill-grounded Suſpicions. The *Birth* of a Royal Son, which the Papiſts themſelves call'd *Miraculous*, produc'd another ſhoal of Loyal Addreſſes, tho' not ſo fulſom as the former; for now the Heat was much abated, and no *Papiſt* could Expreſs his Joy for the Prince of *Wales*, but a *Proteſtant* return'd him this Anſwer; *The Biſhops are in the* Tower. 1688.

Methods us'd to obtain a complying Parliament. Welwood's *Memoirs.* p. 217.

A *Popiſh* Succeſſor being Born, all things ſeem'd now to conſpire to Accompliſh the Ruin of the Proteſtants. There was only a Parliament wanting to ratifie and approve all the illegal Steps that had been made; which was to be done effectually by taking off the *Penal Laws and Teſt.* To obtain ſuch a Parliament, no Stone was left unturn'd, and no Threats nor Promiſes neglected to try the Inclinations of People; cloſetting came again into Faſhion, and King *James* was at the Pains to ſound every Man's Mind, how far he might depend upon him for his Concurrence. If they did not readily Promiſe to Serve the King *in his own way*, which was the diſtinguiſhing Word at that Time, there was ſome Brand put upon them, and they were turn'd out of Place, if they had any. But 'tis a Queſtion after all, whether the Parliament which King *James* was thus labouring to Model, would have anſwer'd his Expectation, had they come to ſit; For Mens Eyes were open more and more every Day, and the Noble Principles of *Engliſh* Liberty began to kindle afreſh in the Nation's Breaſt, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours had been us'd, of a long Time, to extinguiſh them. And though the Diſſenters, who might be choſen into Parliament upon the new Model of Corporations, would probably have made Terms for themſelves, to prevent their falling under any future Proſecution; yet being as averſe to Popery as the Church of *England* can poſſibly be, it is not to be imagin'd that they would upon that Conſideration have unhing'd the Conſtitution of *England*, to enable the *Papiſts* to break in upon the eſtabliſh'd National Church, which in the end muſt have inevitably ruin'd both it and themſelves.

Cloſettings renew'd.

1688. However, King *James* had more than one Method in his View how to Accompliſh his Deſigns: For what a Parliament, it may be, would not do, he was reſolv'd that an Army ſhould, and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that end, as the ſhortneſs of the Time would allow. *Ireland* was the inexhauſtible Source whence *England* was to be ſupply'd with a *Romiſh* Army; and an *Iriſh Papiſt* was the moſt welcome Gueſt at *Whitehall*. They came over in ſhoals to take Poſſeſſion of the promis'd Land, and had already ſwallow'd up with their Hopes, the beſt Eſtates of the Hereticks in *England*. Over and above compleat Regiments of them, there was ſcarce a Troop or Company wherein ſome of them were not plac'd by expreſs Order from the Court; and that the Nation ſhould be made acquainted with the King's Deſign in augmenting his Forces, an Addreſs, ſaid to be penn'd by a Jeſuit, was procur'd from the City of *Carliſle*; *To thank His Majeſty for his Royal Army, which really was the Honour and Safety of the Nation: Let the* Teckelites *think and ſay what they would.* And upon this Occaſion the Addreſſers aſſured His Majeſty, *that when in his great Wiſdom he ſhould think fit to call a Parliament, they would chuſe ſuch Members as ſhould certainly concur with His Majeſty in taking off the* Penal Laws *and* Teſts, *and not hazard the Election of any Perſon, who had any ways declar'd in Favour of thoſe Cannibal Laws. Surely*, ſay they, *theſe Men that oppoſe your Majeſty in ſo gracious a Work, do not conſider what a Sovereign Prince by his Royal Power can do. A Work which Heaven Smiles upon, and will Reward with no leſs a Bleſſing than a Prince of* Wales.

The modelling of the Enlgiſh *Army.* Id.

Carliſle *Addreſs*, May 21.

On the 15th of *June* came on the Biſhops Trial, the moſt Important, perhaps, that ever was known before in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; not only Seven Prelates contending for the Rights of the *Anglican* Church, but Seven Peers of the Realm ſtanding up for the Liberties of *England*. The Court of *King's-Bench* being ſat, His Majeſties Attorney-General moved for a *Habeas Corpus*, directed to Sir *Edward Hales*,

The Biſhops Trial, June 15*th*, 1688.

Hales, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to bring up his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ſix Biſhops, which was granted; and the Priſoners were accordingly brought up by Water. At their landing they were received by ſeveral Divines and Perſons of Quality, and by a vaſt Concourſe of People, who with repeated Acclamations uttered Wiſhes for their Deliverance. On the Bench ſat Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord *Chief Juſtice*, and Mr. Juſtice *Holloway*, two of the King's Creatures, Mr. Juſtice *Powel*, a Proteſtant of great Integrity, and Mr. Juſtice *Allybone*, a Profeſt Papiſt. The Counſel for the King were Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attorney-General, Sir *William Williams*, Sollicitor-General, Sir *Bartholomew Shore*, Recorder, Serjeant *Trinder*, &c. And for the Priſoners, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Levinz*, and Mr. *Sommers*; ſo that the Advantage the King had on the Bench, was more than ballanc'd by the Odds the Biſhops had at the Bar, from the Capacity and Eloquence of their Counſel, over and above the Juſtice of their Cauſe. Nor was the Auditory unanſwerable to the Importance of the Trial; for beſides Multitudes of People of both Sexes, the Court was grac'd by the Preſence of the Marqueſſes of *Hallifax* and *Worceſter*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Dorſet*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mancheſter*, *Burlington*, *Carliſle*, *Danby*, *Radnor*, and *Nottingham*; Viſcount *Fauconberge*, and the Lords *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan*, and *Carbery*. The Return and Warrant being read, by which it appear'd that the Priſoneres were committed for *Contriving*, *Writing*, *Framing*, and *Publiſhing a Seditious Libel* againſt His Majeſty and the Government, the King's Attorney-General mov'd that the Information might alſo be read to them, and that they might Plead to it according to the Courſe of the Court. This Motion the Biſhops Counſel oppos'd; objecting firſt, That the Priſoners were committed by the Lord Chancellor, and ſome other Perſons of the Privy-Council, without expreſſing in the Watrant that it was by Order of the Privy- 1688.

1688. Council, and therefore that the *Commitment was Illegal*, and that the Priſoners were not Legally in Court; and *Secondly*, That the Fact for which they were committed was ſuch, as they ought not to have been impriſon'd for; becauſe a Peer ought not to be committed in the firſt Inſtance for a Miſdemeanor. Sir *Thomas Powis* anſwer'd, That the Biſhops being in Court as Priſoners, the Matter of their Commitment was not to be examin'd before the Accuſation was read, *For when a Man was Preſent in Court, let him come how he will, he was not to have any longer Time than that Inſtant to appear to, and be charg'd with the Information.* This falſe Poſition was ſoon learnedly confuted by Mr. *Finch*, and the Attorney-General did not bluſh to deny that he ever advanc'd it; But Sir *Robert Sawyer* having own'd that a Peer might be in Priſon for Treaſon, Felony or Breach of the Peace, the King's Counſel in a Declamatory Manner inſiſted, that there could not be a greater Breach of the Peace, than for a Man to come to the King's Face, and publiſh a Libel againſt him; that there was nothing that did ſo tread upon the Heels of a Capital Offence; and that two or three Degrees more might carry it to High-Treaſon. Upon theſe Diſputes, Juſtice *Powell* declar'd, That it was a Matter of the greateſt Conſequence, ſince all the High and Noble Peers of *England* were concern'd in it, as to their Priviledge; That their Predeceſſors in that Court heretofore would not determine the Priviledges of the Peers, but left them to themſelves, to make what Judgment they pleas'd of them; That in an Affair of that Weight and Nature, the Court ought to take Time to conſider of it, and look into Precedents; and that for his part he would not deliver his Opinion, before he had conſulted all the Books that could give him any Light in the Caſe; but nevertheleſs the Lord Chief Juſtice agreed with Judge *Allybone*, and Judge *Holloway*, that the Fact charg'd in the Warrant was ſuch a Miſdemeanor as was a Breach of the Peace, and therefore that the Information ought to be read, and the Biſhops muſt plead to it.

it. After the Reading of the Information, the Bi- 1688.
ſhops Counſel deſir'd in their Behalf, that they might have an Imparlance till the next Term, to conſider what they had to plead to it; alledging, That there might be many Defences that a Man may have to make to an Accuſation of that Nature, which it is impoſſible for him to know at the firſt hearing of an Information read, and yet which would be neceſſary for him to make uſe of, or at leaſt it would be impoſſible for him to do it in ſuch a manner as the Law allows and requires; That till of later time this Practice which the King's Counſel call'd the Courſe of the Court, was never us'd, nor was any Man requir'd to plead immediately; That this Courſe was brought in by the ſeveral Plots that had been of late. and the Heats of Parties about them; That the Zeal of one time may introduce that by Surprize, which when things are cool, and at another time will appear to be plain Injuſtice; And in ſhort, that nothing was more miſchievous, or more deſtructive to the Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects. Judge *Powel* confeſs'd, that what the Defendants deſir'd was very reaſonable; and that, if the ancient Courſe of the Court had been to grant an Imparlance, and a Copy of the Information before the Priſoners pleaded, my Lords the Biſhops ought to have the Benefit of that ancient Courſe. The Sollicitor-General urg'd, That 'twas not ſufficient to make Declarations againſt the Unreaſonableneſs of the Practice, for it was but what the Biſhops Counſel had done themſelves, and inſiſted upon for Law; That all thoſe Men who upon Informations had been compell'd to plead, had had Injury done them, or elſe the Biſhops would have no Injury by the Court's taking the ſame Courſe; That it was not more unreaſonable, than the Practice in the Caſe of Treaſon and Felony, where Perſons are compell'd to plead inſtantly; That as to what Mr. *Finch* had ſaid, that this was a novel Invention, and a Trick to rob a Man of his juſt Defence, ſure he forgot who he was that taught 'em; and if it was a Trick, they had learnt it from thoſe

that

1688. that trick'd before them; That he wonder'd the Biſhops Counſel ſhould inveigh againſt the Heat of the Times, when a great part of that Heat he knew who were the Inflamers of? That he believ'd the Biſhops had an Inclination to be clear'd, and ſuppos'd it was only their Counſel that deſir'd to delay it; That he preſs'd it therefore, that the Matter might be put upon a fair Iſſue, and that Sir *Samuel Aſtry*, Clerk of the Crown, might be examin'd about the Courſe of the Court. Sir *Samuel Aſtry* being accordingly ask'd the Queſtion, he anſwer'd, That of late Years, if a Man appear'd upon a Recognizance, or was a Perſon in Cuſtody, he ought to plead at the firſt Inſtance, but that he had known that 'twas in the Diſcretion of the Court to grant what time they pleas'd; but nevertheleſs the Lord Chief Juſtice declar'd, That the Biſhops ought to plead to the Information. Thereupon the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* offer'd a Plea in Writing, on Behalf of himſelf and his Brethren the other Defendants; alledging, *That they were Peers of this Kingdom of* England, *and Lords of Parliament, and ought not to be compell'd to anſwer inſtantly for the Miſdemeanour mention'd in the Information; but that they ought to be required to appear by due Proceſs of Law, and upon their Appearance to have a Copy of the ſaid Information, and reaſonable time given them to imparl thereupon.* The King's Counſel labour'd hard to have the Plea rejected; alledging, That when the Opinion of the Judges had been deliver'd, then to put in a Plea to the Juriſdiction of the Court, was ſuch an Irregularity, and ſuch an unfair Way of Proceeding, as would not be endur'd in an ordinary Caſe. After a long Debate Judge *Powel* ſaid he was for receiving the Plea, and conſidering of it. But the reſt of the Judges declar'd, That the Plea being frivolous, and containing no more than what had been over-ruled already, the Court might reject it, and that the Biſhops muſt plead over. They having pleaded, *Not Guilty*, the King's Council pray'd the Clerk might join Iſſue on the Behalf of the King, and deſir'd the De-

Defendants to take notice that they intended to try this Cauſe on that Day Fortnight; adding, That they were bailable if they pleas'd. Sir *Robert Sawyer* deſir'd that their own Recognizance might be taken, which was readily granted; and accordingly the Lord Chief Juſtice order'd the Clerk to take a Recognizance of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in 200 *l.* and of the reſt of the Biſhops in 100 *l.* apiece. 1688.

The People's Joy upon the Biſhops being ſet at Liberty was anſwerable to the extraordinary Concern they ſhew'd at their Confinement. Every Body flock'd to *Weſtminſter-Hall* to ſee 'em: The Crowd was ſo very great, that they were oblig'd to get to their Barge by private Stairs; and even then they were not abſolutely free from the huzzaing Throng, ſeveral Perſons running into the Water to beg their Benediction. The Day ended, but the publick Rejoicings ſtill continued; the whole Night being ſpent in making Bonfires, drinking of the Seven Heroic Prelates Healths, and the like Demonſtrations of popular Satisfaction.

On the 29th of *June*, a Day remarkable for the Feaſt of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, the Biſhops appear'd before the Court of *King's-Bench*, according to their Recognizances, the Appearance being ſtill greater than a Fortnight before, and honour'd by the Preſence of the Marquiſſes of *Hallifax* and *Worceſter*; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Dorſet*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mancheſter*, *Rivers*, *Stamford*, *Carnavan*, *Cheſterfield*, *Scarſdale*, *Clarendon*, *Danby*, *Suſſex*, *Radnor*, *Nottingham*, and *Abington*; Viſcount *Fauconberge*, and the Lords *Newport*, *Grey* of *Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Lumley*, *Carteret* and *Oſſulſton*. The Information being read, and open'd to the Jury, the Attorney-General, to take off the Odium of this Proſecution, and, in ſome meaſure, to pacifie the People, who could not forbear ſhewing their Reſentments, even in the Face of the Court, obſerved, *Firſt*, "That the "Biſhops were not proſecuted as Biſhops, nor "much leſs for any Point or Matter of Religion, "but as Subjects of this Kingdom, and only for "a Temporal Crime, as thoſe that had injur'd and

"af-

1688. affronted the King to his very Face. In the next place, that they were not profecuted for omitting to do any thing, but as they were Actors for cenſuring of His Majeſty and His Government, and for giving their Opinions in Matters wholly relating to Law and Government; That there is not any one thing, which the Law is more jealous of, than all Accuſations and Arraignments of the Government; That no Man is allowed to accuſe even the moſt inferior Magiſtrate of any Misbehaviour in his Office, unleſs it be in a legal Courſe, tho' the Fact be true; That leaſt of all may any Man cenſure the King, for it tends to poſſeſs the People that the Government is ill adminiſtred, the Conſequence of which is, to ſet them upon deſiring a Reformation, and what that tended to, and would end in, they had all had a ſad, and too dear-bought Experience of; That Men were to take their proper Remedies for Redreſſing of any Grievance they lay under, and that the Law had ſufficiently provided for that; That His Majeſty of His great Clemency and Goodneſs, and out of his Deſire that all his Subjects ſhould live eaſie under him, did iſſue forth his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, which without all queſtion was welcome to all his People that ſtood in need of it; and thoſe that did not, could not but ſay the thing in the nature of it was very juſt and gracious; That to take away the Surmiſes of People, that the King was not in earneſt, and would not, or could not make good his Promiſe, His Majeſty was pleas'd to renew them to his Subjects. Nay, that to the end that this might be known to all his People, even to the meaneſt, who, it may be, were not willing or able to buy the Declaration; and that the King himſelf might be under higher Obligations, if it were poſſible, than his own Word, he was deſirous it ſhould be repeated in the Churches, and read in that ſacred Place, that all his People might hear what he had promis'd, and he himſelf might be under that ſolemn Tie and Obli-

gation

" gation to keep his Word, by remembring that 1688.
" his Promiſes had, by his own Command, been
" publiſh'd, in the time of Divine Service, in the
" the Houſe of God; That the Jury would find,
" when that which the Priſoners call'd a Petition
" ſhould be read to them, That all the Thanks
" His Majeſty had for his Favour and Goodneſs
" to his People, were only hard Words, and a
" heavy Accuſation, ſuch as a private Perſon would
" be little able to bear; That His Majeſty, who
" was always a Prince of as great Clemency as
" ever the Kingdom had, and who was repre-
" ſented for all that, as a Prince of the greateſt
" Cruelty before his Acceſſion to the Crown,
" by his Enemies, was now accus'd by his Friends
" for this effect of his Mercy; And that His Ma-
" jeſty reſented this Uſage ſo far, that he had or-
" der'd, and thought fit to have a publick Vindi-
" cation of his Honour, in this matter by this
" Trial. After a great deal of Time ſpent in pro-
" ving, that the Petition produc'd in Court was
" the Hand-writing of the Archbiſhop of *Canter-*
" *bury*; That it was ſigned by him and the Six
" Biſhops, and that it was the ſame which was
" preſented to His Majeſty; which laſt was evi-
" denc'd by the Depoſitions of Sir *John Nicholas*,
" Mr. *Bridgman*, Mr. *Muſgrave*, and Mr. *Blathwayt*:
" Mr. *Finch* objected, That there were Two Parts
" in the Information, the one was for conſpiring to
" diminiſh the King's Prerogative, by writing a Sedi-
" tious Libel; the other for publiſhing that Libel;
" That both Parts were local, and until the King's
" Counſel had prov'd the making and writing
" of it to have been in *Middleſex*, as 'twas ſaid
" to be in the Information, it was not Evidence
" upon that Information. Mr. *Sommers* urg'd in
" Favour of the Biſhops, That all Matters of Crimes
" were ſo local, that if it be not prov'd to be done
" in the County where it is laid, the Party accus'd
" is as innocent as if he never had done the thing;
" That it was the very Point of the Informati-
" on, that it be prov'd they were guilty of the Fact
" in the Place where it is laid to be done; And

" there-

1688. " thereupon Evidences were produc'd that the " Archbiſhop had not ſtirr'd from his Pallace at " *Lambeth* in *Surrey*, from *Michaelmas* laſt, till the " time he was ſummon'd before the Council. " It was anſwer'd on the King's Behalf, That tho' " the thing be never ſo local, yet there muſt be " ſome Place where a thing that was done, was " done; That having prov'd the Biſhops Hands, " and they owning the Petition at *Whitehall* in " *Middleſex*, the Preſumption upon ſuch Evidence " was, that it was done in the Place where it was " own'd; That as it lay in their Knowledge, ſo it " was incumbent upon them to prove, that it was " not in *Middleſex*. And that where there is a " complicated Crime of writing and publiſhing a " Libel, and the beginning of it is in one County, " and the carrying it on is in another, that is a " continued Act, and may be tried in either Coun- " ty. As to the ſecond and moſt material Part " of the Information, the Publiſhing of the Libel, " which is that that makes it a Crime, the Biſhops " Counſel alledg'd, That their acknowledging it " was their Hands, when the King ask'd them " the Queſtion at the Council-Table, could not " be conſtrued a Publication; That the Care and " Warineſs that had been us'd that the Matter of " the Petition ſhould be kept ſecret, the Archbiſhop " not having admitted even his own Secretary, " but writ all himſelf, was a great Evidence in it " ſelf againſt the Proof of a Publication; That " the Nature of Libels is to publiſh and proclaim " Scandal and Defamation, or elſe they loſe their " End, and conſequently their Name; That it " would be a thing of wonderful Conſequence, if " an Anſwer to a Queſtion put by Authority, " ſhould amount to a Crime; that 'twould be as if " Authority that ſhould be employ'd to do Right, " would be turn'd to do the greateſt Wrong; " That the owning of the Petition being done at " the King's Command, it was certainly the King " that publiſh'd it then, and not the Biſhops; " And that the Proſecutors were ſo far from ha- " ving prov'd that the Biſhops did publiſh it,

" that

1688.

" that on the contrary they had prov'd that their
" Lordſhips did not publiſh it. The King's
" Counſel replied, That now the Matter was reduc'd
" to a very narrow Queſtion, which was not, whe-
" ther the owning it be a Publication, but whe-
" ther there was any Evidence that they did
" deliver it to the King; for if they did deliver it,
" that muſt be agreed to be a Publication. There-
" upon the Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, he thought
" there was no Evidence againſt the Biſhops, as to
" the Delivery of the Petition, and was going to
" direct the Jury accordingly; when being inter-
" rupted by Mr. *Finch*, the King's Counſel took
" this Opportunity to ſend for the Earl of *Sunder-*
" *land*, who depos'd, That he introduc'd the Bi-
" ſhops, and was in the Room when they deliver'd
" a Petition to His Majeſty. The Fact being thus
" fully prov'd, the Biſhops Counſel were heard in
" their Defence. *Firſt*, Sir *Robert Sawyer* alledg'd,
" That the Petition in Queſtion was preſented to
" the King in the moſt private and humble man-
" ner; That there was nothing in it that contain'd
" any thing of Sedition, or any one Word that
" tended to diminiſh the King's Authority, but
" only a Prayer to be reliev'd againſt an Order of
" Council, which the Defendants conceiv'd they
" were aggriev'd by; that it was an Excuſe bare-
" ly for their Non-compliance with the King's
" Order, becauſe the *Diſpenſing Power*, upon which
" it was founded, had been ſeveral times in Par-
" liament declar'd to be againſt Law; That it
" can be no queſtion, but that any Subject that is
" commanded by the King to do a thing which
" he conceives to be againſt Law, and againſt his
" Conſcience, may apply himſelf to the King, and
" tell him the Reaſon why he does not concur
" with His Majeſty in ſuch a Command; That
" the King's Counſel did inſiſt upon, that in
" in this Caſe the Biſhops were not Sued as Biſhops,
" nor Proſecuted for their Religion, but truly he
" knew not what they were Sued for elſe, the In-
" formation being againſt them as Biſhops, for
" an Act they did as Biſhops, and no otherwiſe;

" and

1688. "and for an Act they conceiv'd they lawfully "might do with relation to their Eccleſiaſtical "Polity; That they were not Buſie-bodies, or "ſuch as meddled in Matters that did not re-"late to them, but that which was properly with-"in their Sphere and Juriſdiction; That to load "this Petition with ſuch horrid black Epithets, "That it was done libellouſly, maliciouſly, and "ſcandalouſly, and to oppoſe the King and Go-"vernment, was a very hard Caſe, and that the "Lords Biſhops could not but conceive a great "deal of Trouble, that they ſhould lye under ſo "heinous a Charge, where there was ſo little Proof "to make it out; That their publiſhing of the "King's Declaration was attended with Conſe-"quences of the greateſt Moment; for if it had "any Effect in Law, and theſe Laws were ſuſ-"pended by virtue of this Declaration, then cer-"tainly it was of the moſt diſmal Conſequence; "and it behov'd the Biſhops, as Fathers of the "Church, humbly to repreſent it to the King; "That by that Declaration, not only the Laws of "our Reformation, but all the Laws for the Pre-"ſervation of the Chriſtian Religion in general "were Suſpended, and became of no Force, and "all other Religions permitted; And thus all "our Laws for keeping the Sabbath, and which "diſtinguiſh us from Heathens, would be Suſpend-"ed too; That when a Law is Suſpended, the "Obligation thereof is taken away: So that the "Declaration diſcharg'd at once all Miniſters and "Clergymen from performing their Duty in read-"ing the Service of the Church, and their Hearers "from attending upon that Service; And what a "Miſchief that would be to the Church, which "was under the Care of the Defendants, every "one might eaſily apprehend. That this pretend-"ed Power of Suſpending Laws had often been "declar'd illegal by the Parliament, as appears "particularly in the time of *Richard* II. concern-"ing the Statute of *Proviſors*; for where there were "particular Diſpenſations for that Statute, the "King was enabled to do it by Act of Parliament,

"and

" and could not do it without; and by the Pro- 1688.
" ceedings of the House of Commons in the
" Years 1662, 1672, and 1685. That in deliver-
" ing this Petition the Bishops had done nothing
" but their Duty, and meddled with their own
" Affairs, which he made appear by the general
" Care that is repos'd in them by the Laws of the
" Land; urging further, That they are frequently
" in Law Books call'd, the King's Spiritual Judges;
" That they are intrusted with the Care of Souls,
" and the Superintendency over all the Clergy;
" And besides, that there is a special Care put up-
" on them, by the express Words of an Act of
" Parliament (made 1 *Eliz.*) which makes them
" special Guardians of the Law of Uniformity;
" *In God's Name earnestly Requiring and Charging*
" *all the Archbishops and Bishops, that they do endea-*
" *vour themselves to the utmost of their Knowledges,*
" *that the true and due Execution thereof might be*
" *had from their Dioceses, as they will answer be-*
" *fore God for such Evils and Plagues, wherewith*
" *Almighty God may justly punish his People for neg-*
" *lecting this good and wholesome Law:* So that
" the Bishops, upon Pain of bringing upon them-
" selves the Imprecation of this Act of Parliament,
" were oblig'd to see it executed; and that when
" any thing came under their Knowledge, espe-
" cially if they were to be Actors in it, that had
" such a Tendency to destroy the very Foundations
" of the Church, as the Suspension of the Laws
" that relate to the Church must do, it concern'd
" them that had no other Remedy, to address the
" King, by Petition, about it. Mr. *Finch* back'd
" what had been alledg'd by Sir *Robert Sawyer*, and
" urg'd, That tho' the Bishops had deliver'd
" the Paper mention'd in the Information,
" yet unless they had deliver'd a false, ma-
" licious, seditious and scandalous Libel, un-
" less they had publish'd it to stir up Sedition in
" the Kingdom, and unless they had contriv'd this
" by Conspiracy, to diminish the King's Preroga-
" tive and Authority, and that Power that was
" said to be in the King, the Lords were not guil-

1688. "ty of the Accuſation; That the King's Decla-
"ration was founded upon a Power of diſpenſing,
"which undertook to ſuſpend all Laws Eccleſia-
"ſtical whatſoever, as if the King had ſuch a Pow-
"er; That a Power to abrogate Laws, was as
"much a Part of the Legiſlature, as a Power to
"make Laws; That according to the Conſtitution
"of the Government in *England*, the Legiſlative
"Power was in the King, Lords and Commons;
"But then if that Declaration was founded upon
"a part of the Legiſlature, which muſt be by all
"Men acknowledged not to reſide in the King
"alone, it could not be a legal and true Power or
"Prerogative; That in the Year 1662. where
"there was but the leaſt Umbrage given of ſuch
"a Diſpenſing Power, altho' the King had declar'd
"in his Speech to the Parliament, *That he wiſh'd*
"*he had ſuch a Power*, which his Declaration be-
"fore ſeem'd to aſſume, the Parliament was ſo
"jealous of this, that they immediately made
"their Application to His Majeſty, by an Addreſs
"againſt the Declaration; alledging amongſt o-
"ther Reaſons, *That the King could not diſpenſe*
"*with thoſe Laws without an Act of Parliament.*
"That there was another Attempt in 1672. and
"then, after His Majeſty had in his Speech mention'd
"his Declaration to them, the Parliament, parti-
"cularly the Houſe of Commons, preſented an Ad-
"dreſs to His Majeſty, ſetting forth that this could
"not be done by Law without an Act of Parlia-
"ment; And His Majeſty concurr'd ſo far with
"them in that Opinion, that he caus'd it to be
"made known to the Houſe of Lords by the
"Lord Chancellor, that His Majeſty had broken
"the Seal, and cancell'd the Declaration, with
"this further Declaration, *That it ſhould never be*
"*drawn into Example or Conſequence.* Mr. *Pollexfen*
"inſiſted, That the King's Declaration was not
"agreeable to the Laws of the Land, becauſe it
"did at one Blow ſet aſide all the Laws we have
"in *England*, for they are almoſt all Penal Laws,
"not only before the Reformation, but ſince; That
"the Will of the King is what the Law is, and
"that

" the King's Will be not conſonant to the Law, 1688.
" it is not obliging; That the Caſes of Diſpenſa-
" tions were all ſo many ſtrong Authorities againſt
" a general or particular Abrogation; for why
" ſhould any Man go about to argue, that the
" King may diſpenſe with this or that particular
" Law, if at once he can diſpenſe with all the Law
" by an undoubted Prerogative? Serjeant *Pember-*
" *ton* alledg'd on the ſame ſide, That ſuch a diſ-
" penſing Power with Laws and Statutes, ſtrikes
" at the very Foundations of all the Rights, Liber-
" ties and Properties of the King's Subjects; That
" the Penal Laws are the great Bulwark of the
" Reformed Religion, and the only humane Fence
" of the Church of *England*; That they were made
" upon a Foreſight of the Miſchief that had, and
" might come, by falſe Religions into this King-
" dom; and that they were intended to defend
" the Nation againſt them, and to keep them out,
" particularly the *Romiſh Religion*, which is the
" very worſt of all Religions, and no way tole-
" rable among us, whereas if this Declaration took
" Effect, that Religion would ſtand upon the ſame
" Terms with the Proteſtant Religion. Mr. *Som-*
" *mers* brought up the Rear of the Biſhops Defence,
" and mention'd the great Caſe of *Thomas* and *Sor-*
" *rel* in the Exchequer-Chamber upon the Validity
" of a Diſpenſation; urging, That there it was
" the Opinion of every one of the Judges, that
" there never could be an Abrogation, or a Suſ-
" penſion (which is a temporary Abrogation) of
" an Act of Parliament, but by the Legiſlative
" Power; That indeed it was diſputed, how far
" the King might diſpenſe with the Penalties in
" ſuch a particular Law, as to particular Perſons;
" but that it was agreed by all, that the King had
" no Power to Suſpend any Law; That by the
" Law of all civiliz'd Nations, if the Prince does
" require ſomething to be done, which the Perſon,
" who is to do it, takes to be unlawful, it is not
" only Lawful, but his Duty, *Reſcribere Principi*,
" which is all the Biſhops had done here, and
" that in the moſt humble manner; That as to

1688. "Matters of Fact alledg'd in the ſaid Petition, "there could be no Deſign to diminiſh the Prero- "gative, becauſe the King has no ſuch Prerogative; "That the Petition could not be Seditious, be- "cauſe it was preſented to the King in private "and alone; Nor falſe, becauſe the Matter of it "was true; Nor malicious, for the Occaſion was "not ſought, the Thing was preſs'd upon them; "Nor, in ſhort, a Libel, becauſe the Intent was "innocent, and they kept within the Bounds ſet "by the Act of Parliament, that gives the Sub- "ject leave to apply to his Prince by Petition "when he is aggriev'd. To all theſe weighty and "forcible Reaſons the King's Council made but "this frivolous Reply; That our Religion teaches "us, not to preſerve our Religion or our Lives "by any illegal Courſes; That the Evidences "produc'd by the Defendants againſt the King's "diſpenſing Power were only Tranſactions in Par- "liament; and that no one would affirm that any "thing can be a Declaration of Parliament, unleſs "he that is the principal Part concurs who is "the King; for if one ſpeaks of the Court of Parlia- "ment in a legal Senſe, he muſt ſpeak of the whole "Body, King, Lords and Commons, and that a Decla- "ration in Parliament muſt be by all the whole Bo- "dy, and that is properly an Act of Parliament. That "there was no greater Proof of the Influence of the "Biſhops Petition than the Crowd of that Day, "and the Harangues that had been made; That "the taking this Liberty to canvas and diſpute the "King's Power and Authority, and to cenſure his "Actions, poſſeſs'd the People with ſtrange Opi- "nions, and rais'd Diſcontents and Jealouſies, as "if the free Courſe of Law were reſtrain'd, and "Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure ſet up inſtead of it; "That it was a queſtion whether the Biſhops, out "of Parliament, can preſent any Petition to the King? "That if they were commanded to do any thing "againſt their Conſciences, they ſhould have ac- "quieſced till the Meeting of the Parliament; "That the King is Supream over all of us, and "has a particular Supremacy over the Biſhops, as

"Supream

1888.

"Supreame Ordinary, Governor, and Moderator of "the Church, and as ſuch, may diſpenſe with all "Eccleſiaſtical Statutes; That it was adjudg'd in "the Caſe of Sir *Edward Hales*, that the King had "a Power to diſpenſe with *Penal Laws*; and that "the Defendants by queſtioning the King's Power, "and referring themſelves to the Declarations in "Parliament, had done that which of late Days "had been always look'd upon as an ill thing, "as *if the King's Authority was under the Suffrages "of Parliament*. The Counſel on both ſides ha- "ving done ſpeaking, Chief Juſtice *Wright* ſumm'd "up the Evidence, and told the Jury, That ſome- "times the Diſpenſing Power had been allow'd, as "in *Richard* II's time, and ſometimes denied; but "that it was a Queſtion out of the preſent Caſe. "Then he gave them Directions, That if they be- "liev'd the Petition to be the ſame, that was pre- "ſented by the Biſhops to the King, then the Pub- "lication was ſufficiently prov'd. Next, that "what tended to diſturb the Government, or "make a ſtir among the People, was certainly with- "in the Caſe of *Libellis Famoſis*, and his Opinion "in ſhort was, that the Biſhops Petition was a "*Libel*. Mr. Juſtice *Holloway* declar'd, That the "End and Intention of every Action was to be "conſider'd; That the Biſhops were charg'd with "delivering a Petition, which according to their "Defence was done with all the Humility and De- "cency imaginable; And that as they were Men "of good Lives, the delivering of a Petition was "no Fault, *it being the Right of every Subject to Pe- "tition*; Therefore if the Jury were ſatisfied they "did it with no ill Intention, but only to ſhew "the Reaſons of their Diſobedience to the King's "Command, he could not think it to be a Libel. "Mr. Juſtice *Powel* more plainly declar'd, That he "could diſcern no Sedition, or any other Crime "fixed upon the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Bi- "ſhops, ſince there was nothing offer'd by the "King's Counſel to render the Petition falſe, ma- "licious or ſeditious. He admoniſh'd the Jury to "conſider, that the Contents of the Petition were,

1688. "That the Biſhops apprehended the *Declaration* "*was illegal, being founded upon a Diſpenſing Pow-* "*er claim'd by the King*; but for his part he did "not remember in any Caſe in all the Law, *that* "*there was any ſuch Power in the King*; And if "there be no ſuch Power in the King, the Peti- "tion could not be a Libel. He concluded with "telling them, That he could ſee no Difference "between the King's Power to Diſpenſe with Laws "Eccleſiaſtical, and his Power to Diſpenſe with "any other Laws whatſoever; That if this were "once allow'd of, there would be no Need of Par- "liaments, and all the Legiſlature would be in "the King, and ſo he left the Iſſue to God and "their Conſciences. Mr. Juſtice *Allybone* laid down "theſe Two Poſitions. 1. That no Man can "take upon him to write againſt the actual Exer- "ciſe of the Government, unleſs he have Leave "from the Government, but he makes a *Libel*, be "what he writes true or falſe. 2. That no pri- "vate Man can take upon him to write concerning "the Government at all, and that when he in- "trudes himſelf into other Men's Buſineſs, that "does not concern his particular Intereſt, he is "a *Libeller*. Theſe Poſitions he back'd by a Reſo- lution of the Judges in King *James* I's time, that to frame a *Petition to the King to put the Penal Laws in Execution, was next Door to Treaſon*, which was a groſs Miſquotation, inſtead of a *Petition againſt the Penal Laws*, and for which being taken up by Judge *Powel*, and Serjeant *Pemberton*, little Heed was gi- ven to any thing he ſaid afterwards. Whereupon the Jury withdrew, ſat up all Night, and next Mor- ning brought in the Reverend Prelates, *Not Guilty*.

Biſhop's acquitted, June 30. 1688.

Never did the ſpacious Hall of *Weſtminſter* ring with louder Acclamations than upon this Occaſion; the liſtning Throng catch'd the *Not Guilty* from the Fore-Man, and repeated it ſo often, that the King's Sollicitor being offended at it, mov'd very earneſtly that ſuch as had ſhouted in the Court might be committed. Whereupon a Gentleman of *Grays-Inn* was laid hold on, but ſoon after diſcharg'd, with this ſhort Reproof from the Chief Juſtice:

Juſtice: *Sir, I am as glad as you can be that my Lords the Biſhops are acquitted; but your Manner of rejoicing here is indecent; you might rejoice in your Chamber, or elſewhere, and not here.* Nor did the Cities of *Weſtminſter* and *London* terminate the Shouts that were rais'd upon the Biſhops Acquital, but they flew preſently to *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the Soldiers in the Camp eccho'd them ſo loud, that it ſtartled the King, who was that Day entertain'd in the Earl of *Feverſham's* Tent; inſomuch, that His Majeſty ſent him out to know what was the Matter? The Earl being return'd, told the King it was nothing but the Soldiers ſhouting upon the News of the Biſhops being Acquitted: *And do you call that nothing?* (reply'd the King much diſcompos'd) *But ſo much the worſe for them*, added he. Whatever His Majeſty meant by theſe laſt Words, the People could not forbear expreſſing their Joy; for notwithſtanding the ſevere Prohibitions, Bonfires and Illuminations were made in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom; and indeed it was but proper that leſſer Lights ſhould be kindled by all good Proteſtants, upon the Reſtoration of the great Luminaries of the Church to their proper Orbs. 1688.

While the Biſhops Affair was depending, the King ſent Orders to Dr. *Hawkins* to read the Declaration; who refuſing to obey, was immediately Suſpended: And tho' now thoſe Reverend Prelates were releas'd by Courſe of Law, yet were they not altogether free from Danger, the King threatning to deliver them up to the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. His Majeſty was, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, countenanc'd in theſe violent Methods by the baſe Complaiſance of ſome Biſhops, who inſtead of following the Example of their perſecuted Brethren, had publiſh'd and read the Declaration, even after the Acquital of thoſe Apoſtolical Heroes. Nay, the Biſhop of *Durham* carried the Buſineſs ſo far, that he Suſpended upon that Account Thirty Miniſters of his Dioceſs, and amongſt them one of his own Chaplains. Nine Curates, Rectors, and others of the County of *Cheſter*, were not contented to read the Declaration, but preſen-

1688. ted likewiſe an Addreſs, wherein they tell His Majeſty, *That if the Matter of the Declaration were not according to their Wiſhes, yet the Publiſhing of it was according to their Duty, ſince it was iſſued out from the expreſs Prerogative of his Supremacy over them; and they were requir'd by what is Statute-Law, the Rubrick of their Liturgy, to publiſh what was enjoin'd by the King or their Biſhop, (whoſe Caſe herein was remarkable) as much as what is preſcrib'd in the Rules of this Book; ſo that they could not but with Trouble of Mind hear of the Proceedings of the Seven Biſhops, who, tho' they tenderly promis'd the Diſſenters ſomething, yet refuſed to do their part about the Declaration, leſt they ſhould be Parties to it, which Reaſon the Addreſſers eſteem inſufficient. Therefore they, in all Submiſſion, become earneſt, tho' too mean, Interceſſors to His Majeſty in Behalf of the Church of* England, *that the Faults of theſe and others may not be laid to her Charge, in whoſe Communion there were many and they hop'd there would be more, who concurr'd in promoting the Purpoſes of his mild Government; And ſo conclude with begging Leave to make their Congratulations for the happy Birth of the young Prince in his Hereditary Succeſſive Kingdom.* Now becauſe 'twas by the Inſtigation of their Biſhop that the Clergy of *Cheſter* had made this falſe Step, one of the Colledges of *Oxford* refus'd to admit the Son of that Prelate to a Fellowſhip that had been given him; and about the ſame time that famous Univerſity refus'd alſo to give the Degree of Doctor to Mr. *Gifford*, whom the King had nam'd to fill the vacant See of that City. Beſides, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners having, by an Order made the 12th Day of *July*, *commanded all Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commiſſaries and Officials, to enquire in what Churches and Chappels His Majeſties Declaration was read*, the Clergy finding this Court to be no better than a *Popiſh* Inquiſition, the greateſt part of thoſe to whom the Order was directed, never took any Notice of it. The Commiſſioners being met on the 16th of *Auguſt*, were not a little puzzled what to do in this Matter: After a long Conſultation, they were contented to repeat the ſame

Addreſs of the Clergy of the County of Cheſter.

ſame Order, requiring all Perſons, having Eccleſi- 1688.
aſtical Juriſdiction, to tranſmit to them upon the Sixth of *December* following, an *Account of the Inquiry they are thereby Commanded to make in their Viſitations, together with the Names of the Parſons, Rectors, Vicars and Curates that* had either obey'd or diſobey'd His Majeſties Command. The Biſhop of *R-----ter* finding by this Time the Drift of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, thought it inconſiſtent with his Profeſſion and Character to act any longer in it; others would have it, that the Whiſpers of an Invaſion from *Holland* open'd the Eyes of that Prelate; whatever it was, he wrote a Letter to his Colleagues, deſiring to be excuſed from ſitting amongſt them.

The Biſhop of R----ter excuſes himſelf from being an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner.

The Loſs of the Biſhop of *R-----ter* was look'd upon as ominous to the Court, and his Letter, which was publiſh'd notwithſtanding the Precautions that were taken to Suppreſs it, prov'd fatal to the *Popiſh* Cabal: For at the Aſſizes of *Shrewsbury* the Grand Jury preſented ſeveral *Roman* Catholicks, and at another Place ſome Perſons being accus'd before the Judges of making Bonfires upon the News of the Biſhops Acquittal, the Judges were ſo far from regarding that unjuſt Proſecution, that on the contrary, they call'd the Magiſtrates to an Account for diſturbing the Publick Rejoicings.

The News of the Biſhops being Acquitted was not the only Mortification the King receiv'd on *Hounſlow-Heath*: He conſider'd how Difficult, if not Impoſſible, it was for him to execute his Deſigns without open Forces, and therefore to try how far he might depend upon his Army, he endeavour'd to make 'em Subſcribe a Writing, whereby they ſhould engage themſelves to Contribute, as far as in them lay, towards the Repeal of the Teſt and Penal Laws. To effect this, it was thought fit to propoſe the thing to all the Regiments one by one; not doubting but that if two or three did acquieſce, the reſt would follow their Example. Accordingly the Major of *Litchfield*'s Regiment was order'd to open His Majeſties Deſire to that Battalion, and to Command all ſuch as would not inſtantly comply therewith to lay down their Arms; but he was not a little ſurpriz'd

The Army refuſes to comply with the Popiſh Deſigns.

1688. priz'd to find, that except two Captains and ſome few *Popiſh* Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter part of his Command. The King himſelf remain'd Speechleſs for a while; and having recover'd his Aſtoniſhment, Commanded them to take up their Arms again adding; with a ſullen diſcontented Look, *That for the future he would not do 'em the Honour to ask their Advice.* This Reſolution of the Army is a Pregnant Proof of that free Spirit which Characteriſes an *Engliſh* Man, and alſo of the Abhorrence which all true Proteſtants have for Popery; ſince even Mercenary Soldiers, who are * miſtakenly accounted to have little or no Religion, and to be altogether for Arbitrary Government, choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to Want, than be acceſſary to the enſlaving of their Country, by countenancing the Deſpotick Deſigns of a *Popiſh* Prince. Nor were the Sea-Forces more favourable to Popery; for the King having caus'd Maſs to be ſaid aboard his Men of War, there happen'd ſo great a Diſorder and Mutiny in the Fleet, that the Officers had much ado to keep the Prieſts from being thrown over-board.

* Nulla fides Pietaſque Viris qui Caſtra ſequuntur; *ſays the Poet.*

The Marquis *d' Albyville*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, communicated to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* the News of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and at the ſame Time deliver'd to them His Majeſties Letter; and the next Day he had an Audience from the States upon the ſame Account. Thereupon their Highneſſes immediately * diſpatch'd the Heer of *Zuyleſtein* to Congratulate His Majeſty, and order'd the Prince of *Wales* to be pray'd for in their Chappel; which however was ſoon after diſcontinued. The Marquis *d' Albyville* * celebrated this News with extraordinary Magnificence; Fifty pieces of Cannon were diſcharged; Four Fountains of Wine ran for the Mob; ſeveral ſplendid Tables were ſpread for Perſons of Diſtinction; and when the Sun had withdrawn his Light, the joyful Day was in a manner prolong'd by ſurprizing Illuminations and Fireworks. Some few Days after, † the Royal Fireworks prepared upon the ſame Score, were repreſented on the *Thames*, over againſt *Whitehall*, to the Admiration of

* June *the* 18th.

* July 9.

The Birth of the Prince of Wales *ſolemniz'd at the* Hague.

† July 17.

of the whole Court, and the reſt of the Spectators. 1688.

Altho' King *James* could not but perceive that the *Popiſh* Intereſt was declining; yet having upon ſeveral Occaſions declar'd that he would bring his Deſigns about, or Die a Martyr for his Religion, he diſplac'd Judge *Powell* and *Holloway* for having ſpoke their Thoughts a little too freely in Favour of the Seven Biſhops; 'tis ſaid that the Diſgrace of thoſe two Judges, whoſe Uprightneſs was Exemplary, was chiefly occaſion'd by the Peoples crying aloud in the Streets, after the Biſhops Acquital, *Long Live the Proteſtant Judges.* About the ſame Time the King ſettled a Houſe for the Entertainment of two Hundred *Popiſh* Orphans, under the Direction of the *Benedictine Monks* of St. *James*, in Favour of the Prince of *Wales*; who being carried by the Lady *Strickland*, his Governneſs, preſented the King a Petition, in the Name of ſeveral Perſons, who contributed towards the Maintainance of that Foundation.

All theſe Publick Attempts to introduce Popery did at laſt open the Eyes of all true Proteſtants, and rouſe the greateſt part of the Nation out of their Paſſive Lethargy; I ſay the greateſt part, becauſe from the firſt Acceſſion of King *James* to the Crown, many had foreſeen, or at leaſt fear'd, what afterwards did happen; and to prevent the impending Danger, had already taken Meaſures with the Preſumptive Heirs of the Crown. The Earl of *Macclesfield* withdrew into *Holland*, whilſt whilſt the Duke of *Monmouth* was yet preparing for his unfortunate Expedition; and leſt he ſhould have the ſame Fate in *Holland* with Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*; he retir'd into *Germany*, from whence, however, he negotiated the Good of his Country. Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, whom the *Papiſts* had maliciouſly involv'd in the *Presbyterian* Plot, and who ſince his flying for Protection to the Prince of *Orange*, was proſecuted for High Treaſon in *Scotland*, held ſtill a Correſpondence with thoſe that wiſhed well to the reformed Religion, particularly with the Illuſtrious Families of *Ruſſell* and *Sidney*; and Monſieur *Dickvelt*, one of the extraordinary Ambaſſadors from *Holland*, ſent over to renew the old Alliances

1688. Alliances between *England* and the States, had ſeveral Conferences with the chiefeſt *Proteſtant* Lords; in which however nothing was propoſed to be attempted againſt King *James*, ſo long as he himſelf did not openly act againſt the Good of *England*, by favouring the growth of *Popery*, and the formidable Power of *France*. Theſe were only preparatory Conſultations to diſpoſe the Minds of good Patriots to provide for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, the Freedom of Parliaments, and the Liberties of *England*, by maintaining the Laws againſt Papiſts, and reſtraining the Luſt of Arbitrarineſs in the King.

Preparations towards a Revolution.

Things being carried to Extreams, by the too forward Proceedings of King *James*, the Prince of *Orange* was earneſtly ſollicited to prevent the total Ruin of *England*, on which that of all *Europe* inevitably depended. Some writ to him, others preſt him more powerfully by their Preſence, having croſt the Sea upon various Pretences. The Lord *Wharton*, tho' advanced in Years, took a Journey through *Holland* to *Germany*; Colonel *Sidney* (now Earl of *Rumney*, and Uncle to the Earl of *Sunderland*) went to the *Spaw*, giving it out, that 'twas only for the Benefit of the Waters; the Biſhop of *London* ſtill under Suſpenſion, was not unactive in his Country Retirement, but held ſecret Correſpondence with the buſieſt Men at the *Hague*; the Earl (now Duke) of *Devonſhire*, who had an Indignity put upon him by Colonel *Culpeper*, and who out of Generoſity had pardon'd the Colonel upon Condition that he ſhould never appear in *Whitehall*, having afterwards met him in the King's Preſence-Chamber, contrary to Agreement, could not forbear ſtriking him on the Face, for which he was adjudg'd to pay a Fine of 30000 *l.* to His Majeſty: This Lord did alſo invite the Prince of *Orange*; and by Degrees, the greateſt part of the Lords implor'd his Highneſſes Aſſiſtance againſt the growing Oppreſſion. Some Zealous Gentlemen, particularly Mr. *Hamden* and his Son, and the Lady *Sunderland*, a Woman of Subtle Wit, and Admirable Addreſs, were privy to, and forwarded the whole Deſign. The Lord *Dun-*

Dunblain (now Marquis of *Carmarthen*) Son to the Earl of *Danby* (now Duke of *Leeds*) a brave bold-ſpirited Seaman, who Commanded an Independant Frigat, together with Mr. *Johnſon*, and ſome others, croſt and re-croſt the Seas, to carry the Several Diſpatches and Reſolutions. Upon theſe Encouragements, the Prince of *Orange* engaged the States to make extraordinary tho', ſecret, Preparations towards the fitting out of a Fleet, and to take ſeveral Foreign Regiments into their Service. 1688.

Alliances made by the Prince of Orange, to Countenance his Deſigns.

Tho' his Highneſs had ſecur'd a Powerful Party in *England*, yet he thought it highly Neceſſary to enter into ſuch Alliances in *Germany* as might countenance his Undertaking, and at the ſame Time cut off King *James* from all Foreign Succours. His Majeſty had already made a Treaty with *Spain*, and upon that Score hop'd that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would not join with thoſe that ſhould oppoſe his Deſigns, which tended chiefly to the Advantage of the *Roman* Catholick Religion; and as for *France*, tho' he had not enter'd into a poſitive League with that Crown, yet there was ſuch a ſtrict Amity and Correſpondence between the two Courts, as amounted to a Solemn Confederacy. To deprive King *James* of theſe Supports, the Prince of *Orange* caus'd the Dutch to enter, and enter'd himſelf into the League of *Ausburgh* againſt *France*, thereby to bring all the Forces of the Confederates upon that Monarch, and keep him in Play, in caſe he ſhould attempt to croſs his intended Expedition, by turning his Arms againſt the *Hollanders*: On the other hand, he repreſented to the Houſe of *Auſtria* the Ambitious Deſigns of the *French* King, and how eaſily he might make himſelf Univerſal Monarch, if he were ſupported by that Crown, which for theſe Five Hundred Years paſt has held the Ballance of *Europe*; adding, that 'twas not the Advancement of the *Romiſh* Religion which the King of *France* had in View, but rather the aggrandizing of his encroaching Power; ſince at the ſame Time that he perſecuted his Proteſtant Subjects, and favour'd the growth of Popery in *England*, he countenanc'd Count *Tekeli*,

and

1688. and had made a ſecret Alliance with the Turks. The Emperor and the King of *Spain* were too clear-ſighted not to enter into theſe Reaſons; and the rather, becauſe the Endeavours of their Miniſters to bring King *James* into the *German* League againſt *France* had prov'd Ineffectual. Among the reſt, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, a Perſon of all Foreigners that ever negotiated Publick Affairs in *England*, the beſt acquainted with our Conſtitution and Genius, made uſe of the moſt prevailing Arguments he could think of to engage him to break with *France*; aſſuring him, that nothing could endear him more to his *Proteſtant* Subjects, nor more powerfully encline his Parliament to grant Eaſe to the *Roman* Catholicks; but his Majeſty was already ſo ſtrongly united with *France*, that he anſwer'd the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador: *That he would Faithfully obſerve the Alliance he had enter'd into with his Maſter; but that he was oblig'd as Religiouſly to Entertain the Amity that was betwixt him and the King of* France *his near Relation; that he deſir'd to Live in Peace with all his Neighbours, and would endeavour to Preſerve it amongſt 'em.* The Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* ſaw the Tendency of this unſatisfactory Anſwer, which diſpos'd both the Emperor and his Catholick Majeſty, to hearken to the Propoſals that were made them by the Prince of *Orange*, not only againſt *Lewis*, but likewiſe againſt the King of *England*, his ſecret and devoted Allie.

State of Affairs in Europe.

That we may have a juſt Idea of the Greatneſs and Boldneſs of the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertaking, 'tis neceſſary to ſet before our Eyes the Condition the Principal States of *Europe*, were in at that Time. The Emperor was ſtill engag'd in a War with the Turks, which tho' Succeſsfully carried on of late Years, had nevertheleſs almoſt quite exhauſted his Coffers; *Spain* was a Conſumptive Body, that wanted Spirits to keep up her lingring Vitals, much more to Revive and Support her diſtant Parts, as ſufficiently appear'd by the Loſs of *Luxemburgh*; *France* on the contrary was in a vigorous State of Health, abounding in Riches, and wan-

wantoning in an extended abſolute Power, maintain'd by a full Exchequer, numerous Armies, and experienc'd Generals; *Holland* was indeed flouriſhing, but the Peace ſhe enjoy'd was precarious; and tho' in a Condition not to fear her Neighbours ſo long as her Forces were united; yet ſhe could not ſpare ſo many of her Troops as were requiſite for the Prince's Expedition, without leaving herſelf very much expos'd; On the other hand, the Diſputes between the Imperial and *French* Miniſters, about the Latter's fortifying of *Traerbaek*, foreboded no Good to the Empire; and the Death of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, which happen'd this Year, (*June* 2*d*,) manifeſtly tended to an open Rupture; Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, Brother to the Elector of that Name, and one of the two Candidates, being ſupported by *Germany*; and his Competitor, the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg*, by the Crown of *France*. In this Nice Juncture of Affairs, the Prince of *Orange* form'd his grand Deſign, and under Pretence of the Buſineſs of *Cologn* aſſiſted at an Interview, and long Conference held at *Minden* in *Weſtphalia*, between the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburgh*, wherein Meaſures were concerted both to reſtore *England* to its ancient Liberties, and to ſet Bounds to the growing Power of *France*.

1688.

Conferences at Minden, Aug. 26,

The ſuſpected Birth of a Succeſſor, and the Perſecution of the Seven Biſhops, put the finiſhing Stroke to the Deſign of reſcuing *England* from *Popery* and *Slavery*; for theſe Prelates ſeriouſly reflecting on the imminent Danger, to which the Proteſtant Church and the whole Nation were now expos'd, writ to the Prince of *Orange* out of the *Tower*: The Earl (now Duke) of *S----bury*, having quitted his Regiment of Horſe, and mortgag'd his Eſtate for Forty Thouſand Pounds Sterling, went over to the Prince, to offer him both his Sword and his Purſe. He was follow'd by Admiral *Herbert*, (now Earl of *Torrington*) Mr. *Herbert* his Couſin, (now Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*) Mr. *Ruſſel*, (now Earl of *Orford*) the Lord *Mordant*, (now

(now Earl of *Peterborough*) the Marquis of *Winchester*, (now Duke of *Bolton*) and ſeveral other
1688 Perſons of Diſtinction.

The Prince of *Orange* finding by this Time a general Concurrence in the *Engliſh* Nation to favour his Deſign, preſt vigorouſly the Equipping of a numerous Fleet. Count *d' Avaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, who kept a watchful Eye upon his Highneſs's Motions, grew jealous of theſe great Preparations, and diſcover'd from ſeveral convincing Circumſtances, that they were intended againſt *England*, and gave Notice of it to the King his Maſter, from whom King *James* had the firſt certain and poſitive Intelligence. I ſay poſitive, becauſe Mr. *Skelton*, whilſt he was at the *Hague*, had intercepted a Letter, intimating that a great Project was ſecretly carried on againſt the King, of which he immediately gave an Account of to His Majeſty; but the Court of *England* had been ſo often impos'd upon by Sham-Plots, and frighted with falſe Alarms, that little heed was given to *Skelton*'s Information. The King of *France* laid more Weight upon Count *D' Avaux*'s Advice, and preſt King *James* to put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence againſt the intended Invaſion of his Kingdoms.

Much about the ſame Time Mr. *Skelton*, lately arriv'd at *Paris*, in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, entertain'd a Correſpondence with a certain Gentleman, who gave him a farther Light into the Buſineſs. This Gentleman was one *Bude de Verace*, a Proteſtant of *Geneva*, Great Grand-Son to the famous *Budæus*, (Library-keeper to *Francis* I. King of *France*;) and formerly a Captain in a *Dutch* Regiment, who having kill'd in a Duel the Son of one of the States, was oblig'd to fly for his Life. The Earl of *Clarendon*, whoſe Son the Lord *Cornbury* had receiv'd great Civilities from *Verace*, whilſt he ſtudied at *Geneva*, recommended him to the Prince of *Orange*, by *Skelton*; who not only obtain'd *Verace*'s Pardon, but procur'd him alſo a Place of Gentleman-Uſher to the Princeſs of *Orange*. *Verace* being thus reſtor'd to the Prince's Favour, ſcrew'd himſelf more and more into it,

and

and had a great Intimacy with Mr. *Bentinck*, his Favourite; but being ſuſpected of betraying his Maſter's Deſigns againſt King *James* (which out of Gratitude to the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Recommendation he thought himſelf oblig'd to do) or as others pretend, having reflected upon the Prince's having no Children by his Wife, he was turn'd out of his Place. He had not been long at *Geneva*, when upon the News of the great Preparations in *Holland*, he wrote to *Skelton*, then at *Paris*, *That he had ſuch things to Communicate to the King of* England, *as were of no leſs Concern than the Crown he wore, but that he would open his Secrets to none but the King himſelf, and that if His Majeſty would let him know his Pleaſure, he would immediately repair to* England. 1688.

Upon this Advice from *Verace*, *Skelton* writ five or ſix Letters to the Court of *England*, in the ſame warm and preſſing Stile as thoſe were writ in, that were ſent to his Maſter from the King of *France*. On the other hand, the Marquis of *Albyville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was not wanting in his Duty, ſo that King *James* had ſufficient Notice given him not to be ſurpriz'd; but 'twas late before he hearken'd to thoſe Advices, and the following Reaſons are given, why he did not hearken to 'em ſooner. The Prince of *Orange* ſtill continued ſo Dutiful to him, as to diſſipate all manner of Suſpicions. Myn Heer *Citters*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, upon the News of a great Armament in *Holland*, gave His Majeſty to underſtand, that *France* had more Reaſon to be alarm'd at it than *England*; and beſides, the King depending upon a numerous Army, and a great Fleet, diſregarded the feeble Attempts of the *Hollanders*; at leaſt, 'tis ſaid, he was taught to diſregard them by his prime Miniſter.

The M—ſter I mean, was *S*———, a Man put out by Nature for a Politician, and endow'd with a ready penetrating Wit, an extended Forecaſt, and a ſedate Spleen; a nice Obſerver, as well as ſubtil Flatterer of the Failings and Weakneſſes of Princes; two Qualities that are able both *Character of* S———.

1688. to gain and keep an Aſcendant over them, and an artful Diſſembler of Injuries receiv'd. This L— is by many accus'd to have been all along Unfaithful to King *James*, though there are others who juſtifie his Conduct. I ſhall Hiſtorically relate all that is alledg'd for or againſt him on both ſides, without preſuming to give my Caſting-Vote on ſo Critical a Queſtion; Thoſe who arraign the E—'s Fidelity, ſay, That he was a ſecret Enemy to King *James*, whom Policy, not Affection, had reconcil'd; That he had ſhew'd an extraordinary Warmth againſt him in the Buſineſs of the Bill of Excluſion, for which the Duke of *York* got him afterwards remov'd from his Place of S——ry of S—te; That he is a Man who always ſides with the prevailing Party, though at the ſame time he manages a Reſource with thoſe that are under, in caſe of a Change; That he never courted the Duke of *York*'s Favour till he found that *Monmouth*'s Intereſt was declining; That whilſt he was in with the *Excluſioners* he dextrouſly ingratiated himſelf with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, by whoſe Mediation he was ſoon admitted to the King's Favour, and by him reconcil'd to the Duke of *York*; That he was become Prime M---ſter to the latter ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, by pretending to reveal the Secrets of the *Presbyterian* Cabal; That the better to advance the King's Ruin, he had flatter'd his Ambitious Deſigns, ſo long as no Body ſtood up to oppoſe him; But that aſſoon as he underſtood that a powerful Party was forming againſt the King, he had ſecur'd himſelf a Retreat by betraying His Majeſties Councils; That his Lady kept a conſtant Correſpondence with the Princeſs of *Orange*, and Monſieur *Bentinck*, by Means of Mr. *Felton* her Relation, and of ſeveral *French* Refugees whom ſhe kept in Pay to carry Letters; That his Uncle, Colonel *S—ney*, was gone over to the Prince, not without the E—'s Knowledge, That he feign'd to Embrace the *Popiſh* Religion the better to ſerve the Proteſtants, and engag'd the King to admit Father *Petre* into the Privy-Council to draw an odium upon both;

That

That he favour'd and promoted underhand the Proſecution of the Biſhops; That he obſtinately rejected all the repeated Advices that were given him and the King of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns; and laſtly, That he made His Majeſty refuſe the only Aſſiſtance that might have enabled him to baffle the Enterpriſes of his Enemies. 1688.

Thoſe who juſtifie the E—, alledge, That the Rule is not ſo general, but that a reconcil'd Enemy may become a real Friend; That a Man may maintain a Reſource in a Party without embracing it; That from the beginning he Faithfully ſerv'd King *James*, as became a Proteſtant Subject; That he oppoſed the King's aſſuming a Diſpenſing Power; That though he acted in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, yet for a good while he defended *Magdalen-Colledge*; That he was againſt the diſſolving of the Parliament; That he ſo openly oppos'd the Proſecution of the Biſhops, That he expos'd himſelf to the Fury of the *Popiſh* Party; and though he feign'd himſelf a *Roman* Catholick to prevent his immediate Ruin, yet did he ſtill continue to be the Object of their Hatred; That there are no Proofs of his entertaining any Private or Treaſonable Correſpondences with His Majeſties Enemies; That his Wife's holding a ſuſpicious Intelligence with the Princeſs of *Orange*, is not a ſufficient Reaſon to render the Husband Criminal; That Colonel *Sidney*, though his near Relation might have deceiv'd him, as he did others, and make him believe that he went to the *Spaw* only for the ſake of the Waters; That his owning he chang'd his Religion to ſerve the Proteſtants, is rather an Excuſe to them, than a Proof of his being Privy to their Deſigns; ſince no Man needs make Excuſes to thoſe with whom he has already concerted Meaſures; That his introducing Father *Petre* into the Council, was only a prudential and allowable piece of Policy, to bring upon the *Jeſuit* all the Odium of the People, for the irregular Conduct of the Court; That the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertakings againſt a King, that had a

1688. Powerful Force both by Sea and Land, ſeem'd ſo Extraordinary, not to ſay Extravagant, to every Body, that not knowing how to give Credit to it, he did not think himſelf oblig'd to lay any weight upon *Skelton*'s Informations; And that upon the News of the Prince's coming, he adviſ'd His Majeſty to call a free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon any Foreign Aſſiſtance, which was not only Unneceſſary, but alſo moſt dangerous. According to the E---- of *S*------ Advice, the King declar'd in Council, * that in purſuance of his late Declaration, he intended to call a Parliament to meet the 27th of *November* next, and directed the Chancellor to iſſue out Writs upon the Fifth of *September* following. Whereupon all imaginable Induſtry was us'd to compleat the Regulation of Corporations.

Deſign of calling a Parliament, Auguſt 24.

The King of *France* and the *Engliſh* Envoy at his Court, did ſo earneſtly renew their informations of the Prince of *Orange*'s certain Deſigns to Invade *England*, that *Skelton* was at laſt Commanded to ſend for *Verace*, and to return his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Thanks for his good Offices. Accordingly *Skelton* writ to *Verace*, who by this Time having chang'd his Mind, refus'd to comply with the King's Deſire; or ſo much as to meet *Skelton* at *Chambery*, a City of *Savoy*, not above a Day's Journey from *Geneva*, through which that Envoy was to paſs in his Way to *Italy*. As for the *French* King, he thought he could not meet with a fairer Opportunity to engage King *James* in an Offenſive and Defenſive League, than the preſent dangerous Condition of his Affairs, and therefore he immediately diſpatch'd to him Monſieur *De Bonrepos*, to offer him Thirty Thouſand of his Men.

Bonrepos arrives at London, Auguſt 25.

Bonrepos's unexpected Arrival, and his frequent Conferences with the Miniſters of State, in Conjunction with Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, gave Jealouſie to *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, who thereupon frankly told the Lord *S*—— that his Buſineſs muſt be either *Publick* or *Private*. That if the latter, he had nothing to ſay

to it; but if the former, he desir'd to be made acquainted with it, or else those whom it might concern, would be at Liberty to think what they thought fit about it, and take their Measures accordingly. The Reason of this Expostulation was this: Two Days before, *Ronquillo* being with King *James*, His Majesty told him, that *Bonrepos* had assured him that there was a Treaty very near concluded betwixt his Master and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, whereby the *Spanish* Ambassador reasonably conjectur'd that *France*, the better to draw *England* into an Alliance, had made a shew of her Treaties with other Princes: His Conjecture prov'd true: A Treaty was actually on Foot betwixt *France* and *England*, and it was reported to be so far advanc'd, that 'twould be impossible to prevent its Conclusion. 'Twas added, that the Court of *France*, in order to facilitate this Negotiation, had industriously spread the Report of the Prince of *Orange*'s Designs, or at least exaggerated the Greatness of his Armament, that King *James* might not think himself safe without foreign Assistance; and indeed the Ministers of the House of *Austria* were given to understand, that what the King did was only to secure himself against the *Hollanders*. But *Ronquillo* not being satisfied with this Declaration, demanded a private Audience, which was granted. He was two long Hours in close Conference with the King, and having assur'd him that the *Dutch* had no Design upon *England*; he represented to him the fatal Consequences of his entering into an Alliance with *France*, and how ill it would sound in the Nation, that whilst he pretended to call a free Parliament, he should introduce foreign Troops into the Kingdom.

1688.

His Negotiation is croſt by the Spaniſh *Ambaſſador, &c.*

The King own'd to the *Spanish* Ambassador, that the sending of *Bonrepos*, at that Juncture, was the most unfriendly Turn that the *French* King could have done him; That he wish'd it had been in his Power to send him back the next Day after his Arrival; but since in good Manners, he could not do that, however he would give

1688. him but ſmall Encouragement to ſtay; and at the ſame Time his Majeſty aſſur'd *Ronquillo*, he had much rather entertain a good Correſpondence with *Holland*, than be thought to have a ſtrict Alliance with *France*. Thereupon the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador took his Leave, hugging himſelf with the Succeſs of his Audience, though 'tis certain that *S*—— contributed much more than he to the Refuſal of the *French* King's Offers, which ſome of the *Popiſh* Cabal were for accepting. *Bonrepos* finding his Maſter's Officiouſneſs ill receiv'd, ſet out for *France* on the 4th of *September*.

Things being at this paſs, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague* was order'd to Demand of the States-General what they meant *by their great and ſurpriſing Warlike Preparations both by Sea and Land, at that Time of the Year, when all Operations, eſpecially thoſe at Sea, uſe to ceaſe?* To which the States made Anſwer, that they arm'd in Imitation of his *Britannick* Majeſty, and might with more Reaſon Demand an Eclairciſment about the Alliances he was lately enter'd into. This bold Anſwer, which at another Time might have occaſion'd a Rupture, was now left without Reply: However as it encreas'd the Suſpicions of an Invaſion, ſo all imaginable Methods were taken to provide againſt it. The Chief Ports, and particularly *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into *Papiſh* Hands, and the Garriſons ſo modell'd, that the Majority were *Papiſts*.

The *French* Court was both ſurpriz'd and concern'd at the Miſcarriage of Monſieur *Bonrepos*'s Negotiation: *Skelton* was over and over teaz'd by People, who expoſtulated with him his Maſter's not following his Advice. It happen'd one Day that Monſieur *de Croiſſy* being in earneſt Diſcourſe with Mr. *Skelton* concerning the then State of Affairs in *England*, *Skelton* anſwer'd, He had no further Orders, and durſt not intermeddle any more; but added withal, that he believ'd if the moſt Chriſtian King would direct his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to declare to the States how nearly he intereſted himſelf in the Affairs of his *Britannick* Ma-

Majeſty, and threatned to Attack them, in Caſe they attempted any thing againſt him, that he would quickly put a Stop to their Preparations, and thereby break the Meaſures both of the Prince of *Orange*, and of the Proteſtant Cabals in *England*. Mr. *de Croiſſy* took the Hint preſently, and no ſooner acquainted the King with it, but he ſent Orders to the Count *D' Avaux* to declare to the States, "That the ſincere Deſire the King, his Maſter, "had to maintain the Tranquility of *Europe*, "would not ſuffer His Majeſty to ſee the great "Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, "made by their Lordſhips, without taking the "Meaſures, that Prudence, (the continual Com-"panion of all his Actions) inſpired him with, "to prevent the Miſchiefs theſe Warlike Prepara-"tions would certainly draw after them. And "although the King, being perſuaded of the Wiſ-"dom of their Counſels, could not imagine that "a free State ſhould ſo eaſily reſolve to take up "Arms, and to kindle a War, which at the pre-"ſent Juncture could not but be fatal to all "*Chriſtendom*; Nevertheleſs His Majeſty could not "believe their Lordſhips would engage themſelves "in ſo great Expences, both at Home and Abroad, "to entertain in Pay ſo many Foreign Troops, to "put to Sea ſo numerous a Fleet ſo late in the "Year, and to prepare ſo great Magazines, if they "had not a Deſign form'd, anſwerable to the "greatneſs of theſe Preparations. That all theſe "Circumſtances enclin'd the King, his Maſter, to "believe with Reaſon, that this arming threatned "*England*, wherefore His Majeſty had Command-"ed him to declare to them, on his Part, that the "Ties of Friendſhip and Alliance between him "and the King of *Great-Britain*, would oblige "him not only to Aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on "the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhould be com-"mitted by their Troops, or their Fleet, a-"gainſt His Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, to be "a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace with his "Crown.

1688.

Count D' Avaux Memorial to the States, Sept. 9. 1688.

1688. The States-General not only return'd no Answer to the *French* Memorial, but charg'd the Heer *Van Citters*, their Ambassador, to complain thereof to the Court of *England*; whereupon a Council was held, wherein it was resolv'd to Disown Count *D'Avaux*'s Proceedings. This Resolution the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State, immediately communicated to Mr. *Van Citters*; the King's Ministers at the *Hague*, *Brussels*, and *Madrid*, were order'd to Declare, that the *French* Memorial was presented without either His Majesties Knowledge or Apprehension; *Skelton* was recall'd, and was no sooner arriv'd, but he was committed Prisoner to the *Tower* for trespassing his Instructions, and discovering his Master's Secrets. About this Time the Dauphin of *France* began his Campaign in the Palatinate, and laid the Siege to *Philipsburgh*.

Disown'd by King James.

Skelton committed to the Tower.

King *James*, that he might put the greater Confidence in his Troops, thought fit to fill them with as many *Papists* as could be procur'd; and accordingly several *Irish* Officers and Soldiers were put into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment. This was vigorously oppos'd by the Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, and other Officers; the former in the Name of the rest, declaring to the Duke, *That he was desir'd by those Gentlemen (with whose Sence he concurr'd) to inform his Grace, That they did not think it consistent with their Honours, to have Foreigners imposed upon them, without being complain'd of, that their Companies were weak, or Orders had been sent to recruit them; not doubting but if such Orders had been given, they that first, in very ill Times, rais'd them Hundreds, could easily now have made them according to the King's Complement.* Therefore *they humbly petition'd they might have Leave to fill up their Companies with such Men of this Nation they should judge most suitable for the King's Service, and to support their Honours; or otherwise that they might be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Respect, to lay down their Commissions.* An Account of this (as also of a Serjeant and Eighteen private Sentinels leaving their Colours upon the same Score) was forthwith transmitted to His Majesty, then at *Windsor*,

ſor, who fearing the ſpreading of this Example, immediately commanded a Party of Horſe down to *Portſmouth*, to bring up into Cuſtody Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paſton*, and Four other Captains; and a Court-Martial was appointed to proceed againſt 'em as Mutineers. If the *French* Ambaſſador's Memorial had not come in that very Morning, to ſhew the Danger the *Popiſh* Party was in, ſome of theſe Officers would, in all Probability, have loſt their Lives: But now the Court was contented to caſhier 'em. About a Month before another Captain that was quarter'd at *Scarborough*, caus'd the Mayor of that Town, tho' a Man devoted to the Court, to be toſs'd in a Blanket by his Soldiers, for being ſawcy to him; which Indignity the King did not think fit to puniſh at this Juncture. For now the Whiſpers of the Prince of *Orange*'s coming began to revive the Spirits of the Nation; inſomuch, that the Biſhops of *Ely*, *Briſtol*, and *Rocheſter*, caution'd the People of their Dioceſſes from the very Pulpit, againſt the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Teſts, in the enſuing Parliament.

1688.

Proteſtant Officers caſhier'd, Sept. 10. 1688.

The Mayor of Scarborough *toſs'd in a Blanket*, Aug. 12. 1688.

The King having by this time receiv'd ſo many concurring Advices from the *Hague*, as amounted to a moral Demonſtration of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns, the fitting out of the Fleet was carried on with redoubled Diligence; Commiſſions were giving out for augmenting the Army; Orders diſpatch'd to *Tyrconnel* for ſending over whole Regiments out of *Ireland*; and *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador made a Propoſal, which thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Prince were in great Fear the Court ſhould accept; *viz.* that *France* ſhould abandon the Deſign of beſieging *Philipsburgh*, and carry the War into *Holland*. Four or Five of the Council approv'd this Overture, but others warmly oppos'd it, alledging, That ſuch a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland* would be ſufficient to raiſe the Clamours of the whole Nation, and to alienate the Minds of all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants from His Majeſty. This Suggeſtion being moſt plauſible, did not miſs of its Effect: For it muſt be obſerv'd, that

1688. that those who favour'd the Prince's Expedition had been very industrious in spreading a Report, that the *Dutch* Armament was only design'd to hinder the *French* from landing in *England*, where in Pursuance of a secret Treaty made with King *James*, they were to extirpate the Protestant Religion. To dissipate the Jealousies of the People, a * Sept. 21. Proclamation was issued * out, importing, *That His Majesty having already signified his Pleasure to call a Parliament, lest those whose Right it was to chuse Members, should lye under any Prejudice and Mistakes, thro' the Artifices of disaffected Persons, he thought fit to declare, That it was his Royal Purpose to endeavour a legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience for all his Subjects; That it was also his Resolution inviolably to preserve the Church of* England, *by such a Confirmation of the several Acts of Uniformity, that they should never be alter'd any other Ways than by repealing the several Clauses, which inflict Penalties upon Persons not promoted, or to be promoted to any Ecclesiastick Benefices within the Meaning of the said Acts, for exercising their Religion, contrary to the Purport of the said Acts of Uniformity: And that for the further securing, not only the Church of* England, *but the Protestant Religion in general, He was willing the* Roman *Catholicks should remain incapable to be Members of the House of Commons, whereby those Fears and Apprehensions would be remov'd, which many Persons had had, That the Legislative Authority would be ingross'd by them, and turn'd against Protestants.* This Proclamation was so ambiguously worded as to the Repeal of the Penal Laws, the Confirming the Acts of Uniformity, and the Excluding of the *Papists* from the lower House only, that it occasion'd several Disputes, and had but little Effect.

Upon the Arrival of the Marquis of *Albyville's* Steward, who brought certain News of the embarking of several Regiments on board the *Dutch* Fleet, the Command of the Army was first offer'd to the Count *de Roye*, an experienc'd *French* General, and an Exile for his Religion, upon whose excusing of himself, it was bestow'd on the Earl of *Fever-*

Feversham; but however, in case of a Descent the King design'd to head his Army himself, and the Queen, with the Prince of *Wales*, were to retire to *Portsmouth*, a well-fortified Sea-Port Town, of which the Duke of *Berwick* was Governor. The Command of the Fleet, which consisted of about 44 Men of War, was given to the Lord *Dartmouth*; the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were order'd to prevent the spreading of false News, and to keep the City quiet; and Two or Three Bishops were offer'd Places in the Privy-Council, which they refus'd to accept, upon account of the Papists that sat there. Besides these Precautions at home, it was resolv'd in the Council, that the Marquis *d'Albyville* should be order'd, *to represent to the States-General, That altho' His Majesty had believ'd, that what he had already declar'd to their Ambassador in* England, *and the Orders he had given to him upon the same Subject, might have satisfied their Lordships, that there was no other Treaty between His Majesty and the most Christian King, than those that were publick, and in print; yet since a great deal of Artifice and Industry had been made use of to make the World believe that His Majesty was entred into other Treaties and Alliances with the most Christian King, His Majesty, to shew the great Regard he had to the Friendship and Alliances, which were between him and their Lordships, and his Desire to continue the same, had commanded him, (his Envoy Extraordinary) to assure their Lordships, that there was no other Treaty between him and* France, *than those that were publick: And farther, that as His Majesty extreamly desir'd the Preservation of the Peace and Repose of* Christendom, *so he would be also glad to take such Measures with their Lordships, as might be most convenient for maintaining the Peace of* Nimeguen, *and the Truce of* 20 *Years concluded in* 1684. Some Members of the Council were against the presenting of this Memorial, it being now preposterous, and exposing the King's Honour: but the Majority were not only for it, but mov'd besides, that the Lord *Godolphin* and the Bishop of *Win-*

1688.

Marquis d'Albyville's Memorial to the States, Sept. 25. Oct. 5.

1688. *Winchester* should be sent to *Holland* to back it; which last Motion fell. As for the States, they took no Notice of the King's Offers, but suffer'd the Prince of *Orange* to go on with the shipping off of his Men.

Certain News of the P. of Orange's Design.

The next News the King receiv'd from his Envoy at the *Hague*, was, that the Pensioner *Fagel* had frankly own'd to him the Prince's Design; adding, that if the *Dutch* Ambassador in *England* had said any thing to the contrary, he had done it out of his own Head, and without Orders. And at the same time the Marquis *d'Albyville* acquainted His Majesty that several *English* Lords and Gentlemen had already cross'd the Sea, and lurk'd in *Holland* ready to accompany the Prince in his Expedition. Upon the reading of this Letter the King remain'd speechless, and, as it were, thunder-struck. The airy Castle of a Dispensing Arbitrary Power, rais'd by the Magick Spells of Jesuitical Counsels, vanish'd away in a moment, and the deluded Monarch, freed from his Inchantment by the Approach of the Prince of *Orange*, found himself on the Brink of a Precipice, whilst all his intoxicating Flatterers stood amaz'd and confounded at a distance, without daring to offer him a supporting Hand, lest his greater Weight should hurry both him and them into the Abyss. In this Extremity the tottering Prince, whom the Presence of the Danger had render'd clear-sighted, espied the best Prop of the *English* Monarchy, I mean the Bishops, and endeavour'd to lay hold on that. The Bishop of *Ely*, who had lost the King's good Graces for siding with his petitioning Brethren, was now restor'd to his pristine Favour, and employ'd to manage a Reconcilement between His Majesty and the rest of the Prelates that were then in *London*. Accordingly the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Peterborough*, *Rochester*, *Ely*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, waited upon His Majesty, who having receiv'd them with extraordinary Marks of Favour and Kindness, told them, that he desir'd the Assistance of their Counsels in this present Exigency; assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for

The King's Consternation.

He has Recourse to the Bishops.

for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and of his People's Rights, without derogating from his own Prerogatives. The Biſhops anſwer'd the King's Confidence in them, by Expreſſions of their Duty and Loyalty to His Majeſty, and would have given him more particular Proofs of their Zeal for his Service, had not the King told them that he was not then at leiſure, and therefore deſir'd them to conſult together about ſo weighty a Matter; whereupon they took their Leaves. A little while after, the King preſented the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Queen, telling her he was a very honeſt Man: Whereupon Her Majeſty, who now endeavour'd to caſt off her Imperiouſneſs, took notice of him with an affected ſmiling Look. 1688.

Proclamation againſt the P. of Orange's *Invaſion,* Sept. 28.

In the mean time, to prepoſſeſs the People againſt the Prince of *Orange*, a Proclamation was iſſued out, ſetting forth, *That His Majeſty had receiv'd undoubted Advice, that a great and ſudden Invaſion from* Holland, *with an armed Force of Foreigners, would ſpeedily be made in an hoſtile Manner; and altho' ſome falſe Pretences relating to Liberty, Property and Religion, contriv'd or worded with Art and Subtilty, might be given out, it was manifeſt however, that no leſs Matter by this Invaſion was propos'd, than an abſolute Conqueſt of theſe His Majeſties Kingdoms, and the utter ſubduing and ſubjecting him, and all his People, to a foreign Power; which was promoted by ſome of His Majeſties Subjects, being Perſons of wicked and reſtleſs Spirits, implacable Malice, and deſperate Deſigns; who having no Senſe of the Miſery of former inteſtine Diviſions, nor being mov'd by His Majeſties reiterated Acts of Mercy, did again endeavour to imbroil this Kingdom in Blood and Ruin, to gratifie their own Ambition and Malice, propoſing to themſelves a Prey and Booty in ſuch a publick Confuſion. That tho' His Majeſty had notice, that a foreign Force was preparing againſt him, yet he had always declin'd any foreign Succours, but rather had choſen to relye upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of his own People, with whom he had often ventured his Life for the Honour of this Nation, and in whoſe Defence againſt all Enemies he was firmly reſolv'd*

1688. *resolv'd to live and die: And therefore His Majesty solemnly conjur'd his Subjects to lay aside all manner of Animosities, Jealousies and Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite together, in the Defence of him and their native Country. That albeit the Design had been carried on with all imaginable Secrecy, and Endeavours to surprize and deceive His Majesty, yet he had not been wanting on his Part, to make such Provision as did become him, and made no doubt of being found in so good a Posture, that His Enemies might have Cause to repent their rash and unjust Attempts.* In the Conclusion His Majesty declar'd, *That he did intend to have met His Parliament in* November *next, and that the Writs were issued forth accordingly, proposing to himself, amongst other things, that he might be able to quiet the Minds of all his People in Matters of Religion, but that in regard of this strange Attempt, design'd to divert his said gracious Purposes, he found it necessary to recall his said* Writs.

Writs for the meeting of a Parliament stopt.

Besides this Proclamation, the Court us'd all possible Means to regain the Affection and Confidence of the Church of *England*. The Bishop of *London*'s Suspension was taken off, Sir *John Chapman*, a Church-man, was nam'd to succeed Sir *John Eyles*, the present Lord-Mayor of *London*, who was an Anabaptist; the Duke of *Ormond* had a Garter bestow'd on him, which perhaps he would never have obtain'd from this King, but for the Fears of an Invasion; and a general Pardon was publish'd, from out of which Sir *Robert Payton*, Sir *Rowland Gwin*, Dr. *Burnet*, *Samuel Johnson*, *Oates*, *Ferguson*, and Eleven more, were excepted; which nevertheless, had little or no Effect; for ill-timed and forc'd Amnesties do rather argue a Prince's Weakness than his Clemency.

A general Pardon, Oct. 2.

On the Third Day of *October* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, St. *Asaph*, *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rochester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, waited upon the King, and the Archbishop address'd himself to His Majesty in this manner.

May

1688.

May it please Your Majesty,

"WHEN I had lately the Honour to wait "upon you, you were pleas'd briefly to acquaint me with what had pass'd Two Days before between your Majesty, and these my Reverend Brethren: By which, and by the Account which they themselves gave me, I perceiv'd, that in truth, there past nothing, but in very general Terms and Expressions of your Majesties gracious and favourable Inclinations to the Church of *England*, and of our reciprocal Duty and Loyalty to your Majesty: Both which were sufficiently understood and desir'd before, and (as one * of my Brethren then told you) would have been in the same State, if the Bishops had not stirr'd one Foot out of their Dioceses. Sir, I found it griev'd my Lords the Bishops to have come so far, and to have done so little; and I am assur'd they came then prepar'd to have given your Majesty some more particular Instances of their Duty and Zeal for Your Service, had they not apprehended from some Words which fell from your Majesty, that you were not then at Leisure to receive them. It was for this Reason that I then besought your Majesty to command us once more to attend you all together, which your Majesty was pleas'd graciously to allow and encourage. We therefore are here now before you, with all Humility, to beg your Permission, that we may suggest to your Majesty such Advices as we think proper at this Season, and conducing to your Service, and so leave them to your princely Consideration."

* *The Bishop of* Bath *and* Wells.

The King was no more that rough and untractable Monarch, who Four Months before answer'd the petitioning Bishops, *That he expected to be obey'd*: For now being, as it were, transform'd into another Prince, and taught Docility by the pressing Danger, he graciously permitted the Archbishop to proceed, which he did, by advising His Majesty; "I. To put the whole Management of "his Government, in the several Counties, into the

The Bishops Advice to the King.

1688. " the Hands of ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry " there, as were legally qualified for it. II. To " annul his Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. " III. That no Diſpenſation might be granted or " continued, by Virtue whereof any Perſon not " duly qualified by Law, had been or might be " put into any Place, Office or Preferment, in " Church or State, or in the Univerſities, or con- " tinued in the ſame; and in particular, that he " would reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of St. " *Mary-Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*. IV. To ſet " aſide all Licenſes, by which any Perſons of the " *Romiſh* Communion might pretend to be ena- " bled to teach publick Schools. V. To deſiſt " from the Exerciſe of his Diſpenſing Power, and " to permit that Point to be freely and calmly de- " bated, and finally ſettled in Parliament. VI. To " inhibit the Four Foreign Biſhops, who ſtil'd " themſelves *Vicars Apoſtolical*, from further inva- " ding the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, which is by " Law veſted in the Biſhops of the Church of *Eng-* " *land*. VII. To fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and " other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions within his Gift, " both in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of " Learning and Piety; and in particular (which " the Archbiſhop own'd to be his Peculiar Bold- " neſs, for 'twas done without the Privity of his " Brethren) to *fill the Archiepiſcopal Chair of* York, *(which had ſo long ſtood empty, and upon which a whole Province depends) with ſome very worthy Per- ſon; for which he was bold to ſay, His Majeſty had then before him a very fair* Choice. VIII. To " ſuperſede all farther Proſecution of *Quo-War-* " *ranto's* againſt Corporations, and to reſtore to " them their ancient Charters and Privileges; as " they heard God had put into his Heart to do for " the City of *London*, which they intended to have " made otherwiſe one of their principal Requeſts. " IX. That Writs might be iſſued out with con- " venient ſpeed for the calling of a free and regu- " lar Parliament, in which the Church of *England* " might be ſecur'd, Proviſion might be made for " a *due Liberty of* Conſcience, and for ſecuring

" the

"the Liberties and Properties of all his Subjects, 1688.
"and a mutual Confidence might be eſtabliſh'd
"between His Majeſty and all his People. X. A-
"bove all, that His Majeſty would be pleas'd to
"permit his Biſhops to offer him ſuch Motives
"and Arguments, as (they truſted) might, by
"God's Grace, be effectual to perſwade His Ma-
"jeſty to return to the Communion of the
"Church of *England*, into whoſe moſt holy Ca-
"tholick Faith he was baptiz'd. Which laſt
Point the Archbiſhop afterwards enforc'd in a
private Conference with the King, by a Diſcourſe
full of convincing Arguments, and which ſavour'd
of the Liberty and Inſpiration of the Primitive A-
poſtles. But Popery had taken too deep Root in
the Royal Breaſt.

Theſe Propoſals could not but ſound harſh to
the King's Ear, but the Neceſſity of his Affairs
oblig'd him not only to conceal his Diſcontent,
but alſo to comply with moſt of them. The
Commiſſion for Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical was * diſſolv'd ; * Oct. 5.
Chancellor *Jefferies*, that ow'd his Preferment,
among the reſt of his Miſcarriages, to the robbing
the City of *London* of their Charter, was forc'd
now to † carry it back again from whence it was † Oct. 6.
taken; the Lords Lieutenants of the ſeveral Coun-
ties were * required to inform themſelves of the * Oct. 10.
Abuſes and Irregularities committed in the late
Regulations of the Corporations; the Biſhop of
Winchester, Viſitor of St. *Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford*,
was † order'd to ſettle that Society regularly and † Oct. 12.
ſtatubly; A Proclamation was iſſued * out for reſto- * Oct. 17.
ring Corporations to their ancient Charters, Li-
berties, Rights and Franchiſes; the Earl of *Darby*
was made † Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of † Oct. 17.
Cheſter and *Lancaſter*; the Earl of *Oxford* Lord
Lieutenant of *Eſſex*; * and the Earl of *Feverſham* * Oct. 20.
Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*; *Popiſh* Juſtices of the
Peace, Mayors, Recorders, and other Magiſtrates,
were diſplaced, and Proteſtants put in their rooms;
ſo that in the ſpace of Twelve Days that ſtupendi-
ous Fabrick was pull'd down, which the *Romiſh*
Cabal had been Four Years in Raiſing.

1688. However, it ſoon appear'd how little the Nation was to depend upon thoſe haſty and forc'd Conceſſions of King *James*. On the 16th of *October* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* caus'd a Citation to be fix'd on the Gate of *Magdalen-Colledge*, to recal Dr. *Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society, by the 2d of *November* following; but an Account coming that very Poſt, that the *Dutch* Fleet had ſuffer'd very much in a Storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to Sea again till the Spring, the Biſhop, upon a frivolous Pretence, was recall'd to *London*, and the Reſtoration of the Colledge deferr'd. Yet ſoon after, that falſe News being contradicted, and the *Dutch* Fleet reported to be in a ſailing Poſture, the Affection to the Church of *England* reviv'd, and ſo the Buſineſs of the Colledge was effected on the 24th of the ſaid Month. This Paſſage is the more remarkable, becauſe it loſt King *James* abundance of Friends: And indeed nothing leſſens ſo much the Character and Intereſt of a Prince, as his playing faſt and looſe with his People.

The Conſternation was not ſo great at Court, but that they were in Hopes to render the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſigns abortive; for which Purpoſe the Lord *Dartmouth* was diſpatch'd to Sea with Orders to wait the *Dutch* Fleet off of *Oſtend*, and chiefly to fall upon the Tranſport-Ships, if he ſaw them ſteer their Courſe towards *England*. The Duke of *Newcaſtle*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Darby*, *Danby*, *Pembroke*, *Weſtmorland*, *Ailesbury*, *Burlington*, Viſcount *Faulconberge*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and ſome few more of the Nobility, offer'd their Services to His Majeſty. Whereupon the King gave Commiſſions to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to raiſe a Regiment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, Son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and to the Marquis *de Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham*, each a Regiment of Horſe; to Colonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards*, Two Regiments of Foot, and many independant Troops and Companies to ſeveral others of the Nobility and Gentry; the Duke of *Ormond* offer'd to ſerve as Volunteer in the Army

Army, and was to be accompanied by the Lieutenant Colonel and Captains that had lately been cashier'd out of the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment; the Trained Bands of the City of *London*, and the Country Militia, were order'd to be in Readiness to march; the Duke of *Gourdon*, a *Roman* Catholick, was sent to *Scotland* to put that Kingdom in a Posture of Defence; the Duke of *Grafton* (who was a little discontented, because he did not command the Fleet) was made Governour of the Tower (*pro Tempore*) instead of Sir *Edward Hales*, a *Roman* Catholick; Two Thousand and Five Hundred Men arriv'd at *Chester* out of *Ireland*, and 3000 at *Carlisle* out of *Scotland*; *Skelton* having been Eighteen Days in the Tower, was set at Liberty, and had a Regiment of Foot given him; a Proclamation was publish'd *, *Commanding all Lieutenants, Deputy Licutenants, Sheriffs, and other Officers, Civil and Military, in the respective Counties, Cities, &c. to cause the Coasts to be carefully watch'd, and upon the first Approach of the Enemy, to cause all Horses, Oxen and Cattel, which might be fit for Burthen or Draught, and not actually imploy'd in the Service and Defence of His Majesty and the Country, to be driven and remov'd to the space, at least, of Twenty Miles, from the Places where the Enemy should attempt to land:* And besides all these humane Precautions, extraordinary Prayers of Forty Hours were said in the King's Chappel, where the *Popish* Host was expos'd. But because the Mob was now spirited with the News of the Prince's coming, and insulted the other *Popish* Chappels, His Majesty caus'd them to be shut up. The Jesuits and *Romish* Priests perceiving the gathering Storm, began to fly for a Shelter beyond Sea. 1688. * Oct. 26.

In the midst of these ominous Distractions the blinded *Roman Catholicks* carried on the Shew of the Prince of *Wales*, and the Child, which was before christned, was upon the 15th of *October*, in the Chappel at St. *James*'s, solemnly nam'd, *JAMES, FRANCIS, EDWARD*, the Pope, represented by his Nuncio, being Godfather, and the Queen-Dowager, Godmother. About this time a Pamphlet was distributed in *Holland*, entitled, *A* *Prince of* Wales *named*, Oct. 15.

1688. *Memorial of the* Engliſh *Proteſtants, preſented to Their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, and ſuppos'd to be written by Dr. *Burnet*, wherein after a long Particular of the Grievances of the Nation, the Author complains of King *James*'s obliging his Subjects to own a *ſuppos'd Child for Prince of* Wales; adding, His Majeſty would never ſuffer the Witneſſes that were preſent at the Queen's Delivery to be heard and examin'd. This Pamphlet being tranſmitted to the King, upon the 22d of *October* His Majeſty held an extraordinary Council, and having ſent for the Queen-Dowager, and all ſuch Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, as were then in Town, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, the Judges, and ſeveral of Their Majeſties learned Council, He told them:

Extraordinary Council held about the Birth of the Prince Wales, Oct. 22.

"He had call'd them together upon a very extraordinary Occaſion; but that extraordinary Diſeaſes muſt have extraordinary Remedies; That the malicious Endeavours of his Enemies had ſo poiſon'd the Minds of ſome of his Subjects, that by the Reports he had from all Hands, he had reaſon to believe, that very many did not think this Son with which God had bleſs'd him, *to be his, but a ſuppoſed Child.* But, he might ſay, that by a particular Providence, ſcarce any Prince was ever born where there were ſo many Perſons preſent. That he had taken this time to have the Matter heard and examin'd there, expecting that the Prince of *Orange*, with the firſt eaſterly Wind, would invade this Kingdom: And as he had often ventur'd his Life for the Nation before he came to the Crown, ſo he thought himſelf more oblig'd ſo to do now he was King, and did intend to go in Perſon againſt him, whereby he might be expos'd to Accidents, and therefore he thought it neceſſary to have this now done, in order to ſatisfie the Minds of his Subjects, and to prevent this Kingdom's being engag'd in Blood and Confuſion after his Death; That he had deſir'd the Queen-Dowager to give her ſelf the Trouble to come thither, to declare what ſhe knew of the Birth of his

" his Son, and that moſt of the Ladies, Lords, and 1688.
" other Perſons who were preſent, were ready to
" depoſe upon Oath the Knowledge of this Mat-
" ter. Beſides, the Declaration of the Queen-Do-
wager, who only ſaid that ſhe was in the Room when the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of *Wales*, the Depoſitions of Forty Perſons more were taken in Form. Of theſe Witneſſes Seventeen were *Roman Catholicks*, *viz.* the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, the Marchioneſs of *Powis*, the Counteſſes of *Peterborough*, *Fingal* and *Litchfield*; the Lady *Bulkeley*, the Lady *Waldegrave*, Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Mrs. *Iſabella Waldegrave*; Mrs. *Pelegrina Turini*, an *Italian*; Mrs. *Anne Cary*, Mrs. *Mary Anne Delabadie*, a *French* Woman, dry Nurſe to the Prince; Mrs. *Judith Wilks*, the Queen's Midwife; the Lady *Arundel* of *Wardour*; the Earls of *Murray* and *Melfort*; and Sir *William Waldegrave*, firſt Phyſician to the Queen; and Three and Twenty Proteſtants, to wit, The Counteſſes of *Arran*, *Sunderland*, *Roſcommon*, and *Mariſchall*; *Suſanna* Lady *Bellaſyſe*, the Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*, Mrs. *Catharine Sayer*, Mrs. *Margaret Dawſon*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromley*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearſe*, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Mulgrave*, *Craven*, *Feverſham* and *Middleton*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, Lieutenant Colonel *Edward Griffin*; Sir *Charles Scarborough*, firſt Phyſician to the King; Sir *Thomas Witherley*, ſecond Phyſician to the King; Dr. *Robert Brady*, one of His Majeſties Phyſicians in Ordinary; and *James St. Amand*, Their Majeſties Apothecary. The moſt material and poſitive Evidence that was given in relation to the Queen's *Bigneſs*, *Delivery* and *Lying-in*, was as follows: The Counteſs of *Peterborough* depos'd, *That ſhe was often with the Queen while Her Majeſty was laſt with Child, and ſaw the Milk often upon Her Majeſties Smock, when ſhe took it off from the Queen; and often ſaw Her Majeſties Belly, ſo as it could not be otherwiſe but that ſhe was with Child.* The Counteſs of *Sunderland*: *That ſhe ſtood at the Queen's Bolſter on that ſide of the Bed where the Queen was deliver'd; That after ſome lingring Pains, the Queen*

Depoſitions in Favour of the Prince of Wales.

1688. *ſaid*, She fear'd ſhe could not be brought to Bed a good while; *but enquiring of the Midwife, ſhe aſſur'd Her Majeſty*, That ſhe wanted only one thorough Pain to bring the Child into the World: *Upon which the Queen ſaid*, It is impoſſible, *and commanded this Deponent* to lay her Hand on Her Majeſties Belly, to feel how high the Child lay, *which the Deponent did, but ſoon after a great Pain came on, and the Queen was deliver'd.* The Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*, one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen; *That ſhe often ſaw the Milk of Her Majeſties Breaſt upon her Smock; That ſhe did once feel the Child ſtir in the Queen's Belly; and that ſhe was preſent when the Child was born, and ſtaid till ſhe heard it cry, and then went to fetch Vinegar for the Queen to ſmell to; That ſhe heard the Queen command the Midwife not to tell her of what Sex it was, for fear of ſurprizing Her Majeſty; That ſhe did deſire to ſee the Child, Mrs.* Delabadie *having it in her Arms; That the Child look'd black, whereupon the Deponent deſir'd Dr.* Waldegrave *to look to it, believing it was not well; and laſtly, That ſhe ſaw the Navel-ſtring of the Child cut, and Three Drops of the Blood which came freſh out, given to him for the Convulſion-Fits.* Mrs. *Margaret Dawſon*, another Lady of the Bed-Chamber, ſaid, *That coming up into the Queen's Chamber, ſhe found her ſitting all alone upon a Stool by the Bed's-Head, when the Queen ſaid to her, ſhe believ'd her ſelf in Labour, and bid her get the Pallate-Bed, which ſtood in the next Room, to be made ready quickly for her; but that Bed never having been aired, the Deponent perſuaded the Queen not to make uſe of it; After which the Queen bid the Deponent make ready the Bed ſhe came out of, which was done accordingly; That ſhe ſaw Fire carried into the Queen's Room in a Warming-pan to warm the Bed; after which the Queen went into her Bed, and was deliver'd of a Son.* Mrs. *Bromley*, another Lady of the Bed-Chamber; *That ſhe ſaw the Queen put on her Smock every Morning, by which Means ſhe ſaw the Milk conſtantly fall out of Her Majeſties Breaſts, and obſerv'd the Bigneſs of Her Majeſties Belly, which could not be counterfeit.* Mrs. *Wilks* ſaid, *That being the Queen's Midwife,*

ſhe

1688.

ſhe came often to her, eſpecially when Her Majeſty was in any Danger of miſcarrying, and many times felt the Child ſtir in her Belly, and ſaw the Milk run out of Her Majeſties Breaſts; That on Trinity-Sunday *laſt in the Morning, the Queen ſent Mr.* White, *Page of the Back-Stairs, to call her, believing her ſelf in Labour, when the Deponent came, ſhe found the Queen in great Pain; That whilſt Her Majeſty was ſitting trembling, her Water broke, and immediately ſhe ſent for the King; That about Ten a Clock that Morning the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of* Wales *by her Aſſiſtance; That afterwards ſhe ſhew'd the After-Burthen to the Phyſicians, and before them cut the Navel-ſtring, and gave the Prince Three Drops of the Blood to prevent Convulſion-Fits, according to their Order. That when the Child was born, it not crying, the Queen ſaid,* She thought it was dead; *This Deponent aſſur'd Her Majeſty it was not, and deſir'd Leave to part the Child from the After-Burthen: Which the Queen was unwilling to have done, thinking it might be dangerous to her ſelf; but the Deponent aſſuring Her Majeſty it would not, Her Majeſty gave Conſent; whereupon the Child preſently cry'd, and then the Deponent gave it to Mrs.* Labadie. Mrs. *Pearſe,* Laundreſs to the Queen, depos'd, *That ſhe ſaw the Prince of* Wales *given by the Midwife to Mrs.* Labadie; *That immediately after ſhe ſaw the Midwife hold up the After-Burthen, ſhewing it to the Company, and then the Deponent fetch'd her Maids, and with them took away all the foul Linnen hot, as they came from the Queen; That for a Month after Her Majeſties Lying-in, ſhe well knew by the waſhing of her Linnen, that the Queen was in the ſame Condition that all other Women uſe to be on the like Occaſion; And that ſome time after her Quickning it appear'd by her Smocks that Her Majeſty had Milk in her Breaſts, which continued until ſhe was brought to Bed, and afterwards, during the uſual time.* The Lord Chancellor ſaid, *That he ſaw Mrs.* Labadie *carry the Child into another Room, whither the Deponent follow'd, and ſaw the Child when ſhe firſt open'd it, and ſaw it was black and reaking; ſo that it plainly ſeem'd to him to have been newly come from the Womb; And that he did ſted-*

1688. *faſtly believe the Queen was deliver'd of that Child that very Morning.* The Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State, depos'd, *That he ſtood near the Bed's Feet on the Left Side, where he heard the Queen's Groans, and ſeveral loud Shricks; the laſt the Deponent remembred continued ſo long, that he wondred how any Body could hold their Breath ſo long; That preſently after the Deponent heard them ſay, the Queen was deliver'd; whereupon he ſtept up to the Bed-ſide, and ſaw a Woman, he ſuppos'd the Midwife, kneeling at the other ſide of the Bed, who had her Hands and Arms within the Bed-Cloaths for a pretty while, That the Deponent ſaw her ſpread a Cloth upon her Lap, and lay the end of it over the Bed-Cloaths, and then fetch a Child out of the Bed into that Cloth, and gave it to Mrs.* Labadie, *who brought it round to the Side where the Deponent ſtood, and carry'd it into a little Room, into which the Deponent immediately follow'd the King, and ſaw that it was a Boy.* The Earl of *Craven* ſaid, *That he took that particular Mark of the Child, that he might ſafely averr, that the Prince of* Wales *was that very Child that was brought out of the Queen's great Bed-Chamber, where the Deponent and others were preſent at Her Majeſties Labour and Delivery.* Sir *Charles Scarborough*, Sir *Thomas Witherly*, Sir *William Waldegrave*, and *James St. Amand*, confirm'd the Midwife's Depoſition, and ſaid, *They ſaw the After-birth reeking warm and entire, and that ſome Drops of Blood from the Navel-ſtring being mention'd among the Ladies for a Remedy againſt Convulſions, they conſulted together, and allow'd of it, to ſatisfie the Women, there being, as was conceiv'd, no Danger in it.* As for the time of the Queen's Conception, Dr. *Scarborough* ſaid, *That ſhe often told him and others that ſhe had Two Reckonings, one from* Tueſday *the 6th of* September, *when the King return'd from his Progreſs to the Queen at the* Bath, *and the other from* Thurſday *the 6th of* October, *when the Queen came to the King at* Windſor; *but for ſome Reaſons the Queen rather reckon'd from the latter, tho' afterwards it prov'd juſt to agree with the former.* Moreover, Sir *William Waldegrave* affirm'd, *That Her Majeſty took ſuch Aſtringent Medicines during*

the

1688.

he moſt part of her being with Child, in order to avoid Miſcarriage, that if ſhe had not been with Child, they muſt have been Prejudicial to her Health. After theſe Depoſitions were taken, His Majeſty acquainted the Lords, that the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* would have been Preſent; but that ſhe being with Child likewiſe, and having not lately ſtirr'd abroad, could not come ſo far without hazard: Adding further, That *though he did not queſtion but every Perſon there Preſent was ſatisfied before in this Matter, yet by what they had heard, they would be better able to ſatisfie others*; That, *beſides, if he and the Queen could be thought ſo wicked as to endeavour to Impoſe a Child upon the Nation, they ſaw how Impoſſible it would have been*; *neither could he himſelf be impos'd upon, having conſtantly been with the Queen during her being with Child, and the whole Time of her Labour. That there was none of them but would eaſily believe him, who had ſuffer'd ſo much for Conſcience Sake, uncapable of ſo great a Villany, to the Prejudice of his own Children*; *and that he thank'd God that thoſe that knew him, knew well, that it was his Principle to do as he would be done by, for that was the Law and the Prophets, and he would rather Die a Thouſand Deaths, than do the leaſt Wrong to any of his Children.*

On the 27th of *October*, the Declaration made by the King, and Queen *Dowager*, together with the ſeveral Depoſitions, were enroll'd in Chancery, purſuant to an Order in Council; and becauſe the Earl of *Huntingdon*, a Proteſtant, and the Earl of *Peterborough*, a *Romaniſt*, who were able to depoſe to the Queen's Delivery, had not been examin'd at the Council-Board, they brought their Depoſitions into Court, which the Lord Chancellor order'd to be read, and afterwards enroll'd with the reſt.

All theſe Teſtimonies were nor able either to deſtroy the Negative Proofs, or remove the Suſpicions of thoſe who pretended that a ſuppoſed Child was convey'd into the Queen's Bed, in a Silver Warming-Pan made for that Purpoſe, and who grounded this Suppoſition of a Prince of

Wales

1688. *Wales* on the Circumſtances of the Queen's Bigneſs and Delivery: Some honeſt *Roman* Catholicks owning themſelves, that ſo Important an Affair had been managed with great Supinity and Imprudence, during all the Time it was depending. Thoſe Circumſtances were chiefly theſe: The Queen had never a conſtant Reckoning; ſhe was brought to Bed after a ſudden removing of her Lodgings, and at a Time when moſt Proteſtant Ladies were either a-Bed or at Church, as if ſhe had deſign'd to avoid Witneſſes; neither the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, nor the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, were preſent at Her Majeſty's Labour, though they were the Three Perſons who ought principally to have been there; during Her Majeſties Labour, the Bed ſhe lay in was not left ſo open as it ſhould have been; whilſt Her Majeſty went with Child, ſhe never ſatisfy'd the Princeſs *Anne* of her Bigneſs, either by letting her feel her Belly, or ſee her Breaſts, neither did ſhe ſhew the Princeſs any of her Milk after her Lying-in; and laſtly, there was a Warming-Pan brought into the Room on Pretence of warming the Queen's Bed, which was altogether unneceſſary, the Weather being extream hot, and the Room heated, beſides, by a vaſt Crowd of People let in, on purpoſe, as 'twas reported, to make the Juggle paſs undiſcern'd in the Hurry. 'Twas anſwer'd, That nothing is more common than for Women, even thoſe that have had ſeveral Children, to miſtake in their Reckoning; and for thoſe who do not miſtake, to be often brought to Bed ſometimes one, ſometimes two Months before the uſual Time, without any Prejudice to the Child; that the Queen was known to have ever had an eaſie and as quick a Labour as any Woman in the Kingdom; to which her Talneſs not a little contributed, and which was the Reaſon that a great many Perſons, who were ſent for, did not come in Time to ſee her deliver'd. That the Princeſs *Anne* being at the *Bath* was a voluntary Action of hers; that the Court expected ſhe would have aſſiſted at the Queen's Labour, which might have been

ſufficient to convince her; and as for the Queen's Milk, which was never ſhewn her, that it was no new thing to ſee Women loſe it three or four Days after they are brought to Bed. As to the Warming-Pan, they replied, That a Labour generally begins with quaking and trembling like an Ague-Fit, for which ſome People warm their Beds in the hotteſt Weather; and beſides, that it had been impoſſible to put a New-born Child, with the After-burden, in the narrow Compaſs of a Warming-Pan, without ſtifling it, All the other Objections were anſwer'd by ſaying; that the Impetious Spirit of the Queen, and the Inſulting Triumphs of the *Popiſh* Cabal, made the Court look upon all Precautions as mean, which afterwards they were convinced would have been but prudential Condeſcentions. 1688.

Some few Days after the Earl of *Sunderland* was removed from his Places of Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State, which made a mighty Noiſe in the World. The Occaſion of his Diſgrace was this: *Skelton*, to juſtifie his Conduct in *France*, told the King, that having receiv'd Information of the Prince's Deſigns from Mr. *Bude de Verace*, he had writ ſix or ſeven Letters about it to the Earl, to which having no Anſwer, he had applied himſelf to the King of *France*, who thereupon diſpatch'd *Bonrepos* to *England*, and ſent Orders to his Ambaſſador at the *Hague* to Expoſtulate with the States the Reaſons of their Warlike Preparations. This Account of *Skelton* began to raiſe Suſpicions againſt the Prime Miniſter; which were ſoon after encreas'd by the Depoſition of one *Wickſtoad*, formerly a Monk, who being ſeiz'd for holding Correſpondence with the King's Enemies, and examin'd before the Council, charged the Earl of *Sunderland* to his very Face, with revealing His Majeſties Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*; whereupon *Wickſtoad* was committed to the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger, from whence he made his Eſcape. This Accuſation from a Man of his Character had been little regarded at another Juncture, but agreeing exactly with that of *Skelton*, the Earl's paſt

Con-

1688. Conduct was more nicely ſcann'd; and the King call'd to Mind, that the very ſame Perſon who had all along adviſ'd him to Support his Authority by the Alliance and Power of *France*, had made him reject that Aſſiſtance, when he had moſt Need of it; which perſuaded His Majeſty that he was embark'd in another Intereſt, and which occaſion'd the Earl's Removal from his aforeſaid Places. 'Tis reported, that to convince the Earl, the King ask'd him for the Original of a certain Treaty, which he anſwer'd he had miſlaid, and which the Earl's Enemies ſaid, he had tranſmitted to the Prince of *Orange:* This the Earl poſitively denied; and as for *Skelton*'s Letters, if he gave no Account of them to the King, 'twas not becauſe he held Intelligence with the Prince of *Orange*, but becauſe he had an invincible Contempt for *Skelton*, *who*, he was us'd to ſay, *never wrote but Second-hand News.*

The Earl of Sunderland's *Diſgrace,* Octob. 28.

About this Time the Marquis of *Albyville* ſent to the King a Copy of the Reſolution of the States, containing the Reaſons that had oblig'd them to aſſiſt his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* with Ships, Men and Ammunition, in his intended Expedition into *England*; which Reſolution they had communicated to all the Foreign Miniſters at the *Hague*, except the *French* and *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and wherein, beſides the repeated Invitations his Highneſs had receiv'd from the *Engliſh* Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, they alledg'd, *That the King of* France *had upon ſeveral Occaſions ſhew'd himſelf diſſatisfied with their State; which gave them Cauſe to Fear and Apprehend, that in Caſe the King of* Great-Britain *ſhould happen to compaſs his Deſigns within his Kingdom, and obtain an abſolute Power over his People, that then both Kings, out of the Intereſt of State, and Hatred and Zeal againſt the Proteſtant Religion, would endeavour to bring their State to Confuſion, and if poſſible, quite to ſubject it.*

Whilſt King *James* was providing for his Security, and endeavouring to remove the Fears and Jealouſies of his Proteſtant Subjects, the Prince of *Orange*

Orange was embarking his Troops with extraordinary Diligence, and to justifie his Undertaking to the whole World, he publish'd a Declaration divided into Six and Twenty Articles, which may be reduc'd to Three Principal Heads. 1688.

The Prince of Orange's *Declaration*, O. S. Sept. 30. N. S. Oct. 10.

"The *First* contain'd an Enumeration of the Grievances of the *English* Nation, particularly His Majesties Arrogating to himself a *Dispensing Power*, his advancing *Papists* to Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military Employments, and allowing them to sit in the Privy-Council; his setting up an illegal Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs, (in which there was one of His Majesties Ministers of State, who made publick Profession of the *Popish* Religion, and who at the time of his first Professing it, declar'd, that for a great while before he had believ'd that to be the only true Religion;) and by which not only the Bishop of *London* was Suspended, but the President and Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge arbitrarily turn'd out of their Freeholds, contrary to that express Provision in *Magna Charta*, *That no Man shall lose Life or Goods but by the Law of the Land*; His allowing *Popish* Monasteries and Colledges of *Jesuits* to be created; his turning out of publick Employments all such as would not concur with His Majesty in the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws; his invading the Priviledges, and seizing on the Charters of most Corporations, and placing *Popish* Magistrates in some of them; his subjecting the Courts of Judicature to his Arbitrary and Despotick Power, and putting the Administration of Justice into the hands of *Papists*; his not only Arming the *Papists*, in contempt of the Laws, but likewise raising them up to the greatest Military Trust, both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as Natives, and *Irish* as well as *English*, that he might be in a Capacity to enslave the Nation; His putting the whole Government of *Ireland* into the Hands of *Papists*; his assuming an Absolute and Arbitrary Power in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, from which it was apparent what was to be look'd for in *England*. Se-

1688. *Secondly*, His Highneſs alledg'd, "That thoſe "great and inſufferable Oppreſſions, and the open "Contempt of all Law, together with the ap- "prehenſions of the ſad Conſequences that muſt "certainly follow upon it, had made the Subjects "to look after ſuch Remedies as are allow'd of in "all Nations, and in the moſt Abſolute Monar- "chies, all which had been without Effect; His "Majeſties evil Counſellors having endeavour- "ed to make all Men apprehend the loſs of their "Lives, Liberties, Honours and Eſtates, if they "ſhould go about to preſerve themſelves from this "Oppreſſion by Petitions and Repreſentations; "an Inſtance of which was the Proſecution of the "Seven Biſhops; That a Peer * of the Realm "was treated as a Criminal, only becauſe he ſaid, "*That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Orders "of a Popiſh Juſtice of Peace*, tho' it's evident that "they being by Law render'd incapable of all "ſuch Truſts, no regard is due to their Orders; "that both he and his Conſort the Princeſs, had "endeavour'd to ſignifie, with Terms full of Re- "ſpect to the King, the juſt and deep Regret, "which all theſe Proceedings had given them, "and declar'd what their Thoughts were, touch- "ing the Repealing of the *Teſts and Penal Laws*; "but that theſe evil Counſellors had put ſuch ill "Conſtructions on their good Intentions, that "they had endeavour'd to alienate the King more "and more from them. That the laſt and great "Remedy for all theſe Evils, was the *calling of "a Parliament*, which could not yet be compaſſ, "nor could be eaſily brought about; for thoſe "Men apprehending, that a lawful Parliament "would bring them to account for all their open "Violations of Law, and for their Conſpiracies "againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives "and Liberties of the Subjects, they had en- "deavour'd, under the ſpecious pretence of *Liberty "of Conſcience*, firſt to ſow Diviſions between thoſe "of the *Church* of *England* and Diſſenters, with "Deſign to engage Proteſtants that are equally "concern'd to preſerve themſelves from *Popiſh* "Op-

* *The Lord* Lovelace.

" Oppreſſion, into mutual Quarrellings, that ſo by 1688.
" theſe, ſome Advantages might be given to them
" to bring about their Deſigns; and that both
" in Elections of Members of Parliaments, and af-
" terwards in the Parliament it ſelf; That they
" had alſo made ſuch Regulations as they thought
" fit and neceſſary, for ſecuring all the Members that
" were to be choſen by the Corporations, by which
" Means they hop'd to avoid the Puniſhment they
" had deſerv'd, tho' it was apparent, that all Acts
" made by *Popiſh* Magiſtrates were null and void
" of themſelves: So that no Parliament could be
" lawful, for which the Elections and Returns
" were made by *Popiſh* Magiſtrates, Sheriffs and
" Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the
" Magiſtracy was in ſuch Hands, it was not poſſi-
" ble to have a Free Parliament legally call'd and
" choſen. That there were great and violent Pre-
" ſumptions inducing His Highneſs to believe,
" that thoſe evil Counſellors, in order to the gain-
" ing the more Time for the effecting of their ill
" Deſigns, had publiſh'd, *That the Queen had brought*
" *forth a Son*; tho' there had appear'd, both during
" the Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and in the Man-
" ner wherein the Birth was manag'd, ſo many
" juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion, that not
" only he himſelf, but all the good Subjects of this
" Kingdom, did vehemently ſuſpect, *That the pre-*
" *tended Prince of* Wales *was not born of the Queen*;
" And tho' many both doubted of the Queen's Big-
" neſs, and of the Birth of the Child, yet there
" was not any one thing done to ſatisfie them, or
" put an end to their Doubts. That ſince his Con-
" ſort the Princeſs, and likewiſe he himſelf, had ſo
" great an Intereſt in this Matter, and ſuch a Right
" as all the World knew, to the Succeſſion of the
" Crown; ſince all the *Engliſh* did in the Year 1672.
" when *Holland* was invaded with a moſt unjuſt
" War, uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to put an
" end to that War, and that in Oppoſition to
" thoſe who were then in the Government; ſince
" the *Engliſh* Nation had ever teſtified a moſt par-
" ticular Affection and Eſteem, both to His High-
" neſs's

1688. " neſs's deareſt Conſort, and to himſelf, he could not " excuſe himſelf from eſpouſing that Intereſt, in a " Matter of ſuch high Conſequence, and for con- " tributing all that in him lay for the maintaining " both of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and of the Laws " and Liberties of theſe Kingdoms, to the doing " of which, His Highneſs *was moſt earneſtly ſollicited* " *by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Tempo-* " *ral*, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects " of all Ranks.

" Laſtly, His Highneſs declared, That for the " forementiond Reaſons he has thought fit to go " over to *England*, and to carry with him a Force " ſufficient to defend him from the Violence of " thoſe evil Counſellors; That his Expedition " was intended for no other Deſign, but to have " a free and lawful Parliament aſſembled, aſſoon as " it was poſſible; and that in order to this, all " the late Charters, by which the Elections of " Burgeſſes were limited contrary to the ancient " Cuſtom, ſhould be conſider'd as Null, and of no " Force; That to this Parliament *He would refer* " *the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of* " Wales, *and* of all things relating thereto, and *to* " *the Right of Succeſſion*; That he would concur in " every thing that might procure the Peace and " Happineſs of the Nation, under a juſt and legal " Government; That he would keep the Forces " under his Command under all the Strictneſs of " Martial Diſcipline, and promiſed that he would " ſend back all thoſe Foreign Forces aſſoon as the " State of the Nation would admit of it; That " therefore he invited and required all Perſons " whatſoever to come and aſſiſt him, in order to " the executing his Deſign, againſt all ſuch as " ſhould endeavour to oppoſe him; That he " would likewiſe take Care that a Parliament " ſhould be call'd in *Scotland*, for reſtoring the an- " cient Conſtitution of that Kingdom, and for " bringing the Matters of Religion to ſuch a Set- " tlement, that the People might live eaſie and hap- " py; That he would alſo ſtudy to bring the " Kingdom of *Ireland* to ſuch a State, that the Set-

" tlement

"tlement there might be religiously observ'd, and 1688.
"that the *Protestant* and *British* Interest there might
"be secur'd; And concludes, That he would en-
"deavour by all possible Means to procure such
"an Establishment throughout all the Three King-
"doms, that they might all live in a happy Uni-
"on and Correspondence together; and that the
"Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour and
"Happiness of these Nations, might be establish'd
"upon lasting Foundations.

This Declaration was ready to be sent over to *England*, with another to the same Purpose for *Scotland*, when his Highness being inform'd that King *James* by granting most of the Bishops Demands, had taken Measures to render it Ineffectual, caus'd the following Addition to be made to it.

"After we had prepar'd and printed our Declara- *The Prince of Orange's Addition to his Declaration*, Octob. $\frac{14}{24}$.
"tion, we have understood that the Subverters
"of the Religion and Laws of these Kingdoms,
"hearing of our Preparations to assist the People
"against them, have begun to retract some of the
"Arbitrary and Despotick Powers that they had
"assumed, and to vacate some of their unjust
"Judgments and Decrees. The Sence of their
"Guilt, and the Distrust of their Force, have
"induc'd them to offer to the City of *London*
"some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions,
"hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to di-
"vert them from demanding a Re-establishment
"of their Religion and Laws under the Shelter
"of our Arms. They did also give out, that we
"do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation;
"and therefore it is we have thought fit to add a
"few Words to our Declartion.

"We are Confident that no Persons can have
"such hard Thoughts of us, as to imagine we
"have any other Design in this our Undertaking,
"than to procure a Settlement of the Religion,
"and of the Liberties and Properties of the Sub-
"jects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may
"be no Danger of the Nation's relapsing into the
"like Miseries at any Time hereafter. And as
"the Forces we have brought along with us are

1688, "utterly disproportioned in that wicked Design of "conquering the Nation, if we were capable of "intending it; so the great Numbers of the Prin- "cipal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Emi- "nent Quality and Estates, and Persons of known "Integrity and Zeal, both for the Religion and "Government of *England*, many of them being "also distinguished by their constant Fidelity to the "Crown, who do both accompany us in this "Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it, "will cover us from all such malicious Insinuati- "ons; for it is not to be imagin'd, that either "those who have Invited us, or those who are "already come to Assist us, can join in a wicked "Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own "lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Inte- "rests.

"We are also Confident, that all Men see how "little weight there is to be laid on all Promises "and Engagements that can be now made, since "there has been so little Regard had in the Time "past to the most solemn Promises. And as that "imperfect Redress that is now offered is a plain "Confession of those Violences of the Govern- "ment that we have set forth; so the Defective- "ness of it is no less apparent; for they lay down "nothing which they may not take up at Pleasure; "and they reserve entire, and not so much as men- "tioned, their Claims and Pretences to an Arbi- "trary and Despotick Power, which has been the "Root of all their Oppression, and of the "total Subversion of the Government. And it "is plain, that there can be no Redress, no Remedy "offered, but in Parliament, by a Declaration of the "Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded, "and not by any pretended Acts of Grace, to which "the Extremity of their Affairs has driven them. "Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare "that we will refer all to a free Assembly of this "Nation in a lawful Parliament.

The Prince of Orange *takes Leave of the States.*

All things being ready to put to Sea, the Prince of *Orange* took his solemn Leave of the States, upon which Occasion there past such Expressions

of Affectionate Tenderneſs, and Mutual Confidence between his Highneſs, and Penſioner *Fagel*, that the Hearts of the whole Aſſembly melted into that generous inexpreſſible Sorrow, which none but parting Lovers can conceive. On the Twentieth Day of *October*, the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of 52 Men of War, 25 Frigats, as many Fireſhips, with near four Hundred Victuallers, and other Veſſels, for the Tranſportation of 3660 Horſe, and 10692 Foot, ſail'd from the *Flatts* near the *Briel*, with a Wind at South-Weſt and by South. The Prince of *Orange* embark'd on a Frigat of 28 or 30 Guns, and with him Count *Naſſau*, General of the Horſe; Count *de Solms*, Colonel of his Foot-Guards, Count *de Stirum*, Monſieur *Overkerke*, Monſieur *Bentinck*, and Monſieur *Zuyleſteyn*. He was accompanied by thoſe *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen, who had already declar'd for him, the moſt Remarkable of which were, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, Viſcount *Mordant*, Mr. *Sidney*, the Earl of *Argyle*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert* his Couſin, Mr. *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Coot*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Mr. *Harbort*, the Lord *Elan*, (Son to the Marquis of *Halifax*) and the Lord *Dunblaine*, together with Dr. *Burnet*, *Ferguſon*, *Wildman*, and ſome others, that were ſuſpected of being concern'd in the Murder of the Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, Mareſchal *Schomberg*, with his Son Count *Charles Schomberg*, Monſieur *la Caillemote*, Son to the Marquis *de Ruvigni*, and two or three Hundred *French* Officers, who had left their Countrey upon the Score of their Religion, had likewiſe a Share in this Proteſtant Expedition. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van, Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince plac'd himſelf in the main Body, carrying a Flag with *Engliſh* Colours and their Highneſſes Arms, ſurrounded with this *Motto*, *The Proteſtant Religion, and Liberties of England*; and underneath the Motto of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, *Je Maintiendrai*, (*I will Maintain.*) This numerous Fleet were all under Sail, when the Wind coming more

1688.

He puts to Sea, Octob. $\frac{19}{29}$.

Meets with a Storm.

1688. more Westerly, there arose a violent Storm in the Night, which continu'd with so much Fury for Twelve Hours, that they were forc'd either to return to *Helvoit-Sluys*, the Road from whence they parted, or to put into the Neighbouring Harbours; except some few Vessels, which were driven towards the North, and were missing for seven or eight Days.

Although this Disaster ought not to have been surprising in that Season of the Year, which Nature seems to have allotted for Tempestuous Weather, yet did it cast the Protestants, both in *Holland* and *England*, into a deep Consternation. On the contrary, the *Roman Catholicks*, whom this prodigious Armament had kept in Alarms, thinking the Danger entirely over, gave everywhere free Scope to their insulting Joy, and began to Sing their Triumph, boasting that God Almighty had now recompenced them for the Loss of the *Spanish Armada*, which a Hundred Years before was destin'd to Conquer the *English* Hereticks. The *French* especially, who foresaw how fatal the Prince's Expedition would prove to the towring Designs of their Monarch, and who by the Levity of their Temper are as rashly elevated, as they are groundlesly cast down, made very severe Reflections on his Highness's Attempt: Among the rest, a *Jesuit* of that Nation vented his Eloquent Spleen in the following *Latin* Epigram.

The Papists Rejoice.

In Britannicam Expeditionem Arausicani Principis ventis disturbatam, Epigramma.

Bella movet Socero Gener impius, inque Parentis
Germanum vertit perfidus arma Nepos,
Conditur innumeris substratum navibus Æquor,
Et denso Classis Milite pressa gemit;
Jamque animo Exuvias, & opimi Præmia Regni,
Sceptraque cognato Sanguine tincta rapit.
Demens, qui Superos ausit Sperare Secundos,
Ac tantum credit posse juvare Nefas!
Ecce Ultor sese adverso fert Cardine Ventus,
Sacrilegasque ferit justa Procella Rates.

Par.

Pars tumidis hauritur aquis, pars hæret arenis,
Aut mæſto in Portus cum Duce fracta redit.
I nunc, & Sociis confide, Superbe, Batavis:
Pugnant pro Socero Pontus & Aura tuo.

1688.

The Fleet had not receiv'd ſo much Damage as was induſtriouſly reported in the *Engliſh* Gazette, but rather as it was manag'd, turn'd to their Advantage; for immediately to make the *Engliſh* Court more Remiſs in their Preperations, the *Harlem* and *Amſterdam* Gazettes were order'd to make a *lamentable Relation of the great Damages the* Dutch *Fleet and the Army Aboard them, had ſuſtain'd. Nine of the Men of War loſt, beſides others of leſs Value*, 1000 *Horſes caſt Over-board*, Dr. Burnet *and ſeveral Engliſh Gentlemen drown'd; what an ill Opinion the States-General had of the Expedition; and that it was next to an Impoſſibility that the Prince could be in a Condition to purſue his Deſign till the next Spring.*

Biſhops expoſtulated with about the Prince's Declaration.

About the ſame Time Captain *Langham*, who belong'd to one of the *Engliſh* Regiments in *Holland*, and was juſt arriv'd from thence, was ſeiz'd upon Suſpicion, and in his Portmantle were found a Parcel of the Prince of *Orange*'s Declarations, which were the firſt that were brought over. When that Expreſſion came to be Read, *That the Prince was moſt earneſtly invited hither by divers of the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others*, the King ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and two or three more, that happen'd to be then in Town, and ask'd them, whether the Contents of the Prince's Declaration, relating to their inviting him hither, were true? The Biſhops were put to a ſtand, but at laſt anſwer'd His Majeſty, That they never would own any other King as long as he liv'd. His Majeſty then requir'd a Paper under their Hands in Abhorrence of the Prince's intended Invaſion: Which they promis'd to Subſcribe after they had conſulted with their other Brethren, and therefore deſir'd Time to conſider of it, which His Majeſty al-

1688. low'd. Some few Days after, upon the News of the Prince being landed, ſeveral Peers were likewiſe queſtion'd about the ſame Clauſe in the Prince's *Manifeſto*, particularly the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, and *Abingdon*, who all made great Proteſtations of Loyalty; As for the Biſhops, though they ſeem'd very much diſpleas'd with their being mention'd in his Highneſs's Declaration, yet being call'd upon to perform their Promiſe, they alledg'd, That the Prince of *Orange* giving it out, that he was invited by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, They being but five or ſix in Number, could not Sign a Paper, which concern'd not only the whole Epiſcopal Body, but alſo all the Peers of *England*, and therefore deſir'd His Majeſty to refer that Matter to a Free Parliament. The King was highly diſſatisfied with this Anſwer, and the Lord *Preſton*, who was then with the King, told the Biſhops, His Majeſty expected more from their Loyalty, and from the Principles of their Church. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, accompanied by the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*, ſeeing the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and St. *Davids* in the King's Chamber, told the Lord *Preſton*, that if His Majeſty would have him ſpeak, he ſhould be pleas'd to bid theſe two to withdraw, which being granted, the King ask'd them again if they had brought their *Declaration of Abhorrence* according to Promiſe? They anſwer'd, they had never promis'd any ſuch thing poſitively, but only to conſider of it; which the Lord *Preſton* confirmed. That it was contrary to their Peerage and their Profeſſion to promote War againſt a Prince ſo nearly allied to the Crown; however they added, that if their verbal diſowning of the Allegations of the Prince of *Orange*, relating to the Spiritual Lords, could be of any Service to His Majeſty, they conſented it ſhould be printed, though they could not give it under their Hands for the Reaſons abovemention'd. The King replied, that People would never give Credit to any ſuch printed Declaration without Names, but perceiving

perceiving they remain'd firm in their Refusal, His Majesty somewhat provok'd with Indignation, left them abruptly, telling them, *He would trust to his Army.* From this Moment the *Bishop* of *Durham* appeared no more at the Council-Board, but told the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he was sorry for having so long concurr'd with the Court, and desir'd to be reconcil'd with the other Bishops. 1688.

To keep the Prince's Declaration from the Knowledge of the People, a * Proclamation was issued out, *warning and admonishing all His Majesties Subjects, that they did not publish, disperse, repeat, or hand about the said Treasonable Declaration, upon Peril of being prosecuted according to the utmost severity of Law.* But the Court finding that this Prohibition was Ineffectual to suppress his Highness's Declaration, they suffer'd it to be printed, with a Preface, and some frivolous Animadversions upon it. There was also printed about the same Juncture this Letter of the Prince of *Orange* to the Officers of the Army. * Nov. 2.

Gentlemen and Friends,

The Prince of Orange's *Letter to the* English *Army.*

" We have given you so full and so true an " Account of our Intentions in this Expediti- " on, in our *Declaration*, that as we can add " nothing to it, so we are sure you can desire " nothing more of us. We are come to Pre- " serve your Religion, and to Restore and Esta- " blish your Liberties and Properties; and there- " fore we cannot suffer our selves to doubt, but " that all true *English* Men will come and con- " cur with us in our Desire to secure these Na- " tions from *Popery* and *Slavery*. You must all " plainly see, that you are only made use of " as Instruments to enslave the Nation, and " ruin the Protestant Religion; and when that " is done, you may judge what you your " selves ought to expect, both from the cashier- " ing all the Protestant and *English* Officers " and Soldiers in *Ireland*, and by the *Irish*

1688. "Soldiers being brought over to be put in
"in your Places, and of which you have ſeen ſo
"freſh an Inſtance, that we need not put you
"in Mind of it. You know how many of
"your Fellow-Officers have been us'd for their
"ſtanding firm to the Proteſtant Religion, and
"to the Laws of *England*: And you cannot
"flatter your ſelves ſo far as to expect to be
"better us'd, if thoſe who have broke their
"Word ſo often, ſhould by your Means be
"brought out of thoſe Streights, to which they
"are at preſent reduc'd. We hope likewiſe that
"you will not ſuffer your ſelves to be abus'd
"by a falſe Notion of Honour; but that you
"will in the firſt Place conſider what you owe
"to Almighty God, and next to your Coun-
"try, your Selves, and your Poſterity; which
"you, as Men of Honour, ought to prefer to
"all private Conſiderations and Engagements
"whatſoever. We do therefore expect that
"you will conſider the Honour that is now
"ſet before you, of being the Inſtruments of
"ſerving your Country, and ſecuring your Re-
"ligion; And we ſhall ever remember the
"Service you ſhall do us upon this Occaſion,
"and will promiſe you that we ſhall place
"ſuch particular Marks of our Favour on every
"one of you, as your Behaviour at this time ſhall
"deſerve of us and the Nation, in which we
"will make a great Diſtinction of thoſe that
"ſhall come ſeaſonably to join their Arms with
"ours; And you ſhall find us to be,

Your Well-wiſhing,

And aſſured Friend,

W. H. P. O.

This Letter was ſpread under-hand over the whole Kingdom, and the Suggeſtions of it being undeniable, and well couched, it had a wonder-

ful

ful Effect on the Spirits of the Soldiers; ſo that those who did not preſently comply with it at the Prince's landing, yet reſolv'd they would never draw their Swords in this Quarrel, till they had a free Parliament to ſecure the Religion, Laws and Liberties of *England*. Nor had Admiral *Herbert*'s Letter to His Majeſties Fleet leſs Influence on the Seamen. Which Letter was as follows: 1688.

Gentlemen,

"I have little to add to what His Highneſs has expreſs'd in general Terms, beſides laying before you the dangerous Way you are at preſent in, where Ruin or Infamy muſt inevitably attend you, if you don't join with the Prince in the common Cauſe, for the Defence of your Religion and Liberties; for ſhould it pleaſe God, for the Sins of the *Engliſh* Nation, to ſuffer your Arms to prevail, to what can your Victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and overthrow the true Religion in which you have liv'd, and your Fathers dy'd? Of which, I beg you, as a Friend, to conſider the Conſequences, and to reflect on the Blot and Infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in After-Ages; That by your Means the Proteſtant Religion was deſtroy'd, and your Country depriv'd of its ancient Liberties; and if it pleaſes God to bleſs the Prince's Endeavours with Succeſs, as I don't doubt but he will, conſider then what their Condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good Deſign, where the greateſt Favour they can hope for, is, their being ſuffer'd to end their Days in Miſery and Want, deteſted and deſpis'd by all good Men. It is therefore, and for many more Reaſons, too long to inſert here, that I, as a true *Engliſh* Man, and your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to the Prince, for the Defence of the common Cauſe, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of your Country. It is what I am well aſ-

Admiral Herbert's Letter to His Majeſties Fleet, dated aboard the Leyden, in the Gooree.

fur'd

1688. "ſur'd the major and beſt part of the Army, as well
"as the Nation, will do ſo ſoon as Convenience
"offers. Prevent them in ſo good an Action,
"whilſt it is in your Power; and may it appear,
"That as the Kingdom has always depended on
"the Navy for its Defence, ſo you will yet go fur-
"ther, by making it, as much as in you lyes, the
"Protection of Her Religion and Liberties, and
"then you may aſſure your ſelves of all Marks
"of Favour and Honour ſuitable to the Merits of
"ſo great and glorious an Action. After this
"I ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a thing as
"that it will for ever engage me to be in a moſt
"particular Manner,

Gentlemen,

Your Faithful Friend,

And Humble Servant,

AR. HERBERT.

The Prince of Orange's *Compoſedneſs and Intrepidity in the Storm.*

To return to the Prince of *Orange*, the Storm which caus'd ſo great a Confuſion in his Fleet, did not ſo much as ruffle or diſorder his Mind; ſo whilſt moſt People about him had ſtill their Fancies haunted with the Horrors of the late tempeſtuous Night, his Highneſs with that Compoſedneſs of Soul and Serenity of Countenance, which is peculiar to Heroes, was purſuing his fix'd Deſign, and contriving how to repair his Loſſes. The firſt thing he did, was to ſend out Coaſt-Pilots (ſuch as the *Dutch* call *Loteſmen*) to cruiſe up and down the Seas between *Holland*, *England* and *France*, to get Intelligence of his ſcatter'd Fleet, and to order all the Ships they met with to go into *Helvoet-Sluys*. By theſe Pilots His Highneſs was inform'd, that none of his Veſſels were loſt, except one Fly-boat laden with Men and Horſes, which was driven upon the Coaſt of *England*, and ſecur'd by one of King *James*'s Frigats; but that all the reſt were ſafe in one Harbour or another, tho' moſt of them much ſhatter'd and damag'd in the Rigging

Rigging. The ſtormy Weather continued for Eight Days, during which, ſuch Diligence was us'd in refitting and victualling the Fleet, and ſupplying the Loſs of about 500 Horſes, that all things being now in a Readineſs, and the Wind Eaſterly, His Highneſs, accompanied as before, went aboard a new Veſſel of about 28 Guns, call'd the *Briel*, with the *Rotterdam*'s Admiral, the Trumpets ſounding, the Hautboys playing, the Soldiers and Seamen ſhouting, and a Crowd of Spectators on the Shoar breathing forth their Wiſhes after him. The uſual Signal being given, the whole Fleet weigh'd Anchor with all poſſible Expedition, being divided into Three Squadrons; on Board which were Troops of ſeveral Nations: The Red Flag was for the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, commanded by Major-General *Mackay*; the White for the Prince's Guards, and the *Brandenburghers*, commanded by Count *Solms*; and the Blue for the *Dutch* and *French*, commanded by the Count of *Naſſau*. The Winds were proſperous, and withal a brisk Gale, and by the Compaſs the Fleet pointed towards the North, ſo that ſome concluded the Prince deſign'd to land ſomewhere there. It was alſo generally ſuppos'd, that the Scouts which were ſent out by the Lord *Dartmouth*, ſeeing the *Dutch* Fleet made Northward, haſten'd to acquaint him with it; after ſome Hours ſailing in the Night, the whole Fleet ſtruck Sail, and drove before the Wind. The next Morning they ſteer'd with all ſpeed towards the Coaſt of *England*, without meeting with any *Engliſh* Ship; but Night coming on, they all ſtruck Sail again, and were driven as before. On the 3d of *November*, being got up with the *North-Forelands*, and the Eaſterly Wind continuing very favourable, the Fleet made all the Sail each Ship could bear, and now pointed towards the Channel. About Mid-day the Prince of *Orange*, who led the Van, tack'd about to ſee the Rear well come up, and between *Dover* and *Calais* call'd a Council of War, and afterwards order'd that his own Standard ſhould be ſet up, and that the Fleet ſhould

1688.

He puts to Sea again, Novem. 1.

† Friday, Novem. 2.

cloſe

1688. close up in a Body. His Highness, with Three Men of War to attend him, One at a distance before his Ship, and One on each side, sail'd forwards before the Navy, the Transport Ships, Victuallers and Tenders, sail'd next, with their Decks crowded with Officers and Soldiers, and the main Body of the Men of War brought up the Rear, ready to receive the Enemy, if, as 'twas expected, they had attempted to disturb their Course. And here let the Reader carry his Fancy either to the *French* or *English* Shoar, to view with Crowds of amaz'd Spectators this glorious, but formidable Sight, and behold the Prince of *Orange* riding triumphantly in the Channel, whilst *Lewis* and *James* are in Alarms; And after the Reader has recover'd his first Astonishment, let him consider another Wonder, and cast his Eyes on the immense Power of a Common-wealth, which at this time were able to controul the Two greatest Monarchs of *Europe*. But to proceed: On the 4th of *November*, being *Sunday*, and the Auspicious Birth-day of the Prince of *Orange*, most People were of Opinion that he would land either in the *Isle of Wight*, *Portsmouth*, or some other convenient Place thereabouts; but His Highness dedicated that Day to the use to which it is consecrated by the Church, that is, to the Service of God Almighty. The Fleet bore but little Sail that Night, and on the 5th of *November*, (a Day already famous for the Gun-powder-Plot, and which Providence design'd to render still more remarkable, by a second Deliverance from *Popery*) passing by *Dartmouth*, it being hazy Weather, they over-shot *Torbay*, where His Highness design'd to land; but about Nine a Clock the Weather clear'd up, and the Wind, as it were by Miracle, suddenly chang'd W. S. W. to give them Entrance into the Bay; and assoon as that was done, return'd to the same Quarter it was in before they wanted it. By this time the People of *Devonshire* having discover'd the Fleet, they flock'd in great Numbers to the Sea-shoar, not to oppose the Prince's Landing, but to welcome their Deliverer

The Prince of Orange *lands at* Torbay, Nov. 5.

Deliverer with joyful Acclamations, and to furniſh him and his Followers with Proviſions for their Refreſhment. The Prince's Army was in a very ill Condition; eſpecially his Cavalry, which for the moſt part were diſmounted and unſerviceable: And 'tis certain, that had he met with an Enemy to diſturb his Landing, he would have been very much embarraſs'd. But, as Providence order'd it, he found no manner of Oppoſition, and having ſafely landed all his haraſs'd Troops, he led them by eaſie Marches towards *Exeter*, and kept 'em within ſo ſtrict a Diſcipline, that all who ſaw 'em were forc'd to own 'em for their Friends, and for the Reſtorers of the dying Liberties of *England*. In the mean time His Highneſs took up his Quarters at Sir *William Courtney*'s Houſe, within a Mile of *Newton-Abbot*, where he was very kindly entertain'd. 1688.

The King, who expected that the Prince of *Orange* would have landed at *Burlington-Bay* in the North of *England*, and who had ſent a ſtrong Detachment of his Army that way, was not a little ſurpriz'd to hear by ſeveral Expreſſes that the *Dutch* Fleet was ſeen off of *Dover* on the 3d of *November*, ſteering their Courſe Weſtward, ſo numerous, that they were Six Hours in paſſing by that Harbour, being rang'd in a Line Seven Leagues long. That on the 4th they were diſcover'd off of *Portſmouth*, and the Iſle of *Wight*, and that on the 5th they landed at *Torbay*, *Dartmouth*, *Exmouth*, and the neighbouring Roads in *Devonſhire*. His Majeſty likewiſe expected that the Lord *Dartmouth* would have attack'd the *Dutch* Fleet according to his Orders, but was much concern'd to hear he did not ſtir from the *Gunfleet*, a Road off of *Harwich*, where he rode with 37 Men of War, and 17 Fireſhips. Whether a Fog interpos'd between the *Engliſh* Admiral and the Prince's Navy, or whether the former found his Officers and Seamen, or whether he was himſelf unwilling to fight in this Quarrel, and with unequal Force, Hiſtory is ſtill at a Loſs. 'Tis true, *Dartmouth* had a Pique againſt Ad-

1688. Admiral *Herbert*, and therefore 'twas presum'd he would have attack'd him; but 'tis more probable to imagine, that upon this Occasion that Lord sacrific'd a private Resentment to the Love of his Country. Whatever it was, by a particular Providence the Prince of *Orange* found but Three little Vessels of all his prodigious Fleet missing; Two of which that carried Horses were taken by an *English* Frigat; and the third, on Board whereof were Four Companies of an *English* Regiment, commanded by Colonel *Babington*, and amongst the rest, the Company of Captain *Langham*, who was still in Custody for bringing over the Prince's Declaration.

The Prince's entering the Channel unattack'd, and his landing in the *West*, put the Court into great Alarms. The Duke of *Berwick* was sent down to *Portsmouth* with most of the Troops that were in and about *London*, to secure that important Place, and to deter People from joining his Highness; All the rest of the Forces, just before encreas'd by the coming over of 4000 *Irish*, were order'd to march with all speed towards him, and to assemble on *Salisbury-Plain*, where the King design'd to command in Person, and where he reckon'd to have had an Army of 30000 Men, but afterwards it was thought fit to leave 7 or 8000 behind in *London*, under the Command of the Lord *Craven*, to guard the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, and principally to suppress the Eruptions of the Mob. At the same time all Endeavours were us'd to render the Prince and his Army contemptible in the Sight of the People, by printing a List of them, and giving out, That but Nine of the Nobility, and Gentry only, and a few Rabble, appear'd for him. Nay, the King being inform'd that the City of *London*, and the Counties of *York* and *Kent*, design'd to address him to encline him to an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, His Majesty declar'd in Council, That he would look upon all those as his Enemies who should pretend to advise him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms; and thereupon he caus'd

caus'd a Proclamation to be issued out against His Highness, which contain'd, *That it was but too evident by a late Declaration, publish'd by the Prince of* Orange, *that notwithstanding the many specious and plausible Pretences it carries, his Designs in the Bottom did tend to nothing less than an absolute Usurping of His Majesties Crown and Royal Authority, as might fully appear by his assuming to himself in the said Declaration the Regal Stile, requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Persons of all Degrees, to obey and assist him in the Execution of his Designs, a Prerogative inseparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm.* Adding, *That for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing could satisfie but the immediate Possession of the Crown it self, he call'd in question the Legitimacy of the Prince of* Wales, *His Majesties Son and Heir apparent, tho' by the Providence of God there were present at his Birth so many Witnesses of unquestionable Credit, as if it seem'd the particular Care of Heaven, on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparallell'd an Attempt. That in order to the effecting of his Ambitious Designs, he seem'd desirous to submit all to the Determination of a free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the People, tho' nothing was more evident than that a Parliament could not be free so long as there was an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of His Majesties Kingdoms, so that in truth he was the sole Obstructer of such a free Parliament: His Majesty being fully resolv'd, as he had already declar'd, so soon as by the Blessing of God His Kingdoms should be deliver'd from this Invasion, to call a Parliament, which could no longer be liable to the least Objection of not being freely chosen, since His Majesty had actually restor'd all the Boroughs and Corporations to their ancient Rights and Priviledges. Upon which Considerations, and the Obligations of their Duty and natural Obedience, His Majesty could no ways doubt, but that all his faithful and loving Subjects would readily and heartily concur and join with him in the entire suppressing and repelling*

1688.

Proclamation against the Prince of Orange, Nov. 6.

1688. *pelling of his Enemies and Rebellious Subjects.* The greateſt part of the Nation were already ſo prepoſſeſs'd of the good Intentions of the Prince, that this harſh Proclamation ſerv'd only to exaſperate their Minds againſt King *James*; but His Majeſty and his Counſellors were now giddy with Reſentment, and incapable of following thoſe wiſe Methods which are only ſuggeſted by cool and ſober Thoughts.

The Prince of *Orange* having tarried Two or Three Nights at Sir *William Courtney*'s, and finding the Clayie Ground thereabouts unfit for a Camp, rode with his Army to *Exeter*, where moſt People impatiently waited his coming, and whither Dr. *Burnet* was ſent before to prepare Quarters for his Highneſs. The Biſhop's Palace and Deanery being both view'd, the latter was thought to be the more convenient, and ſo concluded upon. On *Friday* the 9th of *November* His Highneſs enter'd the City of *Exeter* in a glorious and triumphant Manner, the Warlike Harmony of his Trumpets and Kettle-Drums being drown'd by the louder Peals of ringing of Bells, Shoutings and Huzza's of joyful Multitudes. The firſt thing His Highneſs did, was to go and pay his grateful Acknowledgment to Almighty God, and to cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung in the Cathedral Church for his ſafe Arrival. After the Collects were ended, Dr. *Burnet* began to read His Highneſs's Declaration, at which the Miniſters of the Church there preſent were ſo ſurpriz'd, that they immediately left their Seats, and went out; however, the Doctor continued reading, and the Declaration being ended, he ſaid, *God ſave the Prince of* Orange, to which the major part of the Congregation anſwer'd, *Amen.* As for the Biſhop of this Place, (Dr. *Lamplugh*) he no ſooner heard that the Prince of *Orange* was landed at *Torbay*, but he took Coach, and went up to *London* to inform the King of it, for which ſeaſonable Demonſtration of Loyalty he was immediately named to the vacant Archbiſhoprick of *York*. The main Body of the Prince's Army being

The Prince of Orange *comes to* Exeter, Nov. 9.

The Biſhop of Exeter *made Archbiſhop of* York.

ing advanc'd near *Exeter*, it was diſpos'd of, the Horſe about *Tiverton*, *Culhampton*, *Honyton*, and Places adjacent, and part of the Foot encamp'd on *Cliſt-Heath*; and now His Highneſs's Care is both to refreſh, and to reinforce his Army; the Drums beat for Volunteers, and not only every Regiment of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that came with the Prince, and which wanted Men, are compleated; but the new Regiments of Sir *John Guyes*, and Sir *Robert Peyton* fill up apace; Horſes for remounting the Cavalry, and for the Train of Artillery are bought up; and, in ſhort, every thing is provided to march towards *Salisbury*. 1688.

However, His Highneſs, who was made to believe that upon his firſt Landing all the Gentlemen of the Weſt would join him, finding that in Nine Days ſcarce any Perſon of Note had come in to him; That the Mayor and Aldermen of the City came to viſit him, rather out of Fear than Affection, being buſied in dubious Conſultations among themſelves; And that he wanted Money to pay his Men, began to doubt the Succeſs of his Expedition; and in a Council of War held at *Exeter* it was propos'd to re-imbark for *Holland*. But by this time the Gentlemen of *Somerſetſhire* and *Dorſetſhire* advanc'd in great Numbers, and waited on his Highneſs, upon which Occaſion he ſpoke to them after the following manner:

The Prince of Orange's Speech to the Somerſet and Dorſetſhire Gentlemen, Nov. 15.

Tho' we know not all your Perſons, yet we have a Catalogue of your Names, and remember the Characters of your Worth and Intereſt in your Country. You ſee we are come according to your Invitation and our Promiſe. Our Duty to God obliges us to protect the Proteſtant Religion; and our Love to Mankind your Liberties and Properties. We expected you that dwelt ſo near the Place of our Landing would have join'd us ſooner; not that it is now too late, nor that we want your Military Aſſiſtance ſo much as your Countenance and Preſence, to juſtifie our declar'd Pretenſions, in order to accompliſh our good and gracious Deſign. Tho' we have brought both a good Fleet,

1688. *and a good Army, to render these Kingdoms happy, by rescuing all Protestants from* Popery, Slavery, *and* Arbitrary Power, *by restoring them to their Rights and Properties establish'd by Law, and by promoting of Peace and Trade, which is the Soul of Government, and the very Life-Blood of a Nation; yet we relye more on the Goodness of God, and the Justice of our Cause, than on any humane Force or Power whatever. Yet since God is pleas'd we shall make use of humane Means, and not expect Miracles for our Preservation and Happiness, let us not neglect making use of this gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution our so honourable Purposes. Therefore,* Gentlemen, Friends, *and* Fellow-Protestants, *we bid you and all your Followers most heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our* Pretensions *are not* Just, Generous, Sincere, *and above* Price, *since we might have even a* Bridge of Gold *to return back; But it is our Principle and Resolution, rather to die in a good Cause, than live in a bad one, well knowing that Virtue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happiness of Mankind our great and only Design.*

The Gentlemen of the Counties of *Dorsetshire* and *Somersetshire* having broke the Ice, they were soon follow'd by several other Persons of greater Note. The Lord *Colchester*, (a Protestant, Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, a *Roman* Catholick) Lieutenant of the Lord *Dover*'s Troop of Life-Guards waited upon His Highness, accompanied by Mr. (now the Lord) *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *James Howe*, Esq; Four Life-Guards of his Troop, and about Threescore Men more on Horseback. The Lord *Cornbury*, Colonel of Dragoons, being come to *Salisbury*, and pretending an Order from His Majesty to go and beat up one of the Enemies advanc'd Posts, carried off with him his own Regiment, and those of Horse of *Berwick*, St. *Albans*, and *Fenwick*, and with the major Part of them, went over to th

the Prince at *Exeter*; as did alſo the Lord *Abingdon*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Captain *Clargis*, and many others. About the ſame time His Highneſs was inform'd from *Cheſhire*, That the Lord *Delamere* * having receiv'd certain Intelligence of his Landing in the *Weſt*, and ſeeing the *Iriſh* throng over in Arms, under Pretence of aſſiſting the King, but in Reality to enſlave the Nation, had thereupon aſſembled Fifty Horſemen, and at the Head of them march'd to *Manchester*; And that the next Day he went to *Bodon-Downs*, his Forces being then 150 ſtrong, declaring his Deſign was to join the Prince, and inviting all his Tenants to follow him in this Honourable Enterprize. 1688. * Nov. 16.

The Lord *Lovelace* was alſo marching towards *Exeter*, with Deſign to bring to His Highneſs a Reinforcement of 60 or 70 Horſemen; but going thro' the Town of *Cirenceſter*, he was by the Duke of *Beaufort*'s Orders made Priſoner by the Militia of that Country, with Thirteen of his Followers, after an obſtinate Skirmiſh, in which Ten or Twelve Men were kill'd on both ſides.

The Joy the Court conceiv'd at the taking of the Lord *Lovelace*, was ſoon deſtroy'd by the melancholy News of my Lord *Cornbury*'s Defection, which was like to break all their Meaſures; for upon the firſt hearing of it, both the Artillery, the reſt of the Troops, and the King's Equipage, that were moving towards *Salisbury*, had Orders to ſtop their March; it being now uncertain whether His Majeſty would go to the Army or not. However, after ſeveral Conſultations, which the Earl of *Feverſham* held with the general Officers, and at which Count *de Roye* aſſiſted, it was thought neceſſary that the King ſhould haſten his Departure, to keep firm to their Duty by his Preſence thoſe who began to ſtagger.

On the other Hand, moſt of the Proteſtant Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, who were then in *London*, to wit, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbu-*

1688. *ry* and *York*, the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, *Peterborough* and *Oxford*; the Dukes of *Grafton* and *Ormond*; the Earls of *Clare*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, *Angleſey* and *Rocheſter*; Viſcount *Newport*, and the Lords *Paget*, *Chandois* and *Oſſulſton*, drew up a Petition, wherein they told the King, *That in a deep Senſe of the Miſeries of a War now breaking out in the Bowels of this Kingdom, and of the Danger to which His Majeſties Sacred Perſon was thereby like to be expos'd, and alſo of the Diſtractions of his People, by reaſon of their preſent Grievances, they did think themſelves bound in Conſcience, and out of the Duty they ow'd to God, their Holy Religion, to His Majeſty, and their Country, moſt humbly to offer to His Majeſty, That in their Opinions, the only viſible Way to preſerve His Majeſty and this Kingdom, would be the Calling of a Parliament Regular and Free in all its Circumſtances; That therefore they did moſt earneſtly beſeech His Majeſty that he would be pleas'd with all ſpeed to call ſuch a Parliament, wherein they ſhould be moſt ready to promote ſuch Counſels and Reſolutions of Peace and Settlement in Church and State, as might conduce to His Majeſties Honour and Safety, and to the Quieting the Minds of his People; And likewiſe they did moſt humbly beſeech His Majeſty, in the mean time, to uſe ſuch Means for the preventing the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, as to His Majeſty ſhould ſeem moſt meet and proper.* The Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Carbury*, who were at the drawing up of this Petition, refus'd to ſet their Hands to it, becauſe they would have inſerted in it, *That the Peers who had join'd the Prince might ſit in that free Parliament, for which they petition'd His Majeſty*, which Clauſe was rejected by the reſt. However, the Petition being preſented * to the King by the Two Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, His Majeſty, who was adviſ'd by the *Popiſh* Lords about him, to rely on his Army rather than truſt himſelf with a Parliament, anſwer'd

The Lords petition for a Parliament.

* Nov. 17.

swer'd those Reverend Prelates: *That what they ask'd of him he most passionately desir'd:* And *he promis'd them upon the Faith of a* King, *That he would have a Parliament*, and such *an one as they ask'd for, assoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *had quitted this Realm: For how was it possible a Parliament should be free in all its Circumstances, as they petition'd for, whilst an Enemy was in the Kingdom, and could make a Return of near an Hundred Voices?* By this unsatisfactory, tho' plausible, Answer, the King intirely ruin'd his Interest; for the least discerning Persons could not but perceive, that the Prince of *Orange*'s Army was the only humane Security the Nation had for the calling of a free Parliament; and that if King *James* should force His Highness to leave the Kingdom, all their Laws and Liberties must become precarious, and lye at the Mercy of the Conqueror. 1688. *The King's Answer.*

The King being press'd by the Earl of *Feversham* to make all the haste he could to his Army, began his Journey the same Day the Bishops waited on him with the forementiond Petition; but before he left *Whitehall*, His Majesty, who was apprehensive that the Example of the Lords *Colchester* and *Cornbury* would prove contagious, assembled the Officers that were still in *London*, amongst whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Colonel *Trelawny*, and Colonel *Kirk*, and spoke to them in this manner: *According to the Lords Petition I have engag'd my Royal Word to call a free Parliament assoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted the Kingdom; and am resolv'd to do all that lyes in my Power to quiet the Minds of my People, by securing their Religion, Laws and Liberties; if you desire any thing more, I am ready to grant it. But* (added he) *if after all this any of you is not satisfied, let him declare himself: I am willing to grant Passes to all such as have a mind to go over to the Prince of* Orange, *and spare 'em the Shame of deserting their lawful Sovereign.* At the same time the Lord-Mayor of *London* having waited on the King to wish him a good Journey, His Majesty re- *The King goes to the Army.*

1688. commended to him the Care of the City, telling him he left a ſufficient Number of Troops for their Defence; and that in caſe of need he might apply himſelf to the Privy-Council; aſſuring him withal, that if he return'd victorious, he would punctually perform what he had already promis'd for the Security of their Religion and Liberties. But the Council His Majeſty left at *Whitehall* ſpoil'd all theſe fine Proteſtations: For it conſiſted of five Perſons, of whom Three were odious to the Nation, *viz.* the Chancellor, and the Lords *Arundel* and *Bellaſis*, Two *Roman Catholicks*, the fourth the Lord *Preſton*, who was ſuſpected of favouring *Popery*; and the fifth, the Lord *Godolphin*, who was the only Perſon againſt whom there was no Exception. Tho' the Court was ſenſible of the ill Condition of their Affairs, yet they put on a Face of Aſſurance, and ſent the Duke of *Hamilton* to *Scotland*, giving out, that he would ſoon return with a conſiderable Body of Forces, which the Nobility of that Kingdom had rais'd for the King's Service. But Father *Petre* having had the greateſt Share in the irregular Proceedings of this Reign, ſo he was moſt intimately afraid of the threatning Danger, and thought it high time for him to retreat to *France*, which he did under the Protection of the Lord *Waldegrave*, who was ſent Ambaſſador thither in the room of Colonel *Skelton*.

Beſides the fair Hopes King *James* had given the Peers and the Head-Officers of his Army, of maintaining the Church of *England*, His Majeſty thought fit to carry along with him a *Proteſtant* Chaplain to *Salisbury*, thereby to ſatisfie the whole Army of his good Intentions. For this Purpoſe he pitch'd upon Mr. *Chetwood*, of whom 'tis neceſſary I ſhould give the following Account, to let the Reader into His Majeſties Reaſons for fixing his Choice upon that Reverend Doctor, preferrably to any other.

Mr. *Chetwood* was a Perſon, who beſides the Advantage of his Birth, had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at the Univerſity by his great Literature, and by an unconſtrain'd and agreeable Way of converſing,

verſing, which is ſeldom found in a good Scholar, and which made his Company courted by all the Ingenious and Polite. His Character having reach'd the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Ears, Her Royal Highneſs, in the Year 16$\frac{8}{9}$. order'd the Counteſs of *Clarendon*, then Groom of the Stole, to ſend for him out of the Country, where ſhe heard he was at that time. Upon Mr. *Chetwood*'s coming up to *London*, Her Royal Highneſs gave Directions that he ſhould be ſworn her Chaplain in Ordinary, both at *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s Chappel; this occaſion'd a Controverſie with ſome of the other Chaplains, which however both the King and the Princeſs determin'd in Mr. *Chetwood*'s Behalf. Being ſenſible of this Favour, Mr. *Chetwood* deſir'd the Earl of *Mulgrave*, then Lord Chamberlain, to return his dutiful Thanks to the King, and humbly to aſſure His Majeſty that he would ever ſerve him faithfully in every thing, as far as the Duty of a Clergyman of the Church of *England* would permit him; at which the King was ſo well ſatisfied, that he expreſs'd it publickly, and ſaid, *He knew he could rely upon his Honeſty*. Some time afterwards the Doctor was ſent for, and the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury* was beſtowed upon him, the Enjoyment whereof was for ſome time permitted to the then Biſhop of *Oxford*. Mr. *Chetwood* having taken out his Patent, and not doubting the Goodneſs of his Title, Dr. *Tenniſon* (now Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) came to him, and told him, That if he inſiſted on this Matter, it might occaſion the Suſpenſion or Deprivation of my Lord of *Canterbury*; whereupon Mr. *Chetwood* aſſur'd him, That if he thought in Conſcience that the purſuing the Execution of his Patent would turn any way to the Prejudice of the Church, he would freely give it up; which he did afterwards, upon the preſſing Inſtances of Dr. *Tenniſon*, as one who never ſuffer'd the *Courtier* to encroach upon the *Divine*. Towards the latter end of 1687. the Arch-deaconry of *York* coming to be void, Mr. *Chetwood* was ſent for to *Windſor*; but being unwilling to have it, he delayed going down; however ſome of his Friends prevail'd with him to accept it; and then he had 1688.

1688. the Opportunity of acquainting the King of the extream Danger he was in; telling him, with that Liberty which results from a hearty and generous Affection, that if *the Measures His Majesty had hitherto follow'd were not speedily alter'd, it would be impossible for him to pass another* Christmas *in* England. The King was so far from being offended at it, that he encourag'd Mr. *Chetwood* to proceed by giving him his Word, that he would never call him to Account for any thing he should say, and as a further Pledge, gave him his Royal Hand to kiss. Thereupon Mr. *Chetwood* discours'd the Matter more at large, and, with Tears in his Eyes, laid before His Majesty the general Discontents, which by his extended Conversation he had observ'd among the Nobility, the Gentry and the Citizens; and because the King gave him to understand, that he had a Fleet and an Army, of which he thought himself secure, Mr. *Chetwood* told him, That the Fleet was not free from Murmurings; and as for the Army, that he ought not to depend upon it, there being scarce an Officer that was not either related to, or influenc'd by, a Nobleman, a Gentleman, or a Citizen, over and above the natural Tenderness which all *Englishmen*, in what Station soever, had for their Laws, Liberties and Religion. The King was mov'd by this Discourse, and resolving to call a Parliament, gave Orders to Sir *William Villars*, and Nine or Ten other Persons that were then about him, immediately to go down and make Interest in their Countries. Father *Petre* being inform'd of what had pass'd in private with the King, declar'd that Mr. *Chetwood* was a dangerous Person, and must not be admitted to His Majesty's Presence, and prevail'd with the King to alter his Resolution, which he foresaw would have ruin'd all the Projects of the *Popish* Cabal. The next Day Mr. *Chetwood* went to the King's Supper, little regarding the Confessor's Anger, (of which he had already Notice given him by the Bishop of *Chester*) and was much surpriz'd to find so sudden an Alteration in His Majesty, who turning to him, told him,

Good Advice given King James by Mr. Chetwood.

Rendred ineffectual by Father Petre.

him, *That those who would have him call a Parliament at that time, either wish'd him ill, or did not understand the State of his Affairs.* Mr. *Chetwood* took the Hint, and presently after retired to his Country Seat. Upon the Prince of *Orange*'s landing, King *James* call'd to Mind the Advice and Prediction of Mr. *Chetwood*; who, by this time, being return'd to Court, to wait his Course before Her Royal Highness, His Majesty sent for him, and told him that he must go down with him to *Salisbury*; when Mr. *Chetwood* came there, he found the Chappel at the Bishop's House possess'd by the *Popish* Chaplains. Upon which he made Applications to the King, and desir'd Leave to withdraw, as being resolv'd not to officiate any where but in the Chappel: After some Dispute, the *Papists* remov'd, and the Chappel was crowded Morning and Afternoon with Persons of the best Note; and when Mr. *Chetwood* appear'd in publick, he was attended with a numerous Train of Officers, and encourag'd by the Acclamations of the Soldiers, who vow'd they would stand by him and the Church of *England*. The King being then sensible of his wrong Measures, and how necessary it was for him, at least to feign an Affection for the establish'd Religion, remov'd Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* from the Bishoprick of *Bristol* to *Exeter*, and gave *Bristol* to Mr. *Chetwood*; who seeing the Times very unquiet, never stirr'd afterwards in that Affair. 1688.

To return to the King. His Majesty having left *London* on *Saturday*, arriv'd at *Salisbury* on *Monday* Night, and was complimented by such Officers of the Army as were most devoted to him, who all expres'd their Abhorrence of the Defection of the Lord *Cornbury*, which nevertheless was approv'd by a great many. The next Day the King going to view part of his Army which quarter'd Eight Miles from *Salisbury*, his Nose fell a-bleeding in so violent a manner, that nothing could stop it but the breathing one of his Veins, which hindred his Majesty from going the next Day to *Warminster*, the most advanc'd Post of his Army. The same Day

The King comes to Salisbury, Oct. 19.

1688. Day moſt of the chief Officers, and even ſome of thoſe who diſapprov'd the Lord *Cornbury*'s Action, apply'd themſelves to the Earl of *Feverſham*, deſiring him to aſſure His Majeſty, *That upon any Occaſion they would be ready to ſpill the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service; but that they could not in Conſcience fight againſt a Prince, who was come over with no other Deſign than to procure the Calling of a free Parliament, for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.* By this the King underſtood how little he was to depend upon his Army; and the Lord *Feverſham*, who ſtrongly ſuſpected the Lord *Churchill*, earneſtly conjur'd His Majeſty to have him ſecur'd: Which the King however would never conſent to. The Earl's Suſpicions prov'd to be well grounded, for the next Day the Lord *Churchill*, who commanded a Brigade of about 5000 Men, went over to His Highneſs with as many as were willing to follow him; amongſt whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Barklai*, and Four or Five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. This Defection extreamly ſurpriz'd the King, the Lord *Churchill* being a Perſon on whom he had beſtow'd diſtinguiſhing Favours, and whom he had rais'd to be a Lieutenant-General, a Captain of a Troop of Life-Guards, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. To aggravate his late Action, 'twas reported that he had laid a Deſign, with Colonel *Kirk*, who commanded at *Warminſter*, to carry off the King to the Prince of *Orange*, which was prevented by His Majeſties bleeding at the Noſe. But this Report was altogether falſe; and as for his Lordſhip's going over to the Prince, his abandoning thoſe great Advantages he enjoy'd under King *James*, and his firm Adherence ever ſince to the true Intereſt of *England*, are invincible Proofs, that he follow'd † *nothing but the inviolable Dictates of his Conſcience, and a neceſſary Concern for Religion, (which no Man can oppoſe) and with which he was inſtructed, nothing ought to come in Competition.* Thus King *James* being deſerted by his beſt Friends, and beſides, falſly alarm'd, as if Duke *Schomberg* was marching with all ſpeed to fight him,

The Lord Churchill *goes over to the Prince.*

† *Lord* Churchill's *Letter to* K. James.

him, he left *Salisbury* in great Precipitation, and on his way to *Windsor* had ſtill the Mortification to ſee himſelf forſaken at *Andover* by His Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, and by the Duke of *Ormond*; the firſt of whom wrote a Letter to His Majeſty, wherein, *with an Heart full of Grief, he told him what Prudence would not permit him to ſay to his Face*, viz. *That whilſt the reſtleſs Spirits of the Enemies of the* Reformed Religion, *back'd by the cruel Zeal and prevailing Power of* France, *juſtly alarm'd and united all the Proteſtant Princes of Chriſtendom, and engag'd them in ſo vaſt an Expence for the Support of it; how could he act ſo degenerous and mean a part as to refuſe his Concurrence with ſuch worthy Endeavours, for the diſabuſing His Majeſty, by the Re-inforcement of thoſe Laws, and Re-eſtabliſhment of that Government, on which alone depended the well-being of His Majeſty, and of the Proteſtant Religion in* Europe? Before the King left *Salisbury*, ſeeing he could not leſſen the Prince of *Orange*'s Party by open Force, he had Recourſe to Mildneſs and Clemency, publiſhing * a Pardon to all thoſe that had joined with His Highneſs, provided they would return to their Obedience within the ſpace of Twenty Days.

1688.

Prince George and the Duke of Ormond leave the King, Nov. 25.

* Nov. 22.

In the mean Time the Prince of *Orange*'s Troops encreas'd daily by the Deſertion of the King's Forces; and whilſt His Majeſties Intereſt was weaken'd by Diſcord, his Highneſs's Party was ſtrengthened by an Aſſociation, drawn up and ſigned by all the Lords and Gentlemen that join'd him at *Exeter*, "for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and for the Maintaining the ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*: Whereby they did engage to Almighty God, to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and to themſelves, to ſtick firm to this Cauſe, and to one another in Defence thereof, and never to depart from it, until their Religion, Laws and Liberties were ſo far ſecured to them, in a Free Parliament, that they ſhould be no more in Danger of falling into *Popery* and Slavery.

Aſſociation at Exeter.

Upon

1688. Upon the News of King *James* being come to *Salisbury*, the Prince of *Orange* march'd out of *Exeter* with his Army, leaving only Sir *John Guyes* with his new-rais'd Regiment to Guard that City; and his Van-guard advancing towards *Sherborn*, a Party of King *James*'s Horſe that were coming into the Town, retreated back to *Sarum*. About the ſame Time, there happen'd a *Skirmiſh* at *Wincaunton* between a Detachment of 70 Horſe, and 50 Dragoons and Grenadiers of the Royal Army, Commanded by *Glifford*, *Sarsfield* and *Webb*, and 25 of the Prince of *Orange*'s Men, Commanded by one *Cambel*, a Lieutenant in *Mackay*'s Regiment. Notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, the latter fought with that undaunted Bravery, that they maintain'd their Ground for a conſiderable while; and when they were like to be over-power'd, a Miller that happen'd to come that Way, alarm'd the King's Party, telling them he had overtaken a ſtrong Detachment of the Prince's Army, who were juſt entring the Town; whereupon they retreated in great Confuſion, leaving ſeveral of their Men kill'd, and Cornet *Webb* wounded. This ſmall Action ſtruck a Terror into the Minds of King *James*'s Army, who were otherwiſe little inclin'd to fighting: And beſides, it was every where magnified ſo much above the real Truth, that it clearly ſhew'd how much Men wiſh'd the Proſperity of the Prince's Arms. His Highneſs was ſoon after inform'd of His Majeſties retiring to *London*, and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*; which being confirm'd by Prince *George* and the Duke of *Ormond*, who join'd him at *Sherbourn*-Caſtle, His Highneſs march'd with all his Noble and Numerous Attendance into the City of *Salisbury*, where he was receiv'd with particular Demonſtrations of Joy and Reſpect.

The Prince leaves Exeter.

Skirmiſh at Wincaunton, Nov. 20.

Riſings in ſeveral Countries.

The Defection of the Army was not the only Misfortune that alarm'd the Court. The *Dutch* Fleet was got into *Plimouth*, which Town the Earl of *Bath* had beforehand ſecur'd for the Prince of *Orange*, and caus'd his Declaration to be publickly read

read there. The Lord *Lovelace* being reſcued by a Party of His Highneſs's Forces, reinforc'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *John Guiſe*, who had forc'd the Duke of *Beaufort* to ſurrender to them the City of *Briſtol*; the Earl (now Duke) of *Devonſhire*, with ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen, aſſembled at *Derby*, deliver'd a Paper to the Mayor of that Town, importing, "That as with Grief they "apprehended the Calamities that might ariſe "from the Landing of a foreign Army in this King- "dom; ſo they could not but deplore the Occa- "ſion given for it by ſo many Invaſions made of "late Years on their Religion and Laws. And "whereas they could not think of any other Expe- "dient to compoſe their Differences, and prevent "Effuſion of Blood, than that which pro- "cur'd a Settlement in theſe Kingdoms, after the "late Civil Wars, *the meeting and ſitting of a Par- "liament, freely and duly choſen*; They thought "themſelves oblig'd, as far as in them lay, to pro- "mote it; and the rather, becauſe the Prince of "*Orange*, as appear'd by his Declaration, was wil- "ling to ſubmit his own Pretenſions, and all other "Matters, to their Determination. They heartily "wiſh'd, and humbly pray'd, That His Majeſty "would conſent to this Expedient, in order to a "future Settlement; and hop'd that ſuch a Tem- "perament might be thought of, as that the Ar- "my then on foot might not give any Interrupti- "on to the Proceedings of a Parliament. But if to "the great Misfortune and Ruin of theſe King- "doms it ſhould prove otherwiſe, they further "declar'd, That they would, to their utmoſt, de- "fend the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the "Kingdom, and the Rights and Liberties of the "Subject. 1688. Nov. 20.

Two Days † after this the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty, that had rendezvouz'd at *Nottingham*, ſubſcrib'd a Declaration, wherein having ſummarily rehears'd the Grievances of the Nation, *They did unanimouſly declare, That not being willing to deliver their Poſterity over to ſuch a Condition of* Popery *and* Slavery, *as their Oppreſſions inevitably threat-* † Nov. 22.

1688. *threatned, they would, to the utmoſt of their Power oppoſe the ſame, by joining with the Prince of* Orange *for the Recovery of their almoſt ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion. And herein they hoped all good Proteſtant Subjects would, with their Lives and Fortunes, be aſſiſtant to them, and not be bugbear'd with the Opprobrious Terms of Rebels, by which the Court would fright them, to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Inſolences and Uſurpations. For they aſſur'd themſelves, that no rational and unbiaſs'd Perſon would judge it Rebellion to defend their Laws and Religion, which all* Engliſh *Princes have ſworn at their Coronations: Which Oath, how well it had been obſerv'd of late, they deſir'd a* free Parliament *might have the Conſideration of.* They own'd it Rebellion to reſiſt *a King that governs by Law: But,* added they, *He was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law; and to reſiſt ſuch an one we juſtly eſteem no Rebellion, but a neceſſary Defence: And in this Conſideration we doubt not of all honeſt Mens Aſſiſtance, and humbly hope for, and implore the great God's Protection, that turns the Hearts of People as pleaſes him beſt; it having been obſerv'd, that People can never be of one Mind without his Inſpiration, which has in all Ages confirm'd that Obſervation,* Vox Populi eſt Vox Dei. At the ſame time the Earl of *Danby*, (now Duke of *Leeds*) his Son the Lord *Dumblaine*, (now Marquis of *Carmarthen*) the Lord *Fairfax*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, made themſelves Maſters of the City of *York*, and having diſarm'd and turn'd out the *Papiſts*, who under the Protection of the Duke of *Newcaſtle* ſtood up for the King, declar'd for a free Parliament; Colonel *Copley*, Deputy-Governor of *Hull*, ſurpriz'd that important Sea-Port Town, and made the Lord *Langdale*, the *Popiſh* Governor, the Lord *Montgommery*, and the reſt of the *Papiſts*, Priſoners, till with the Help of the Townſmen, Seamen, and part of the Garriſon, he had ſecur'd the Caſtle and Cittadel; *Newcaſtle* receiv'd the Lord *Lumley*, and declar'd for the Prince of *Orange*, and a free Parliament; the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome other Perſons of Note, went over to the Prince; the

the Earl of *Stamford*, and the Lord *Delamere*, join'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Briſtol*; and the Prince of *Wales* being privately ſent to *Portſmouth*, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Dartmouth* would not ſuffer him to be carried into *France*. 1688.

The Princeſs Anne *leaves the Court.*

Amidſt all theſe diſtracting News the King arriv'd in *London*, where his Trouble was aggravated by the Receſs of the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, his ſecond Daughter, who was privately gone the Night before; and if a Letter, ſuppos'd to be written by her to the Queen, to ſhew the Reaſon of her Retreat, had not been produc'd, the King's own Guards would in all Probability have join'd with the enrag'd Mob, and torn the *Popiſh* Party to pieces, upon a Surmize that they had either made away with Her Royal Highneſs, or confin'd her in the *Tower*. It was not long before the King was inform'd that Her Royal Highneſs, with the Lady *Churchill*, (now Counteſs of *Marlborough*) and the Lady *Barklai*, (now Lady *Fitzharding*) Two Perſons, who ſhone moſt brightly in her Court, both by their Wit and Beauty, had taken Coach at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe, from whence they were gone to *Nottingham*, attended by that Prelate, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and about 40 Horſemen: That at *Nottingham* the Earl of *Devonſhire* had given her a Guard of 200 Men; and that having left that Place, ſhe was retired to *Oxford*, where Prince *George* ſoon after met her with a Detachment of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces.

The firſt thing the King did was to aſſemble all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that were then in *London*, to conſult with them about the preſent Exigencies. And tho' moſt of theſe Peers were ſuch as His Majeſty had either diſoblig'd or neglected in the Fluſh of his Proſperity, yet upon this Occaſion, as became noble Patriots, they all forgot their Perſonal Wrongs, being only intent upon the Dangers which ſo imminently threatned both King and Kingdom. Among the reſt, the Earl of *Clarendon*, ſeeing the deſperate Height of the Diſtemper, ſpoke with that Frankneſs which a good and skilful Phyſician ought to uſe on the like Occaſion.

He

1688. He enumerated all the irregular and unwarrantable Proceedings of the governing Party, which had occasion'd those dangerous Symptoms that now appear'd in the Body Politick, and concluded, with the Majority, upon a speedy calling of a free Parliament; And to remove the Difficulties that were objected, they all represented to His Majesty how necessary it was; *First*, To grant a general Pardon to all those that either were come over with the Prince of *Orange*, or had join'd with him since his Landing. *Secondly*, To depute some of the Lords to His Highness to treat with him about a Suspension of Arms, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation. And *Lastly*, To turn immediately all *Papists* out of their Employments, to convince the World that His Majesty acted a sincere Part. The King took that Night to consider of their Advice, and the next Day declar'd in Council that he was resolv'd to call a free Parliament, that should meet on the 15th of *January* next following; accordingly the Lord Chancellor was order'd to issue out his Writs, and a Proclamation * went out, wherein His Majesty makes known: *That for the Security of all Persons both in their Elections and Service in Parliament, all his Subjects should have free Liberty to elect, and all the Peers; and such as should be elected Members of the House of Commons, should have full Liberty and Freedom to serve and sit in Parliament, notwithstanding they had taken up Arms, or committed any Act of Hostility, or been any way aiding or assisting therein; That for the better Assurance hereof, His Majesty had directed a general Pardon to all his Subjects to be forthwith prepared to pass his great Seal. And for the reconciling all publick Breaches, and obliterating the very Memory of all past Miscarriages, His Majesty did hereby exhort, and kindly admonish all his Subjects, to dispose themselves to elect such Persons for their Representatives in Parliament, as might not be biass'd by Prejudice or Passion, but qualified with Parts, Experience and Prudence, proper for this Conjuncture.* His Majesty further declared, That he would name Commissioners to treat with the Prince of *Orange*; but

* Nov. 30.

but as to that part of the Lords Advice relating to the *Roman Catholicks*, His Majesty being unwilling to grant it, he only said, he would leave that Matter to be debated in Parliament. However, Sir *Edward Hales* being obnoxious to the City, (which, 'twas reported, he had threatned to Bombard) His Majesty turn'd him out of the Government of the *Tower*, and put Colonel *Skelton* in his Place, who now by a Vicissitude of Fortune, commanded in a Fortress where he was lately a Prisoner. 1688.

The Persons first propos'd to be sent to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Rochester*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, with whom some would have join'd the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*; but after a long Consultation, their Number was fix'd to these Three, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, who were allow'd to be Men of great Parts, Skill and Prudence, and who in the late Council had shew'd an extraordinary Zeal for His Majesties Preservation. The Earl of *Rochester* was indeed as capable of that important Negotiation, and as agreeable to the Prince, as any of the rest, but either he or the Marquis of *Hallifax* was to be left out, and therefore that Earl got himself excus'd. A Trumpeter was immediately dispatch'd by the Earl of *Feversham*, with a Letter to His Highness, to demand the necessary Passes. On *Sunday*, *Dec.* 2. the Commissioners began their Journey, and arriv'd the next Day at *Reading*, where they met the Trumpeter with His Highness's Passes; who at the same time demanded a Pass for one of his Gentlemen, whom he design'd to send to the Princess of *Denmark*. The Day before the Departure of the Commissioners, the Earl of *C——don*, without making a Mystery of it, went over to the Prince of *Orange*, which gave many occasion to think that he was gone before them, if not to baffle their Negotiation, at least to give the Prince a Jealousie of the Marquis of *H------x*, the irreconcileable Enemy of his Family, and who began to be suspected by the *Presbyterians* themselves, since he undertook this Accommodation. Others said that the great

1688. Warmth the Marquis had lately ſhewn for the King's Preſervation, did not ſo much proceed from his Affection to his Perſon, as from his domineering Spirit, which made him fond of a Negotiation, which he intended to ingroſs to himſelf.

The *Popiſh* Party was now become ſo contemptible in *London*, that there was an *Hue* and *Cry* after Father *Petre* publickly * cried and ſold in the Streets; and about the ſame time came out this following Declaration in the Name of the Prince of *Orange*.

*Decem. 6.

The Prince of Orange's *Third Declaration, dated at* Sherbourn *Caſtle, the 28th of* November.

" We have in the whole Courſe of our Life, and " more particularly by the apparent Hazards both " by Sea and Land, to which we have ſo lately " expos'd our Perſon, given to the World ſo high " and undoubted Proofs of our fervent Zeal to the " Proteſtant Religion, that we are fully confident no " true *Engliſhman* and good Proteſtant can enter- " tain the leaſt Suſpicion of our firm Reſolution, " rather to ſpend our deareſt Blood, and periſh in " the Attempt, than not to carry on the bleſſed " and glorious Deſign, which, by the Favour of " Heaven, we have ſo ſucceſsfully begun, to reſcue " *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* from Popery and " Slavery, and in a free Parliament to eſtabliſh the Re- " ligion, the Laws and the Liberties of theſe King- " doms on ſuch a ſure and laſting Foundation, that " it ſhall not be in the Power of any Prince for the " future to introduce *Popery* and *Tyranny*.

" Towards the more eaſie compaſſing this great " Deſign, we have not been hitherto deceiv'd in the " juſt Expectation we had of the Concurrence of " the Nobility, Gentry, and People of *England* " with us, for the Security of their Religion, and " the Eſtabliſhment of their Liberties and Properties. " Great Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities have " join'd themſelves to us; and others, at great Di- " ſtances from us, have taken up Arms, and declar'd " for us. And which we cannot but particularly men- " tion, in that Army which was rais'd to be the In- " ſtrument of Slavery and Popery, many, by the ſpe- " cial Providence of God, both Officers and com- " mon Soldiers, have been touch'd with ſuch a " feeling Senſe of Religion and Honour, and of " true Affection to their native Country, that " they

1688.

"they have already deſerted the illegal Service "they were engag'd in, and have come over to "us, and have given us full Aſſurance from the "reſt of the Army, that they will certainly follow "this Example, aſſoon as we ſhall approach near "enough to receive them without Hazard of being "prevented or betray'd. To which end, and that we "may the ſooner execute this juſt and neceſſary De-"ſign, we are engag'd in for the publick Safety, and "Deliverance of theſe Nations, we are reſolv'd "with all poſſible Diligence to advance forwards, "that a free Parliament may be forthwith call'd, "and ſuch Preliminaries adjuſted with the King, "and all things firſt ſettled upon ſuch a Foot ac-"cording to Law, as may give us and the whole "Nation juſt Reaſon to believe, the King is diſ-"pos'd to make ſuch neceſſary Condeſcenſions on "his Part, as will give entire Satisfaction and Se-"curity to all, and make both King and People "once more happy.

"And that we may effect all this, in the way "moſt agreeable to our Deſires, if it be poſſible, "without the Effuſion of any Blood, except of "thoſe execrable Criminals who have juſtly for-"feited their Lives for betraying the Religion, and "ſubverting the Laws of their native Country, "we do think fit to declare, That as we will offer no "Violence to any, but in our own neceſſary Defence; "ſo we will not ſuffer any Injury to be done to the "Perſon, even of any *Papiſt*, provided he be found "in ſuch Place, and Condition, and Circumſtan-"ces, as the Law requires. So we are reſolv'd, and "do declare, That all Papiſts who ſhall be found "in open Arms, or with Arms in their Houſes, or "about their Perſons, or in any Office Civil or "Military, upon any Pretence whatſoever, contra-"ry to the known Laws of the Land, ſhall be "treated by us and our Forces, not as Soldiers and "Gentlemen, but as Robbers, Free-booters, and "*Banditti*, they ſhall be incapable of Quarter, and "entirely deliver'd up to the Diſcretion of our Sol-"diers. And we do further declare, That all Per-"ſons who ſhall be found any Ways aiding or aſ-"ſiſting to them, or ſhall march under their Com-

1688. "mand, or ſhall join with, or ſubmit to them in "the Diſcharge or Execution of their illegal Com- "miſſions or Authority, ſhall be look'd upon as "Partakers of their Crimes, Enemies to the Laws, "and to their Country.

"And whereas we are certainly inform'd, that "great Numbers of armed *Papiſts* have of late "reſorted to *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts ad- "jacent, where they remain, as we have Reaſon "to ſuſpect, not ſo much for their own Security, "as out of a wicked and barbarous Deſign, to make "ſome deſperate Attempt upon the ſaid Cities, "and their Inhabitants, by Fire, or a ſudden Maſ- "ſacre, or both; or elſe to be the more ready "to join themſelves to a Body of *French* Troops, "deſign'd, if it be poſſible, to land in *England*, pro- "cur'd of the *French* King, by the Intereſt and Pow- "er of the *Jeſuits*, in Purſuance of the Engage- "ments, which, at the Inſtigation of that peſti- "lent Society, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with one "of his neighbouring Princes of the ſame Com- "munion, has enter'd into for the utter Extirpation "of the Proteſtant Religion out of *Europe*. Tho', "we hope, we have taken ſuch effectual Care to "prevent the one, and ſecure the other, that by "God's Aſſiſtance we cannot doubt but we ſhall "defeat all their wicked Enterprizes and Deſigns.

"We cannot however forbear, out of the great "and tender Concern we have to preſerve the "People of *England*, and particularly thoſe great "and populous Cities, from the cruel Rage and "bloody Revenge of the *Papiſts*, to require and "expect from all the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy- "Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace, Lord- "Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Magi- "ſtrates and Officers, Civil and Military, of all "Counties, Cities and Towns of *England*, eſpecial- "ly of the County of *Middleſex*, and Cities of *Lon- "don* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent, that "they do immediately diſarm and ſecure, as by "Law they may and ought, within their reſpective "Counties, Cities, and Juriſdictions, all *Papiſts* "whatſoever, as Perſons, at all times, but now

"eſpeci-

"especially, most dangerous to the Peace and Safety 1688.
"of the Government, that so not only all Power
"of doing Mischief may be taken from them;
"but that the Laws, which are the greatest and
"best Security, may resume their Force, and be
"strictly executed.

"And we do hereby likewise declare, that we
"will protect and defend all those who shall not
"be afraid to do their Duty in Obedience to these
"Laws. And that for those Magistrates, and others,
"of what Condition soever they be, who shall re-
"fuse to assist us, and in Obedience to the Laws,
"to execute vigorously what we have requir'd of
"them, and suffer themselves at this Juncture to
"be cajoled or terrified out of their Duty, we will
"esteem them the most criminal and infamous
"of all Men; Betrayers of their Religion, the
"Laws, and their native Country, and shall
"not fail to treat them accordingly; resolving to
"expect and require at their Hands the Life of
"every single Protestant that shall perish, and eve-
"ry House that shall be burnt or destroy'd by their
"Treachery and Cowardice.

Whoever was the Author of this Declaration, which the Prince of *Orange* disown'd, it did His Highness no small Service: The *Roman Catholicks* were alarm'd at it; and several Justices of Peace caus'd it to be publish'd. A certain Captain did likewise boldly deliver a Copy of it to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, charging him, before Witnesses, to see it put in Execution; and the inferior Officers of Justice desir'd his Lordship's Assistance, that they might obey His Highness's Orders. An Accusation against the Earl of *Salisbury* for infringing the most sacred Laws of the Kingdom, by turning a *Papist*, was preferr'd to the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, who found the Bill against the said Earl.

While these things past in *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, hereditary Earl-Marshal of *England*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County, whose Name he bore, summon'd all the Gentry of those Parts to meet him at *Norwich*, where being assembled, left

1688. the City ſhould be alarm'd at the extraordinary Concourſe of People, he made a Speech to the Mayor in the Market-Place, acquainting him: "That out of a deep Senſe he and the others "there had met, that in the preſent unhappy "Juncture of Affairs, nothing could better ſecure the "Laws, Liberties, and Proteſtant Religion, than a "*free Parliament*, they were there met to pronounce "that they would do their utmoſt to defend the "ſame, by declaring for ſuch a *free Parliament*. "And ſince His Majeſty had been pleas'd to or-"der Writs for ſuch a Parliament, he could only "add in the Name of himſelf, and of all thoſe "Gentlemen, and others there met, that they "would ever be ready to ſupport and defend the "the Laws, Liberties and Proteſtant Religion. And ſo, ſaid he, *God ſave the King*. In this the Mayor, Aldermen, and the reſt of the Corporation, and a numerous Aſſembly, did unanimouſly concur with His Grace and the reſt of the Gentry.

The Duke of Norfolk's Speech to the Mayor of Norwich, Dec. 1. See State-Tracts, p. 437, &c.

Decem. 6. Five Days * after the Mayor and Corporation of *King's-Lynn* preſented an Addreſs to the Duke of *Norfolk*, humbly deſiring him: *That they might be put into ſuch a Poſture by His Grace's Direction and Conduct, as might make them appear as zealous as any in the Defence of the* Proteſtant Religion, *the Laws and ancient Government*. To which His Grace anſwer'd, *That no Man would venture his Life and Fortune more freely for the Defence of the Laws, Liberties and Proteſtant Religion, than he would do; and with all the Gentlemen there preſent, and many more, would procure a Settlement in Church and State, in Concurrence with the Lords and Gentlemen in the* North, *and purſuant to the Declaration of the Prince of* Orange. And according to their Deſire, he order'd the *Militia*, both Horſe and Foot, to be rais'd throughout the County; whereupon the Tradeſmen, Seamen and *Mobile*, put *Orange* Ribbon in their Hats, ecchoing Huzza's to the Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Norfolk*. About the ſame time the Duke of *Ormond* being gone to *Oxford* with a Party of the Prince of *Orange*'s Troops, caus'd His Highneſs's Declaration to be publickly

read

read in that famous Univerſity; the Town of *Berwick* follow'd the Example of *York*, and declar'd for the Prince; and Five Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, of whoſe Number were the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the Earl of *Belcarris*, were coming up to *London*, to demand a *free Parliament* in that Kingdom. 1688.

All theſe Motions made the Court very uneaſie: Nor were they leſs impatient to know how their Commiſſioners would be receiv'd by the Prince of *Orange*: For ſome began to fear that ſomething more was now aim'd at, beſides the ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and that His Majeſty's Crown, if not his Perſon, was in Danger. 'Twas not His Highneſs's coming over with an Army that gave the *Popiſh* Party theſe Apprehenſions, but rather the general Diſcontents of the Nobility, Clergy and People, and a ſevere Examination of their own illegal Proceedings in a free Parliament; and therefore 'twas reſolv'd that the Royal Family ſhould croſs the Sea aſſoon as theſe Surmiſes ſhould attain to a greater Degree of Certainty. On the Sixth of *December* the Three Commiſſioners acquainted the King, that they were to meet the Prince of *Orange* that Night at *Amberſbury*; but the next Day they inform'd His Majeſty that His Highneſs having appointed them at *Hungerford*, he had ſent to them the Earls of *Oxford* and *Clarendon*, to deſire them to make their Propoſals in Writing. This Meſſage of the Prince of *Orange* was interpreted contemptuous; not only becauſe he refus'd to treat by Word of Mouth with His Majeſties Commiſſioners, but alſo becauſe he had deputed to them Two Perſons, of whom one had never been concern'd in any publick Affair, and the other was ſworn Enemy to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the principal Manager on the King's Part. From theſe firſt Steps, and from a particular Letter of one of the three Commiſſioners, the moſt addicted to the King's Intereſt, the *Popiſh* Cabal, particularly Mr. *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, and Count *Lauzun*, began to doubt the Succeſs of this Negotiation, and preſſingly ad-

1688. vis'd the King to ſecure himſelf, his Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, by a ſpeedy Receſs from *England*. In the mean time, upon the News of the Prince's Forces advancing towards *Reading*, to prevent further Deſertions, the King's Army that quarter'd there was order'd to march nearer *London*, and to fix the Head Quarters at *Colbrook*. But on the Eighth of *December*, the Court being inform'd that 'twas only a Detachment of His Highneſs's Horſe that was advanc'd to *Newbury*, the Royal Forces were remanded to their old Poſt, and the ſame Day the Earl of *Feverſham* return'd to *Maidenhead*, where were the Head Quarters. The next Day the King's Troops marching thither, the Town's People, who had very much ſuffer'd by their quartering amongſt them before, invited ſome of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces that lay not far off, to take Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, to ſecure themſelves againſt the *Violences* of the *Iriſh*. Colonel *Lanier*, who commanded the Royal Detachment, being come to *Reading* firſt, poſted ſome Companies of *Iriſh* Dragoons to defend a Bridge over which His Highneſs's Troops were to paſs, and drew up in Battalia in the Market-Place a *Scotch* Regiment of Horſe. Upon the Approach of a ſmall Party of His Highneſs's Cavalry, the *Iriſh* made a Diſcharge, and abandon'd their Poſt; the *Scotch*, who had no Inclination to fight, follow'd their Example, and fled in Diſorder, till they were rallied by the Earl of *Feverſham*, who was coming up to ſupport 'em. Of the *Iriſh* not many were kill'd, and as few taken: However, the Court complain'd that the Towns People ſhot at them behind from their Windows, whilſt the Prince's Horſe charg'd 'em before; but they juſtified themſelves, by ſaying, That the Fear the *Iriſh* were in made them to fancy they were attack'd on every ſide, which, at this Juncture, the Court thought fit to believe. *Maidenhead-Bridge* was alſo fortified, and its Defence committed to the *Iriſh*; but ſome of the Townſmen beating a *Dutch* March in the Night, in order to alarm them, this Stratagem took ſo well, that the *Iriſh* aban-

abandon'd their Post in Confusion, leaving their great Guns behind them. 1688.

King *James* having resolv'd to retire to *France*, his first Care was to send thither his Royal Consort and his Son, who was brought * up to *London* from *Portsmouth* with as much Secresie as he was carried thither. 'Twas in the Night, between the 9th and 10th of *December*, that the Count (afterwards Duke) of *Lauzun*, being, as I have hinted before, at the Court of *England*, concerted with His Majesty the Flight of the Queen and the young Prince, and by one of the most happy Adventures of his Life, was successful in his Undertaking. *Riva*, an *Italian*, a Domestick of that *Princess*, and *Labadie*, a *French* Man, Page of the Back-Stairs to the King, both Persons of experienc'd Fidelity, were charg'd to provide all things necessary for their Voyage, and to convey them from *Whitehall* to the Yatch His Majesty had appointed to carry Count *Lauzun* to *France*. 'Twas not without a great deal of Danger of being stopt and discover'd, that a Queen and a Prince, scarce Five Months old, went out of their Palace at a time full of Suspicion, and when the least Cry of the Babe might have broke the best concerted Measures. However, the Queen in Disguise, accompanied by the Marquis of *Powis*, the Marchioness his Wife, Governess to the Prince; the Countess *Dalmon*, *Signora Vittoria Montecuculi*, lately arriv'd from *Italy*, *Signora Pelegrina Turini*, the wet and dry Nurses, and perhaps a Woman or two more, stole through a privy Stairs to the Waterside, cross'd the *Thames* in a dark Night, expos'd to the Wind, the Rain, and the Roughness of the River; and being got on the other side, waited near the Walls of a Chappel, insulted by the stormy Weather, till the Coaches were got ready in the next Inn. The Curiosity of a Man, who at the same time went out of the Inn, and was making towards the Queen with a Lanthorn in his Hand, made Her Majesty afraid of being discover'd; when *Riva* fearing the same, follow'd him immediately, and shock'd him so rudely, that both fell into the Dirt. This was a lucky Diversion; for the Fellow attri-

* Saturday *the 8th of* December.

The Queen and Prince of Wales *are convey'd into* France, Decem. 10.

See Histoire des Revolutions d'Angleterre; *by Father* d'Oleans.

1688. attributing this Fall to chance, he and *Riva* begg'd one another's Pardon, and the thing went no further. The Queen and her Attendance took Coach and being come a Ship-board at *Graveſend*, *Labadie*'s Wife, who was acquainted with the Captain, amus'd him for a while, till the Queen, that paſs'd for an *Italian* Lady, who was returning to her native Country with all her Family, was got into the Cabin which had been prepar'd for her. Three *Iriſh* Captains embark'd at the ſame time, being appointed by the King to have an Eye upon him that commanded the Yatch, in caſe, upon ſome Suſpicion or other, he ſhould have refus'd to ſail. This Precaution prov'd unneceſſary; the Yatch having put to Sea, had a very quick Paſſage, and ſafely landed at *Calais*. Where the Queen would have ſtay'd for the King, her Husband, who according to their Agreement was to follow her thither the next Day; but that Prince not appearing, ſhe went to *Bouloign*, where Two Monks and an Officer that had made their Eſcape from *England* acquainted Her Majeſty, that the King was ſtop'd near *Feverſham* as he endeavour'd to come away; which left that Princeſs in a cruel Suſpence about His Majeſties Fate, till being arriv'd at *Montreuil* ſhe learnt other News, which ſomewhat comforted her, and diſpos'd her Mind to be more ſenſible of that generous and Royal Welcome, by which the King of *France* endeavour'd to alleviate Her Misfortunes.

Immediately after the Queen's Departure, His Majeſty, to cover his Deſign of following her, ſaid publickly he would return to the Head of his Forces, and fight the Prince of *Orange*; which however did not agree with the ſending part of the Artillery into the *Tower*. Nevertheleſs, that ſame Evening being *Monday*, the 10th of *December*, the Life-Guards were order'd to be ready to attend him to *Uxbridge*; but inſtead of going to the Army, His Majeſty took Water at *Whitehall* Privy Stairs at Two a Clock in the Morning, accompanied only by Sir *Edward Hales*, Mr. *Sheldon*, and *Labadie*, without communicating his Deſign to any of his chief *Popiſh* Officers

ficers, (no, not to the Lord *Dover* himself, tho' 1688.
merly his Favourite) with whom he had a long
nversation. One thing which hastned the King's
parture, and which went very near his Heart,
as the News he receiv'd, that a Batallion of
uglas's Regiment, on whose Fidelity he intirely
pended, was gone over to the Prince; That all
e Soldiers of that Batallion, without any Offi-
r to head 'em, were retir'd into a little Wood in
od Order, threatning to kill the Major and other
fficers who advanc'd towards them with De-
gn to bring 'em back; That a Body of Horse be-
g commanded upon the same Attempt, the chief
fficers thought fit to return, because the Troops
ade a Shew of joining with those Deserters;
nd that four *Popish* Captains of that Batallion
ad surrendred their Commissions at *Maidenhead*,
here they quarter'd. Before the King went a-
ay, he order'd the Broad Seal to be thrown into
e *Thames*, and that all those Writs that were not
nt out for the sitting of the Parliament should be
urnt, and a *Caveat* be enter'd against making use
f those few that were sent out already. To this
e added a Letter for the Earl of *Feversham*, where-
n he tells him, *That things being come to that Extre-*
ity. that he had been forc'd to send away the Queen,
nd his Son the Prince of Wales, *that they might not*
all into the Enemies Hands, which they must have
one if they had staid; That he was oblig'd to do
he same thing, in hopes it would please God out of
is infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch
heir Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour.
That *if he could have rely'd on all his Troops, he*
ight not have been put to the Extremity he was then
n, and would at least have had one Blow for it; but
ho' he knew there were many valiant and brave
Men amongst them, both Officers and Soldiers, yet the
Earl *knew likewise, that both he, and several of the ge-*
eral Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the Army, told
im, That it was no ways adviseable for him to venture
himself at their Head, or to think of fighting the Prince
of Orange *with them.* That *now there remain'd only*
for him to thank the Earl, *and all those, both Officers*

King James's Letter to the Earl of Feversham.

and

1688. *and Soldiers, who had ſtuck to him, and been true loyal. That he hop'd the* Earl *would ſtill retain the ſame Fidelity to him; and tho' he did not expect they ſhould expoſe themſelves, by reſiſting a* Foreign Army, *and a* Poiſon'd Nation, *yet he hoped their former Principles were ſo rooted in them, that they would keep themſelves free from Aſſociations, and ſuch pernicious Things.*

The King's Departure being noiſed abroad, the Duke of *Northumberland* went to the Earl of *Rochester*, to acquaint him with his Deſign of going over to the Prince; but the Earl adviſ'd him to ſave himſelf that Trouble, and rather to aſſemble his Troop of Guards, and declare for His Highneſs, which accordingly he did. The Marquis of *Miremont* follow'd his Example, and turn'd all the *Papiſts* out of his Regiment of Horſe. The other principal Officers of the Army about the Town met at *Whitehall*, and ſent an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to acquaint him with the King's going away, and to aſſure him that they would aſſiſt the Lord-Mayor to keep the City quiet till His Highneſs's coming; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; to wit, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter* and *Peterborough*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Dorſet*, *Mulgrave*, *Thanet*, *Carliſle*, *Craven*, *Ailesbury*, *Burlington*, *Barkclay* and *Rocheſter*: Viſcounts *Newport* and *Weymouth*; and the Lords *Wharton*, *North* and *Grey*, *Chandois*, *Montague*, *Jermyn*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Culpeper*, *Crewe*, and *Oſulſton*, aſſembled at *Guild-hall*, where having ſent for Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, they made the following Declaration.

The Lords Declaration, Dec. 11. "We doubt not but the World believes that in "this great and dangerous Conjuncture, We are "heartily and zealouſly concern'd for the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the "Liberties and Properties of the Subject. And "We did reaſonably hope that the King having "iſſued out his Proclamation and Writs for a free "Parliament, We might have reſted ſecure under "the

the Expectation of that meeting: But His Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as We apprehend, in order to his Departure out of this Kingdom, by the pernicious Counsels of Persons ill-affected to our Nation and Religion, We cannot, without being wanting to our Duty, be silent under those Calamities, wherein the *Popish* Counsels, which so long prevail'd, have miserably involv'd these Realms. We do therefore unanimously resolve to apply our selves to His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who with so great Kindness to these Kingdoms, such vast Expence, and so much Hazard to his own Person, has undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a free Parliament to rescue us, with as little Effusion, as possible, of Christian Blood, from the imminent Dangers of Slavery and Popery. 1688.

"And We do hereby declare, That we will, with our utmost Endeavours, assist His Highness in the obtaining such a Parliament with all speed, wherein our Laws, our Liberties and Properties may be secured, and the Church of *England* in particular, with a due Liberty to *Protestant* Dissenters, and in general, that the *Protestant* Religion and Interest over the whole World may be supported and encourag'd, to the Glory of God, the Happiness of the Establish'd Government in these Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princes and States in *Christendom*, that may be herein concern'd.

"In the mean time We will endeavour to preserve, as much as in Us lyes, the Peace and Security of these great and populous Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Parts adjacent, by taking Care to disarm all *Papists*, and secure all *Jesuits* and *Romish* Priests, who are in or about the same.

"And if there be any thing more to be perform'd by Us, for promoting His Highness's generous Intentions for the Publick Good, We shall be ready to do it, as Occation shall require.

This Declaration being subscrib'd by the forementiond Peers, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Viscount *Wey-*

1688. *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Cu[t]peper*, were deſir'd forthwith to attend His Highneſs with it; and at the ſame time to acquain[t] him, amongſt other things which they had furth[er] done at that Meeting, That having ſent for Colonel *Skelton*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, they had demanded the Keys of him, which he willingly re-ſigning, they had beſtowed the Government of that Fortreſs upon the Lord *Lucas*, a Perſon of unqueſtion'd Honour, and a ſincere Lover of his Country. Which Choice was afterwards confirm'd by the Prince of *Orange*.

Lord Lucas *made Lieutenant of the* Tower.

The Lieutenancy of London *addreſs the Prince of* Orange, Decem. 11.

The ſame Day the Lieutenancy of the City of *London* made an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to *acknowledge the happy Relief he had brought to them, and humbly to deſire His Highneſs to repair to* London *with what convenient Speed he could, for perfecting the great Work he had ſo happily begun to the Satisfaction of them all*; and order'd Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, and *Charles Duncomb*, Eſq; to attend His Highneſs with the ſaid Addreſs. Upon this Occaſion Mr. (ſince Sir *Charles*) *Duncomb* very generouſly offer'd his Purſe to His Highneſs, which ſeaſonable and ſignal Piece of Service King *William* has ſince acknowledged. At the ſame time the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-Council aſſembled, drew up alſo an Addreſs, wherein *they preſented their moſt humble Thanks to His Highneſs, particularly for his appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to reſcue* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *from Popery and Slavery*: And told him, *That finding themſelves diſappointed of a Remedy from the Oppreſſions they labour'd under, by His Majeſties withdrawing himſelf, they preſum'd to make His Highneſs their Refuge; and did in the Name of this Capital City, implore His Highneſs's Protection, and beſeech him to vouchſafe to repair to this City, where His Highneſs would be receiv'd with Univerſal Joy.* This Addreſs was preſented to the Prince of *Orange* by Four Aldermen, and Eight Common-Council-Men.

The Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London*'s Addreſs to the Prince of* Orange.

Tho'

Tho' the Trained-Bands of *London* and *Weſtmin-* 1688.
ſter were now in Arms, both to prevent all ill De-
ſigns from the *Papiſts*, and to preſerve thoſe Twin-
Cities in Peace and Safety till His Highneſs's Arri-
val; nevertheleſs, that giddy Part of the People
which delights in Tumults, took Advantage of
this time of Anarchy to make their Eruptions:
And as the *Papiſts* were the chief Occaſion of the
preſent Diſtractions, ſo they were the principal
ſufferers by them. The new-erected Maſs-Houſes,
both in the City and Suburbs, were pull'd down
and deſtroy'd, and their Materials, burnt with rio-
tous Acclamations, while common Thieves mixing
with the more harmleſs Apprentices, took Oppor-
tunity to rifle the Houſes of the *Spaniſh* and *Flo-
rentine* Ambaſſadors; in the firſt of which, the beſt
Effects of abundance of *Roman Catholicks*, and even
the Holy Utenſils of the Royal Chappels were depo-
ſited, as it were, in an *Azylum*. All that the Mob could
not carry away, or whoſe Value they did not un-
derſtand, was committed to the Flames, and among
the reſt a fine Library, with ſeveral curious Manu-
ſcripts. This Accident was the more ſurprizing,
becauſe of all the foreign Miniſters, *Don Pedro de
Ronquillo* was moſt belov'd by the People; ſo
that many did not ſtick to ſay, He was acceſſary to
the robbing of his own Houſe, and that he had not
the leaſt Share of the Plunder; tho' he was after-
wards largely recompenced by the Parliament for
the Loſſes he had ſuſtain'd in this Hurly-burly.
The *French* Ambaſſador's Houſe and Chappel were
preſerv'd by the Neighbourhood of ſome Noble-
men, who caus'd their own Houſes to be well
guarded; and the Reſident of *Venice* was ſecur'd by
a Detachment of Soldiers; but the King's Printing-
Houſe ſuffer'd conſiderable Damage; all the Paper
that was found in it, whether printed or not, ſer-
ving only for a Bonfire.

Furious Eruptions of the London *Mob.*

The King's Commiſſioners returning to *London*
the ſame Day His Majeſty had left his Palace,
were much ſurpriz'd to learn his ſudden Departure,
becauſe they brought with them ſuch an Anſwer
from the Prince to their Propoſals, as ought not

to

1688. to have alarm'd the King; of which they had already inform'd His Majesty, by an Express he receiv'd Two or Three Hours before he left *Whitehall*. The Propoſals deliver'd to His Highneſs * at *Hungerford* by the Commiſſioners were as follows:

* Dec. 8.

Propoſals deliver'd to the Prince of Orange *by the Commiſſioners.*

SIR,

"THE King commanded Us to acquaint You, that "he obſerves all the Differences and Cauſes of "Complaint alledg'd by Your Highneſs ſeem to "be referr'd to a free Parliament. His Majeſty, as "he has already declar'd, was reſolv'd before this "to call one, but thought that in the preſent State "of Affairs it was adviſeable to defer it till things "were more compos'd. Yet ſeeing that his Peo- "ple ſtill continue to deſire it, He has put forth "His Proclamation in order to it, and has iſſued "forth His Writs for the calling of it. And to "prevent any Cauſe of Interruption in it, He will "conſent to every thing that can be reaſonably re- "quir'd for the Security of all thoſe that ſhall come "to it. His Majeſty has therefore ſent Us to attend "Your Highneſs for the adjuſting of all Matters "that ſhall be agreed to be neceſſary to the Free- "dom of Elections, and the Security of ſitting, "and is ready immediately to enter into a Treaty "in order to it. His Majeſty propoſes, that in the "mean time the reſpective Armies may be re- "ſtrain'd within ſuch Limits, and at ſuch a diſtance "from *London*, as may prevent the Apprehenſions "that the Parliament may in any kind be diſturb'd; "being deſirous that the meeting of it may be "no longer delay'd, than it muſt be by the uſual "and neceſſary Forms.

The Prince of Orange's *Propoſals*, Decem. 9.

The Prince of *Orange* having receiv'd this Paper, continued his March towards *London*; and being arriv'd at *Littlecott*, the next Day, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen aſſembled with him, His Highneſs made theſe following Propoſals, in Anſwer to thoſe from His Majeſty.

"I. That

1688.

"I. THAT all *Papiſts*, and all ſuch Perſons as "are not qualified by Law, be Diſarmed, "Disbanded, and Removed from all Employments, "Civil and Military. II. That all Proclamations "which reflect upon Us, or any that have come to "Us, or declar'd for Us, be recall'd; and that if "any Perſons for having ſo aſſiſted, have been com-"mitted, that they be forthwith ſet at Liberty. "III. That for the Security and Safety of the City "of *London*, the Cuſtody and Government of the "*Tower* be immediately put into the Hands of "the ſaid City. IV. That if His Majeſty ſhall "think fit to be at *London*, during the ſitting of "the Parliament, that We may be there alſo, with "equal Number of our Guards. Or if His Maje-"ſty ſhall pleaſe to be in any Place from *London*, at "whatever Diſtance he thinks fit, that We may "be at a Place of the ſame Diſtance. And that the "reſpective Armies do remove from *London* Thir-"ty Miles, and that no more foreign Forces be "brought into the Kingdom. V. That for the Se-"curity of the City of *London*, and their Trade, *Til-"bury* Fort be put into the Hands of the ſaid City. "VI. That to prevent the landing of *French*, or "other Foreign Troops, *Portſmouth* may be put into "ſuch Hands as by Your Majeſty and Us ſhall be "agreed upon. VII. That ſome ſufficient part of "the publick Revenue be aſſign'd Us, for the main-"taining of our Forces, until the meeting of a free "Parliament.

The Earl of *Feverſham*, and the other General Officers, who had follow'd him to *Uxbridge*, to attend the King's coming, receiv'd His Majeſties Letter the ſame Day, and read it aloud to the Troops, which drew Tears from moſt of them. There-upon they held a Council of War, and concluded from that Letter, that ſince the King *did not expect they ſhould reſiſt a Foreign Army*, his Intention was, that the reſt of the Army ſhould be disbanded; and accordingly Four Thouſand Men the Earl had then with him, were immediately licentiated.

1688. After this he ſent the following Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, ſubſcribed by himſelf, and by Three general Officers.

SIR,

"HAving receiv'd this Morning a Letter from "His Majeſty, with the unfortunate News "of his Reſolution to go out of *England*, I thought "my ſelf oblig'd, being at the Head of his Army, "and having receiv'd his Orders to make no "Oppoſition againſt any Body, to let Your "Highneſs know it, with the Advice of the Offi- "cers here, ſo ſoon as was poſſible, to hinder the "Effuſion of Blood. I have order'd already, to "that Purpoſe, all the Troops that are under my "Command, which ſhall be the laſt Order they "ſhall receive from *Feverſham*, *Lanier*, *Fenwick*, "*Oglethorp*.

The Trumpeter the Earl of *Feverſham* had diſpatch'd with his Letter to the Prince, return'd without an Anſwer, which ſhew'd His Highneſs did not approve his Conduct in this Critical Conjuncture; and indeed moſt of the Lords in *London* blam'd that General for Disbanding the Army in ſo haſty a manner, without, at leaſt, the Advice of the Peers of the Realm, if he thought it too much to wait for His Highneſs's Directions. A panick Fear, which the next Day alarm'd the City of *London*, contributed much to the Cenſure which the Earl incurr'd: Some Country Fellow arriving towards Midnight at *Weſtminſter*, caus'd a ſudden Uproar, by reporting that the *Iriſh*, in a deſperate Rage, were approaching *London*, firing the Houſes, and putting Man, Woman and Child to the Sword. This falſe Report gather'd as it went along, ſo that in few Moments, not only the Trained-Bands and diſciplin'd Troops appear'd in Arms, but every Body leaving their Beds, plac'd Lights in their Windows, betook themſelves, with half their Cloaths on, the moſt fearful to Flight, the moſt reſolute to their Weapons: And what is moſt ſtrange, this Alarm ſpread it ſelf the ſame Night over the whole

Falſe Alarm throughout all England, Dec. 13.

whole Kingdom, and all that were able to carry Arms, vowed the Defence of their Lives, Laws, Religion and Liberties, and ſtood reſolv'd to deſtroy all the *Iriſh* and *Papiſts* in *England*, in caſe any Injury were offer'd them. Some ſaid, That this general Fright was occaſion'd by Seven or Eight, *Iriſh* Soldiers, who having no Money, reſolv'd to keep themſelves from ſtarving, by forcibly entring into a Country Houſe: Whilſt they were cuffing with thoſe who would have thruſt them out, a paltry Cottage happen'd to catch Fire, whereupon all the neighbouring Towns and Villages rang their Alarm Bells, which were ecchoed throughout all *England*. Some *Politicians* aſſign'd another Cauſe (which was moſt probable) of this univerſal Terror, and ſaid it was induſtriouſly propagated by the Directions of Duke *Schomberg*, both to feel the Pulſe of the Nation, and to inſpire them with Reſentment againſt the *Popiſh* Party, by letting them ſee to what Dangers they were reduc'd by the bringing of *Iriſh* Troops into the Kingdom. 1688.

Chancellor Jeffreys apprehended, Dec. 12.

The Day before this Conſternation, Chancellor *Jeffreys*, whom every Body thought to be gone with the King, having diſguis'd and abſconded himſelf in a Seaman's Houſe in *Wapping*, in order to his Eſcape beyond Sea; as he was looking out of the Window in a Seaman's *Monmouth*-Cap, was diſcover'd by a Clerk in *Chancery*, that accidentally paſt by. Thereupon he was immediately apprehended, and after a fair Deliverance from the Mob, that would have torn him to pieces, carried before the Lord-Mayor, who fell into a Fit of an *Apoplexy*, whilſt he was asking him ſome Queſtions; the ſame Day the Peers aſſembled at *Whitehall* with ſome of the Privy-Council, committed him to *Tower*, where the Conſcience of his Crimes (particularly the Death of the Lady *Liſle*) purſuing him, he endeavour'd to drown his Remorſes in Wine, which put him into a Fever, and that coſt him his Life. Thus ended his Days, *George Jeffreys*, Baron of *Wem*, a Man of great natural Parts, and who might have challeng'd a Place among the Firſt-Rate Lawyers of *England*, if he had been ſteddy

He dies.

His Character.

1688. in his Principles, and not made his Talents truckle to his Ambition; but being ſway'd by the Luſt of Honours and Riches, he roar'd more loudly againſt the Proteſtants, when Lord Chancellor, in King *James*'s Reign, than he had inveigh'd againſt the *Papiſts* in the time of the *Popiſh* Plot, when he was Recorder of the City of *London*.

The Prince of Orange's *Declaration*, Dec. 13. The Prince of *Orange*, in the mean time, was advanc'd as far as *Henly* with the greateſt part of his Army, and finding the King's Troops, now without a Head, to commit many Diſorders, His Highneſs iſſued out a Declaration, ſetting forth: *That being inform'd that divers Regiments, Troops and Companies, had been encourag'd to diſperſe themſelves in an unuſual and unwarrantable manner, whereby the publick Peace was very much diſturb'd, He had thought fit hereby to require all Colonels and Commanders in chief of ſuch Regiments*, &c. *to call together the ſeveral Officers and Soldiers belonging to their reſpective Regiments in ſuch Places as they ſhould find moſt convenient for their Rendezvous, and there to keep them in good Order and Diſcipline. And His Highneſs did likewiſe direct and require all ſuch Officers and Soldiers forthwith to repair to ſuch Places as ſhould be appointed for that Purpoſe by their Commanders in chief, whereof ſpeedy Notice was to be given to His Highneſs for his further Orders.*

At the ſame time His Highneſs ſent a Letter to the Earl of *Danby*, to deſire him to come to him, and order'd Mr. *Blaithwait*, Secretary of War, to bring him an Account of the King's Army. He alſo diſpatch'd the Lord *Churchill* to *London*, to reaſſemble his Troop of Life-Guards, and directed the Duke of *Grafton* to go and take Poſſeſſion of *Tilbury* Fort, with his Regiment of Foot Guards. The Duke was marching through the *Strand* at the Head of his Regiment, when an *Iriſh* Trooper of *Salisbury*'s Regiment, galloping down *Catharine-ſtreet* like a mad Man, took his Aim at his Grace with his Carabine; one of the Duke's Grenadiers was quicker than the Trooper, and ſhot him immediately from his Horſe; nor did he live long enough to confeſs the Reaſon of ſo deſperate an

Attempt. The Duke of *Grafton* went on towards *Tilbury*, where the *Iriſh* that guarded that Poſt, not thinking themſelves ſafe, reſolved to make their Eſcape beyond Sea, and for that Purpoſe ſeiz'd upon a Merchant-man bound for *Smyrna*; but the Seamen, as they ſail'd down the River, run the Veſſel on Shear, where Multitudes of People flocking together, the *Iriſh* paid dear for their Temerity. 1688.

Let's return to the King. His Majeſty, with His Three Followers, having croſs'd the *Thames* at *Whitehall*, went by Land as far as a certain Place near *Feverſham*, where he embark'd in a ſmall Veſſel that was to carry him to a Frigat, commanded by *Magdonel*, a faithful and ſtout *Iriſh* Captain, who waited for His Majeſty at *Margate*. The Weather was ſtormy, and the Veſſel wanted Ballaſt; now whilſt the Seamen were buſie in bringing it in, *Hales* ſent his Footman to the *Poſt-Office* at *Feverſham:* A Gunner belonging to *Dover*-Caſtle, whom *Hales* had formerly caſhier'd, knew preſently the Footman by his Livery, and dogging him to the River-ſide, he ſaw him make Signs to ſome People that were aboard a Bark. Thereupon he aſſembled the Fiſhermen, Seamen, and other Free-booters of that Place, who at this time took upon themſelves to ſearch all the Ships that went by, and made bold to ſtop, and at leaſt, to rob all Paſſengers whom they ſuſpected to be Prieſts, aſſuring them of a good Booty in that Bark where Sir *Edward Hales* muſt infallibly be. Encourag'd by this ſhort Harangue, they immediately boarded the Veſſel, and meeting firſt of all with *Hales*, their Joy was extraordinary, *Hales* being equally well known, and very much hated in that County; as for the King, they ſuppos'd him to be *Hales*'s Chaplain, becauſe he wore a Bob Wig; beſides, the Perſonal Indignities, (too groſs to be nam'd) which this ſacrilegious Rabble put upon their Sovereign, they took 400 Guineas from His Majeſty; and finding beſides this, a great Sum of Money, ſeveral valuable Seals, and other Jewels about him, they began to ſuſpect him to be ſomething more

The King taken at Feverſham, Dec. 12.

1688. than an ordinary Prieſt. Abundance of People being by this time gather'd on the Shoar, ſome of them went into the Ship, and amongſt theſe a Conſtable, who acknowledging his Soveraign through his Diſguiſe, fell preſently at his Feet, begg'd His Majeſty to forgive the Rudeneſs of the unruly Mob, and bid the Fellows to return him what they had robb'd him of; but the King would only receive the Jewels, and gave the Gold amongſt 'em. His Majeſty told the Conſtable he hop'd he would uſe him well; and when he ſaw every Body paid him the Reſpect due to a Monarch, he earneſtly endeavour'd to be gone; but the People being unwilling to let him, His Majeſty then ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*, who prevail'd with him not to leave the Kingdom, and whom he made Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Dover*-Caſtle. This ſtrange Adventure fill'd the City of *London* with joyful Surprize, moſt People being glad of an Opportunity to convince the King that there never was any ill Deſign againſt his Perſon. As for the Peers and Privy-Council, they were variouſly affected by this News, partly by reaſon of the Advances they had made to the Prince of *Orange*; however, after ſome Debates they appointed Four of their Members, *viz.* the Earls of *Middleton*, *Ailesbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Feverſham*, to wait upon His Majeſty, and invite him to his Palace at *Whitehall*; to which, tho' at firſt he ſhew'd ſome Reluctance, yet at laſt he condeſcended. The Peers alſo diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Prince of *Orange* to acquaint him that the King was ſtill in *England*; whereupon His Highneſs came to *Windſor*, and lodg'd in the Prince of *Denmark*'s Apartment, which was prepar'd for his Reception; and the next Day their Lordſhips (in Purſuance of the Prince's Directions) made an Order, *whereby they requir'd all Iriſh Officers and Soldiers to repair to the reſpective Bodies to which they did belong*; *and* declar'd, *That behaving themſelves peaceably, they ſhould have Subſiſtence paid them till they ſhould be otherwiſe provided for, or employ'd: And the ſaid Officers and*

The Prince of Orange *comes to* Windſor, Dec. 14.

Order of the Peers concerning the Iriſh, Dec. 14.

and Soldiers were alſo order'd to deliver up their Arms to ſome of the Officers of the Ordinance. 1688.

The Lords having acquainted the Prince of *Orange* with His Majeſties Reſolution to return to *Whitehall*, His Highneſs was ſomewhat ſurpriz'd at the News; and after a long Conſultation with the chief of the Nobility and Gentry about him, he diſpatch'd Monſieur *de Zuyleſtein* to the King, to deſire him to continue at *Rocheſter*; but this Expreſs miſſing his Way, His Majeſty left that Place on *Sunday* Morning, and about Four in the Afternoon entred the City of *London*, as it were, in Triumph, and went to *Whitehall*, attended by ſeveral Nobles, whilſt Multitudes of People, that crowded to ſee him, welcom'd his Return with loud Acclamations; the ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Bonfires, and all other publick Demonſtrations of Joy, Loyalty and Affection, being us'd upon this Occaſion.

The King returns to London, Dec. 16.

The Night before the King left *Rocheſter*, His Majeſty diſpatch'd the Earl of *Feverſham* with a Letter to the Prince, to invite him to St. *James*'s, with what Number of Guards and Troops His Highneſs ſhould think convenient to bring along with him, that they might amicably and perſonally confer together about the Means of redreſſing the publick Grievances. The Earl arriv'd on *Sunday* Morning at *Windſor*, and having deliver'd his Meſſage to the Prince, he was not a little ſurpriz'd, when inſtead of an Anſwer, Monſieur *Bentinck* demanded his Sword, being order'd by His Highneſs to ſecure him upon Account of his late Precipitate Disbanding the Army; or, as 'twas ſurmiz'd, becauſe having a great Influence upon the King, he might have puſh'd His Majeſty to ſome bold Attempt that might have broke the Meaſures, which thoſe that had join'd His Highneſs had already concerted for the Good of the Nation. The Prince of *Orange* having referr'd the Conſideration of the King's Letter to the Peers about him, they concluded, that the Royal Palace of *Whitehall* being ſtill crowded with *Iriſh Papiſts*, Prieſts and Jeſuits, His Highneſs could not be ſafe at St. *James*'s, before

The Earl of Feverſham *Arreſted*, Dec. 16.

1688. before His Majesty was remov'd within a reasonable Distance from *London*. Several Places were propos'd, but at last *Ham*, a House belonging to the Dutchess of *Lauderdale*, was pitch'd upon; and by their Advice, His Highness subscrib'd a Paper, *whereby he desir'd the Marquis of* Hallifax, *the Earl of* Shrewsbury, *and the Lord* Delamere, *to tell the King, That it was thought convenient, for the greater Quiet of the City, and the Safety of his Person, that he should remove to* Ham, *where he should be attended by his Guards, who would be ready to preserve him from any Disturbance.*

The Prince of Orange's *Message to the King,* Dec. 17.

The King's Orders to suppress Disorders, Dec. 16.

Assoon as His Majesty came to *Whitehall*, he assembled Eight Members of his Privy-Council, and made an Order for restoring the publick Tranquility, *by suppressing all riotous and tumultuous Meetings*, which was the last Publick Act of His Royal Authority; and tho' that very Night he was inform'd of the Earl of *Feversham*'s Confinement, yet the next Day he sent the Earl of *Mulgrave* to compliment

† Dec. 16. the Prince of *Orange*, who by this † time was come to *Sion*-House. His Highness's Guards being advanc'd as far as *Kensington* and *Chelsea*, were order'd to quarter there that Night; but soon after they receiv'd fresh Orders to march, and take Possession of all the Posts about *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, either by fair Means, or open Force. Count *Solmes*, who commanded them, being come for that Purpose, about Nine a Clock at Night His Majesty sent for him, and desir'd him, if possible, to let him have his own Guard at *Whitehall* only for that Night; but the Count alledging his positive Orders to relieve all the Posts, His Majesty bid him do his Office. At Ten of the Clock the *Dutch* Guards enter'd into St. *James*'s House, and towards Eleven those who were commanded to *Whitehall*, mov'd thither through the Park. The Lord *Craven*, who was directed by the Prince to order the King's Guards to retire from their Posts upon the Approach of His Highness's Troops, supposing this was not to be executed till the next Day, had given no Orders to that Purpose; and the *English* seeming unwilling to dislodge, His Highness's Guards march'd up to them with lighted Match, and in order of

The Dutch Guards take Possession of St. James's *and* Whitehall.

Bat-

Battel. A bloody Skirmiſh was like to follow, but at laſt the King's Guards were perſwaded to withdraw. The *Dutch* being now poſted at *Whitehall*, the Lords *Halliſax*, *Shrewsbury* and *Delamere* ſent a Note to Secretary *Middleton*, to inform him, *That there was a Meſſage to be deliver'd to His Majeſty from the Prince, which was of ſo great Importance, that they, who were charg'd with it, deſir'd they might be immediately admitted; and therefore deſir'd to know where they might find his Lordſhip, that he might introduce them.* Accordingly the Earl of *Middleton* introduc'd thoſe three Peers about One a Clock in the Morning, the King being by that time in Bed. After a ſhort Apology for breaking in upon His Majeſties Repoſe at ſo unſeaſonable an Hour, they deliver'd him the Paper, which the King read, and ſaid he would comply with it. Upon this the Lords humbly deſir'd he would remove ſo early as to be at *Ham* by Noon, to prevent meeting the Prince in his Way to *London*, where he was to come the ſame Day. His Majeſty readily agreed to this too, and ask'd, whether he might not appoint what Servants ſhould attend him? To which the Lords replied, That it was left to him to give Order in that as he pleas'd; and ſo took their Leaves of His Majeſty. When they were gone as far as the Privy-Chamber, the King ſent for them again, and told them he had forgot to acquaint them with his Reſolutions before the Meſſage came, to ſend my Lord *Godolphin* next Morning to the Prince, to propoſe his going back to *Rocheſter*, he finding by the Meſſage Monſieur *Zuyleſtein* was charg'd with, that the Prince had no mind he ſhould be at *London*; and therefore he now deſir'd he might rather return to *Rocheſter*, than go to any other Place. The Lords replied, that they would immediately acquaint the Prince with His Majeſties Deſire, not doubting of ſuch an Anſwer as would be to His Majeſties Satisfaction. Accordingly they ſent to the Prince, who preſently gueſſing the King's Deſign of leaving the Realm, order'd Monſieur *Bentinck* to write a Letter, which came before Eight a Clock next Morning, agreeing to His Majeſties Propoſals of going to *Rocheſter*.

1688.

The King goes to Rocheſter, Dec. 18.

1688. *Rochester.* Thereupon the King having taken his Leave of the Lords, the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and other Perſons there preſent, ſome of whom could not forbear ſhedding Tears on ſo moving an Occaſion, His Majeſty went into a Barge, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dumbarton*, Six of his own Yeomen of the Guard, and about an Hundred Men of His Highneſs's Forces, and arriv'd about Nine a Clock at Night at *Graveſend*, where he met ſome Troops of Horſe, which, the next Day, guarded him by Land to *Rocheſter*.

The Prince of Orange *comes to St.* James's, Decem. 18. The Prince of *Orange* took this favourable Opportunity to make his firſt Appearance in *London*, and about Three in the Afternoon, the ſame Day that the King left *Whitehall*, His Highneſs, with a magnificent Equipage, and a noble and numerous Retinue, came to St. *James*'s, where he receiv'd the Congratulations of all the Nobility, and other Perſons of the chiefeſt Quality in Town; not to mention the extraordinary Rejoicings of the giddy Multitude, which ſignified as little on this Occaſion as they did Two Days before. On the 20th the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London* attended His Highneſs upon the ſame Account, and the Lord-Mayor, being indiſpos'd, Sir *George Treby*, their Recorder, made an eloquent Speech to His Highneſs, the latter part of which was as follows.

Sir George Treby's *Speech to the Prince*, Dec. 20.

Great Sir,

"WHEN we look back to the laſt Month, "and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Ful- "neſs of our preſent Deliverance, aſtoniſh'd, we "think it miraculous. Your Highneſs, led by the "Hand of Heaven, and call'd by the Voice of the "People, has preſerv'd our deareſt Intereſts: The "*Proteſtant Religion*, which is *Primitive Chriſtianity* "reſtor'd; our *Laws*, which are our ancient Title "to our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and with- "out which this World were a Wilderneſs. But "what Retribution can we make to Your High- "neſs? Our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gra- "titude. Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument "in

" in the *Hearts*, in the *Prayers*, in the *Praiſes* of " all good Men amongſt us, and late *Poſterity* will " celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time " ſhall be no more. 1688.

The Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and the Reſident of *Venice*, did likewiſe compliment His Highneſs in private. The *London* Mob taking Occaſion of the publick Rejoicings upon the Prince's Arrival, inſulted and rifled the *Papiſts* without Controul, not excepting ſome Peers of *England*, no more than ſome foreign Miniſters. Thereupon the Privy-Council order'd that all Foreigners ſhould be permitted to leave the Kingdom, and the Prince of *Orange* ſent Paſſes to the Pope's Nuncio, and to the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy* and *Modena*. The Lords *Langdale* and *Montgommery* were ſet free, but the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Salisbury* were kept in Cuſtody, as well as a great Number of *Popiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits*. The Earl of *Middleton* waited upon the King at *Rocheſter*, to ſurrender to him the Seals of the Secretary's Office, and all the other Lords who had any Employments at Court, diſtinguiſh'd by exterior Badges, * laid down thoſe Marks of their Offices.

* *As the Staff, or the Key.*

On the 21th of *December* the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being met at St. *James*'s, to the Number of about Threeſcore and Ten, the Prince of *Orange* deſir'd them to conſider of the beſt Methods to call a free Parliament, and to purſue the Ends of his Declaration, which he left to be perus'd by their Lordſhips, and ſo withdrew. After the reading of the Prince's Declaration, the Lords voted their Thanks to His Highneſs for coming over; and the better to conſider of the moſt effectual Means to obtain the Ends of his Declaration, and ſettle a Form of Government, they reſolv'd to aſſemble for the future in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. For which Purpoſe they nam'd Five of the moſt able Lawyers to aſſiſt them in their important Conſultations, and to explain to them the Laws and Conſtitution of the Realm, in the room of the Judges, who were, moſt of them, abſent from

The Lords aſſemble at St. James's, Dec. 21.

1688. *London.* It was afterwards propos'd, that the whole Assembly should sign the same Engagement or Association, which the Nobility and Gentry had already subscribed at *Exeter*; to which Proposal all agreed, except the Duke of *S-------set*, the Earls of *P-----oke* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *W---ton*, and all the Bishops, save that of *London*, who set his Hand to the Association.

The King perceiving by these Proceedings what a desperate Condition his Affairs were in, and dreading the formidable Power of a free Parliament, resolv'd to betake himself to the Protection of the King of *France*. His Majesty was negligently guarded, as a Person to whom the governing Party was desirous to give an Opportunity to make his Escape; and therefore on the 23th of *December*, about Two or Three a Clock in the Morning, His Majesty privately withdrew himself, without communicating his Design to any Body; no, not to the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who lay in the King's Chamber, and who did not wake till after His Majesty was gone. That forlorn Prince taking only with him the Duke of *Berwick*, *Sheldon* and *Labadie*, went on Horseback as far as a certain Place near the River, where Captain *Magdonel* waited to receive him in a small Frigat; and having immediately put to Sea, with a favourable Wind, landed at *Ambleteuse* in *France*; from whence he repair'd to St. *Germains*. The Earl of *Middleton*, who was still at *Rochester* when the King went away, found the next Day, upon the Table, one of His Majesties Letters, desiring him to gratifie the Captains of the Prince's Troops that were appointed to guard him with an Hundred Guineas apiece, the Lieutenants and Ensigns with Fifty, and to reward some others that had attended him in Proportion. His Majesty, among all the Troubles that distracted his Mind, not forgetting to exercise his wonted Generosity towards all those that approach'd his Person. The King left also behind him a Paper, containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself

self from *Rochester*, which he wrote with his own Hand, and which was as follows. 1688.

"THE World cannot wonder at my withdraw-
"ing my Self now this second time. I
"might have expected somewhat better Usage af-
"ter what I writ to the Prince of *Orange* by my Lord
"*Feversham*, and the Instructions I gave him; but
"instead of an Answer, such as I might have hop'd
"for, What was I to expect after the Usage I re-
"ceiv'd by the making the said Earl a *Prisoner*,
"against the Practice and Law of Nations; *The*
"*sending his own Guards at Eleven at Night*
"*to take Possession of the Posts at* Whitehall, without
"advertizing me in the least manner of it; *The*
"*sending to me at One a Clock, after Midnight, when I*
"*was in Bed, a kind of an Order by three Lords, to*
"*be gone out of mine own Palace before Twelve that*
"*same Morning?* After all this, how could I hope
"to be safe, so long as I was in the Power of one
"who had not only done this to me, and invaded
"my Kingdoms, without any just Occasion given
"him for it, but that did by his first Declaration
"lay the greatest Aspersion upon me that Malice
"could invent, in that Clause of it which concerns
"my *Son*. I appeal to all that know me, nay,
"even to himself, that in their Consciences, nei-
"ther he nor they can believe me *in the least ca-*
"*pable of so unnatural a Villany*, nor of so little com-
"mon Sence, to be imposed on in a thing of such
"a Nature as that. What had I then to expect
"from one who by all Arts hath taken such Pains
"to make me appear as black as Hell to my own
"People, as well as to all the World besides?
"What Effect that hath had at home, all Mankind
"have seen by so *general a Defection* in my Army,
"as well as in the Nation, amongst all sorts of
"People.

"I was born *Free*, and desire to continue so;
"and tho' I have *ventured my Life* very frankly on
"several Occasions, for the Good and Honour of
"my Country, and am as free to do it again, (*and*
"*which I hope I shall yet do, as old as I am, to re-*

1688. " *deem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under*) yet I " think it not convenient to expose my self to be " secured, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and " for that reason do withdraw, but so as to be " within call whensoever the Nation's Eyes shall " be opened, so as to see how they have been a- " bused and imposed upon by the *specious Pretence* " *of Religion and Property.* I hope it will please " God to *touch* their Hearts, out of his infinite Mer- " cy, and to make them sensible of the ill Condi- " tion they are in, and bring them to such a Tem- " per, that a *Legal Parliament* may be called; and " that amongst other things which may be neces- " sary to be done, they will agree to *Liberty of* " *Conscience* for all Protestant Dissenters; and that " those of my own Perswasion may be so far consi- " dered, and have such a share of it, *as they may* " *live peaceably and quietly*, as Englishmen and " Christians ought to do, and not to be obliged " to *Transplant* themselves, which would be very " grievous, especially to such as love their own " Country; and I appeal to all Men, who are " considering Men, and have had Experience, whe- " ther any thing can make this Nation so great and " flourishing as *Liberty of Conscience.* Some of our " Neighbours dread it. I could add much more to " confirm all I have said, but now is not the " proper time.

The Throne becomes vacant.

The King's leaving the Realm was no small Joy to those who wish'd the *Protestant* Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of *England*, secur'd by a new Settlement; for had His Majesty been so resolute as to stay, and meet his Parliament, the growing Party would have been very much embarrass'd with his Person; since by the original Constitution, *The King can do no Wrong, and his Ministers only are answerable for all Miscarriages, and unwarrantable Proceedings.* This Flight of King *James* was afterwards interpreted by a solemn Vote of the Representatives of the Commons of *England*, a voluntary and absolute *Abdication*, whereby the People were restor'd to their Primitive Right of filling up the *Vacant* Throne,

Throne, and the Prince of *Orange* left at Liberty to wear a Diadem unſpotted by a Parricide. Thus ended the Actual Reign of King *James* II, who was a kind Father, a fond Husband, a generous Maſter, and who would have been rank'd among good Princes, if he had not had evil Miniſters. His Temper enclin'd him rather to Clemency than Revenge; and if his Reign be ſtain'd with ſome Marks of Cruelty, they are for the moſt part to be imputed to the Fierceneſs of his Adviſers, and the Perſecution of thoſe who would have prevented his Advancement to the Throne. He learnt the rough Trade of War under the Two greateſt Maſters of that Age, Prince *Turenne*, and Prince *Conde*, whom he follow'd both in the Service of *France*, and then of *Spain*, with great Reputation, and in the Year 1665. fought the *Dutch* Fleet with ſuch Bravery, as was both acknowledged and rewarded by the Houſe of Commons; yet as the worſt of his Enemies cannot but own his Courage, when Duke of *York*; ſo his beſt Friends do freely acknowledge that he had more Piety than Reſolution, when King of *England*. In ſhort, 'twas his Religion that principally occaſion'd his Misfortunes; for he would certainly have reign'd with Glory, if either he had been a Proteſtant, or his Subjects *Roman Catholicks*. Indeed his Faults ſeem unpardonable, becauſe he knew the Genius of the People he was to govern; and how unpracticable it was to overthrow the eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to introduce a new one; but yet the Force of Prepoſſeſſion is ſuch, and the Blandiſhments of Arbitrary Power, which attend *Popery*, ſo alluring, that perhaps any other Prince of his Perſwaſion would have been tempted to follow the ſame Conduct; and therefore it plainly appears how wiſe our Legiſlators have lately been in ſettling the Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of *England* in the *Proteſtant* Line.

1688.

King James *II's Character.*

The End of King James *II's Reign.*

INTER-

THE INTER-REGNUM.

1688. *The Administration of Affairs given to the Prince of Orange, December 25th.*

UPON the certain News that the late King *James* had left the Realm, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal immediately Assembled in their House at *Westminster*, and after a long Debate, relating chiefly to the Prerogatives of a King of *England*, their Lordships agreed upon an Address to be presented to the Prince of *Orange*, *To desire his Highness to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the disposal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preservation of the Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties, Properties and the Peace of the Nation. And moreover, that his Highness would please to take into his particular Care the present Condition of* Ireland, *and endeavour by the most speedy and effectual Means to prevent the dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which they made it their Request to his Highness to undertake and exercise till the Meeting of the intended Convention on the 22th of* January *ensuing, at which time they doubted not but such proper Measures would be taken, as would abundantly conduce to the Establishment of these things, upon such sure and legal Foundations, that they might not be in danger of being again Subverted.* At the same time their Lordships signed another Paper, *To desire his Highness to cause Letters, Subscrib'd by himself, to be Written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, As likewise to the several Counties, Universities, Cities, Boroughs and Cinque Ports of* England, *containing Directions for the chusing such a*

1688. *number of Perſons to repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to Parliament, ſo as the Perſons thus to be choſen, might Meet and Sit at* Weſtminſter, *on the 22th Day of* January *enſuing.* Both theſe Addreſſes were Signed by above 60 Peers, and preſented the ſame Day to the Prince of *Orange.*

His Highneſs never doubted of a conſiderable Party among the Lords, but the Concurrence of the Commons was the moſt Important Point, and to aſſemble them, after a Legal manner, was no ſmall Difficulty. There was no King in being, nor any Style or Form of Government; the Writs were deſtroy'd, and the Great Seal either loſt or carried away. After a long Conſultation upon ſo weighty an Affair, a Precedent was found, which ſeem'd to agree with the preſent Exigency. Towards the latter end of the Year 1659, General *Monk* with the Nobility and Gentry, that laboured for King *Charles*'s Reſtoration, in Oppoſition to the *Rumpers*, who pretended to continue ſitting, iſſued forth their Summons in the Names of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, for a *Convention* of *Parliament*, to meet on the 25th of *April* 1660. And tho' this was done by the Uſurpers, without the conſent of any of the People, yet after the King's Return, he was ſo well ſatisfied with the calling of that Parliament, that it was Enacted by the King, Lords and Commons, that the Lords and Commons then ſitting were the two Houſes of Parliament; notwithſtanding any want of the King's Writs, or any defect whatſoever, of the Acts they made, ſome were Confirm'd, and thoſe that had no Confirmation have nevertheleſs obtain'd ever ſince the Authority of undoubted Acts of Parliament. From this his Highneſs's Council inferr'd, that if the neceſſity of Affairs was a forcible Argument in 1659, it was certainly of a greater Force in the preſent Conjuncture. Now becauſe the Commons have not the ſame Power to Aſſemble as the Lords,

December the 23d. the Prince of *Orange* put out * a Paper, *deſiring all ſuch Perſons as had ſerv'd as Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in any of the Parliaments that were held during the Reign of the late King* Charles II. *as alſo the Lord*

Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, *to meet him at St. James's on the 26th of that Month.* 1688.

Pursuant to the Prince of *Orange*'s Summons several Members of the Parliaments in King *Charles*'s Reign, and the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, being met at St. *James*'s, his Highness acquainted them, *that he had desir'd them to meet him there, to advise with them of the best manner how to pursue the ends of his Declaration in calling a Free Parliament, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, the restoring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and settling the same so, that they might not be in danger of being again subverted.* Upon this they immediately repair'd to the Commons House in *Westminster*, and having chosen *Henry Powle* Esq; for their Chairman, the first Question they debated was, *What Authority they had to Assemble?* Whereupon 'twas agreed, that his Highness's Request was sufficient Warrant. The next Question was, *How his Highness could take upon him the Administration of Affairs without a distinguishing Name or Title?* which Objection started by Sir *Robert S*------ was immediately baffled by Serjeant *Maynard*, who said, *That the Assembly would lose a great deal of time if they waited till Sir* Robert *could conceive how that was possible.* Another propos'd to offer the Government to his Highness, not for a Month only, but for a whole Year; to whom it was answer'd, that the Convention would consider of that. Others mov'd that the Association that had been Sign'd by the Lords, might likewise be Subscribed by the Assembly; but it was carried, that the said Association should be left upon the Table, and every one be at liberty to Sign it or not. After these previous Debates, they Unanimously agreed to an Address, in the Preamble of which, *they return'd Thanks to his Highness for his coming into this Kingdom, and exposing his Person to so great Hazards, for the Preservation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties from the Miseries of Popery and Slavery*; and then went on desiring his Highness to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs,

The Prince of O---'s Speech to the Commons, December the 26th.

The Commons Address.

1688. to take care of *Ireland*, and to iſſue forth his Circular Letters for the meeting of the Convention. This Addreſs being * preſented and read to the Prince of *Orange*, on the 27th of *December*, his Highneſs took that Night to conſider of a Matter of ſo much weight, and the next Day told the Lords in the Morning, and the Commons in the Afternoon: "That he had conſider'd of their Advice, and as far as he was able would endeavour "to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, until the "meeting of the Convention in *January* enſuing, "and for the convening whereof, he would forthwith iſſue out Letters according to their deſire. "That he would alſo take care to apply the Publick Revenue to the moſt proper Uſes, that the "preſent Affairs requir'd; and likewiſe endeavour "to put *Ireland* into ſuch a Condition, that the "*Proteſtant* Religion might be maintain'd in that "Kingdom. And he likewiſe aſſur'd them, that as "he came hither for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of "this Kingdom, ſo he ſhould always be ready to "expoſe himſelf to any hazard for the defence of "the ſame.

* December 27.

The Princes Anſwer to the Lords and Commons, December 28.

The French *Ambaſſador retires*, December 25.

Whilſt the late King was ſtill at *Rocheſter*, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was extraordinary buſie in promoting Diviſions among the Peers, wherefore the Prince of *Orange* was no ſooner inform'd of his Majeſty's ſecond Departure, but his Highneſs ſent an Order to that Miniſter to leave the Kingdom in four and twenty hours. *Barillon* demanded more time, which being refus'd, he parted from *London* with the Marquis *Rangoni*, Envoy of *Modena*, to whom the Prince had granted a Guard. Two days after the Prince having receiv'd an Account, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Gentlemen had been ſecur'd at *Paris*, it was debated, whether his Highneſs ſhould ſend down a Meſſenger to arreſt the *French* Ambaſſador, by way of Repriſals, which however was not thought adviſable. On the 30th of *December*, being *Sunday*, his Highneſs receiv'd the Holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt in the Royal Chappel of St. *James's*

James's, from the Hands of the Biſhop of *London*, and heard the whole Service read by Dr. *Burnet*, and an excellent Sermon preach'd by the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, which open profeſſing himſelf a Member of the Church of *England*, gain'd not a few Friends to his Highneſs. The next day the Juſtices of Peace of *Middleſex* waited upon his Highneſs with an Addreſs of Thanks, for his coming over to deliver them from *Popery* and *Slavery*. Whereupon he caus'd a Declaration to be Publiſh'd, *Authorizing Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, and other Officers and Miniſters, not being Papiſts, who upon the 1ſt of* December *were in Office, to Act in their reſpective Places.* The * ſame Evening his Highneſs paid a Viſit to the Queen Dowager, and amongſt other Queſtions, ask'd her Majeſty, *How ſhe paſs'd the Time*, and *whether ſhe play'd at Baſſet?* The Queen took this opportunity to ſpeak, at a diſtance, in favour of the Earl of *Feverſham*, and Anſwer'd his Highneſs, *That ſhe had not play'd at it ſince the abſence of her Chamberlain, who us'd to keep the Bank.* The Prince of *Orange* took the Hint, and aſſur'd her Majeſty, that he would not by any means interrupt her Majeſty's Diverſions, and the next day order'd the Earl to be ſet at Liberty. However his Highneſs's Complaiſance did not alter the Queen's Reſolution of retiring to *Portugal*, for at that very time ſhe diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Lisbon* to that purpoſe.

1688. * December 31.

The Prince of *Orange* having diſpatch'd his Circular Letters for the meeting of the Convention, and for the preventing Diſorders that might happen in any place of Election, * order'd all Regiments, Troops and Companies to march out of the Quarters where ſuch Elections ſhould be made, the ſeveral Garriſons only excepted. Next his Highneſs bent his Thoughts upon Modelling the *Engliſh* Army. He firſt caus'd a Review to be made of all the Forces, and then gave Directions to the Lord *Ranelaugh* their Pay-maſter to pay them their Arrears, and to the Lord *Churchil* to make a Reform of eight of the new rais'd Regiments, *viz.* five of Horſe, and three of Foot; which however ex-

1688/9. * Jan. 5.

Engliſh *Army modelled.*

1688. tended no farther than the Officers, nor did it reach thoſe neither who had ſerv'd before, and were willing to be employ'd under his Highneſs. Beſides this Reform, the fourth Troop of Life Guards commanded by the Lord *Dover*, was Disbanded, to make room, as was juſtly ſuppos'd, for the *Dutch* Life Guard. The Regiment of *Dunbarton* was given to Duke *Schomberg*, which was a diſappointment to Duke *Hamilton*, who expected it ſhould have been beſtow'd on the Earl of *Selkirk*, his ſecond Son, to make him amends for his Regiment that had been given before to Colonel *Godfrey*. That of Major General *Oglethorp*, whom the Prince vainly endeavour'd to engage in his Service, was given to the Lord *Churchil*'s Brother; and that of *Skelton* to Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*. Colonel *Tuſton* who commanded Admiral *Herbert*'s Regiment, ſurrendred his Commiſſion, as did likewiſe Major General *Sackvil*, and Colonel *Legg*: Several other Officers follow'd this Example, upon account of the new Oath that was exacted of them. Now becauſe the Prince was inform'd, that divers Soldiers, contrary to his Intentions and the Laws of the Land, were Quarter'd in Private Houſes, his Highneſs iſſued out a Declaration, ordering that none of the Forces ſhould preſume to Quarter in any Private Houſe, without the voluntary conſent of the Owner,

Order for the Quartering of Soldiers, Jan. 8.

Affairs of Scotland.

The Declaration the Prince of *Orange* had caus'd to be diſpers'd in *Scotland* did not miſs of its effect, particularly among the *Presbyterians*. The Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *James*'s being withdrawn, reſign'd immediately the Great Seal, and retir'd from *Edinburgh*, and the Populace of that City, with an uncontrol'd Fury, inſulted and rifled, not only the *Roman* Catholicks, but alſo the Epiſcopal Party. The Prince being inform'd of theſe Motions, his Highneſs * aſſembled ſuch of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry as were then in *London*, and told them: *That the only Reaſon that induc'd him to ingage in ſo great an undertaking was, that he ſaw the* Laws *and* Liberties *of theſe Kingdoms overturn'd, and the* Proteſtant Religion *in imminent danger. And*

* Jan. 7.

ſeeing

1688/9.

ſeeing that there were ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Nation in Town, he had call'd them together, that he might have their Advice, what was to be done for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, *and reſtoring their* Laws *and* Liberties *according to his Declaration.* Aſſoon as his Highneſs was retir'd, thoſe Lords and Gentlemen went to the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*; and having choſen the Duke of *Hamilton* their Preſident, they conſulted together what Advice was fit to be given to his Highneſs in this Conjuncture; and after ſome Hours Reaſoning, they agreed upon the Particulars of it, which they order'd to be drawn up in Writing. The next day this Draught was preſented to the Aſſembly, to which they made ſome Amendments, relating to the calling of a General meeting of the States of *Scotland*: But as they were about to part, the Earl of *Arran* propos'd to them, *That they ſhould move the Prince of* Orange *to deſire the King to return, and call a Free-Parliament, which would be the beſt way to ſecure the* Proteſtant Religion, *and their Properties, and to heal all Breaches.* This Propoſal ſeem'd to diſſatisfie the whole Aſſembly; and therefore being met again the day following, Sir *Patrick Hume* took notice of it, and deſir'd to know if there was any that would ſecond it; but none appearing to do it, he ſaid, that what the Earl had propos'd was evidently oppoſite and ungrateful to the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertaking, his Declaration, and the good Intentions of preſerving the *Proteſtant Religion*, and of reſtoring their Laws and Liberties; and farther deſir'd, that the Aſſembly ſhould declare this to be their Opinion. The Lord *Cardroſs* ſeconded Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, but the Duke of *Hamilton* wav'd it, alledging, that their buſineſs was to prepare an Advice to be offer'd to the Prince; and the Advice being ready to go to the Vote, there was no need that the Aſſembly ſhould give their ſenſe of the Earl's Propoſal, which never before nor after Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, any had pretended to own or ſecond, ſo that it was fallen, and out of Doors; and that the Vote of the Aſſembly, upon the Advice, brought in by their Order, would ſufficiently de-

$168\frac{8}{9}$. clare their Opinion; This being ſeconded by the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Cardroſs*, and Sir *Patrick* did acquieſce in it; and thereupon the Aſſembly voted unanimouſly, that his Highneſs ſhould be humbly Advis'd and Deſir'd, *To take upon him the Adminiſtration of all Affairs both Civil and Military; the diſpoſal of the Publick Revenues and Fortreſſes of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and to call a general Meeting of the States of that Nation, to be holden at* Edenburgh *the* 14*th day of* March *enſuing.* This Addreſs being Subſcrib'd by 30 Lords, and about 80 Gentlemen, was * preſented, in their Preſence at St. *James*'s by the Duke of *Hamilton*, their Preſident, to the Prince of *Orange*, who thank'd them for the Truſt they repos'd in him, and deſir'd time to conſider of ſo weighty an Affair. On the 14th of *January* his Highneſs met the *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen again, and then told them, *That in purſuance of their Advice, he would, until the meeting of the States in* March *enſuing, give ſuch Orders concerning the Affairs in* Scotland, *as were neceſſary for the calling of that Meeting, for the preſerving of the Peace, the applying of the Publick Revenue to the moſt preſſing Uſes, and putting the Fortreſſes in the Hands of Perſons in which the Nation could have a juſt Confidence. And he farther aſſur'd them, That they ſhould always find him ready to concur with them in every thing that might be found neceſſary for ſecuring the* Proteſtant Religion, *and reſtoring the* Laws *and* Liberties *of their Nation.*

* Jan. 10.

Affairs of Ireland. Nor was the Prince of *Orange* leſs ſolicitous about the Preſervation of *Ireland*, which Kingdom was recommended to him, not only by the *Engliſh* Convention, but alſo by an Addreſs of the *Iriſh* Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, aſſembled for that purpoſe in the Duke of *Ormond*'s Houſe, who at the ſame time preſented his Highneſs with the Draughts of the Chief Ports of that Kingdom. His Highneſs was juſtly afraid that *Tirconnel* would remain Faithful to the late King, being ſupported by a numerous Army, and a powerful *Popiſh* Party; but upon a Report that he had propos'd in the Council to make the Lords *Granard* and *Montjoy*, both

both *Proteſtants*, the firſt Lieutenant, the other Major General, and to reſtore the Arms to the Proteſtants, it was thought fit to ſummon him, by a Letter, to ſubmit to the preſent Adminiſtration, and to receive thoſe Troops which his Highneſs deſign'd for the ſecurity of *Ireland*; aſſuring him, that the *Roman* Catholicks there ſhould enjoy the ſame Liberty they had in King *Charles* II. time. *Sarsfield*, a Native of *Ireland*, was firſt pitch'd upon to carry this Letter, but he told his Highneſs, that he was ready to obey his Commands, and even to fight againſt the King of *France*, but as to the being any ways acceſſary to deprive his Lawful Sovereign of one of his Kingdoms, he would never do it, unleſs he was forc'd to it. He being a brave Officer, his Anſwer was not ill receiv'd, and Collonel *Hamilton*, another *Iriſhman*, willingly undertook the Meſſage; but being arriv'd at *Dublin*, inſtead of promoting his Highneſſes Intereſt, he acted in concert with the Earl of *Tirconnel* to oppoſe it. Some of the Lords who had great Eſtates in *Ireland*, were apprehenſive of the ſad Conſequences of *Tirconnel*'s Preparations, and preſt his Highneſs to ſend ſpeedy Succours to the Proteſtants of the *North* of that Kingdom; but this Motion was retarded by others, who having nothing to loſe, wiſh'd no better than that things ſhould come to an Extremity; well knowing that a Rebellion is always attended by Forfeitures, of which they hop'd to have their ſhare. 1688.

Dr. *Ward*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, died in this Interval, and left a vacancy, which was ſoon after ſupply'd by one of the Princes Followers. As for Mr. *Chetwood*, who had been nam'd by King *James* to the Biſhoprick of *Briſtol*, Myn Heer *Dyckvelt*, one of the Ambaſſadors Extraordinary of the States, ſent to deſire to ſpeak to that Prelate, and with great earneſtneſs offer'd his Intereſt for the obtaining the ſaid Biſhoprick. Mr. *Chetwood* return'd abundance of Thanks to the Ambaſſador, but told him withal, *That he had not held any manner of Correſpondence for the Service of the Prince, and that he was well contented, that the Biſhoprick ſhould go to any other that Had*; and

Mr. Chetwood *refuſes the Biſhoprick of* Briſtol.

1688/9 *and that if he would ever ask any thing of his Highneſs he would firſt ſerve him.* This nice diſtinction between former and future Obligations, and grateful Regard to an old Maſter, rais'd ſo great an Eſteem for Mr. *Cheetwood* in the Prince, that his Highneſs afterwards employ'd him in quieting the Mutinous *Engliſh* Soldiers in *Flanders*; and would have advanc'd him to a very eminent Station, if Mr. *Chetwood* had been ſo forward in catching the Favours King *William* deſign'd him, as others were to intercept them. Before the meeting of the Convention the Lord *P*----- offer'd Mr. *Chetwood*, as from King *James*, a Patent for the Peerage of *Wood-hill*, (by Corruption *Odill*) in *Bedfordſhire*, which he refus'd, as his Grandfather had done in King *James* I's time, being contented to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his Learning, Politeneſs and Ingenuity, and to ſhare the honour of Titles with his Illuſtrious Relations. All this I mention, both to do Mr *Chetwood* Juſtice, and at the ſame time, to rectifie the Miſtakes of * one who has intermeddled with the Hiſtory of theſe Times, without either Candor or Competent Knowledge.

And the Peerage of Woodhil.

Mr. Lamberti.

To reſume the Thread of my *Narration*, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* had not yet waited upon the Prince, which ſome aſcrib'd to his Indiſpoſition, and others, who judg'd more rightly of the matter, to the ſame reaſon which oblig'd the Biſhops not to Sign the Aſſociation. However his Grace did ſoon after ſend a Compliment to the Prince, and with ſeven or eight Biſhops more Subſcrib'd the Aſſociation, having ſoften'd ſome Words in it, that ſeem'd to ſhock the Principles of Chriſtianity, whereof one was that of *Revenge*, which they changed into that of *Puniſhment*.

Upon the firſt notice given by a Letter from the Prince of *Orange*, to the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, that there was great occaſion for an immediate ſupply of Money, beyond what the preſent condition of the Revenue could furniſh, for the charge of the Navy, paying off part of the Army, and ſending a ſpeedy Relief for the defence for the Proteſtant Intereſt

tereſt in *Ireland*. And propoſing that for the Anſwering thoſe great Ends, ſuch a Sum of Money ſhould be advanc'd by the City, by way of Loan, as they could conveniently ſpare, which would be ſecur'd, and repaid with full Intereſt at the end of ſix Months; an Unanimous Vote immediately paſt, That they would ſupply his Highneſs with Two hundred thouſand Pounds, which was the Sum demanded, and which was rais'd in four days, one ſingle Man * having Subſcrib'd 60000 Pounds towards it. 1688/9.

†† *The City lends* 200000 *l. to the Pr. of* Orange Jan. 8.

* *Sir* Samuel Daſhwood.

The Sitting of the Convention drawing near, and the Major part of the Members being by this time come up to *London*, it was no difficult matter to foreſee that there would be more than one Party in the lower Houſe: 'Tis true, the Generality, if not all, agreed on the neceſſity of Re-eſtabliſhing the Fundamentals of the Government, and of bringing back the *Engliſh* Conſtitution to its firſt and pureſt Original, as the only means to ſecure the Nation againſt Popery, Slavery and Oppreſſion; but yet they differ'd not a little in the Methods of compaſſing thoſe great Ends. Again, though all concurr'd to lodge the Government in the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, yet various were their Opinions as to the Title they ſhould confer upon him; ſome being for making him *Regent* or *Protector*, and others *King*. The firſt ſeem'd to be ſtrengthen'd by the numerous Party of the Republicans, who hop'd thereby to make a great ſtep towards introducing a Common-wealth. As for thoſe who were for a King, they appear'd divided into two Parties, ſome maintaining that the Princeſs of *Orange* being the next Heir, ſhe ought therefore to be Crown'd, and the Prince to manage the Affairs as King only by his Wife's Title: But the Majority, who were for making his Highneſs King ſingly, aſſerted, † "That the Supreme Power "Perſonal of *England* is in King, Lords and "Commons, which are the three Eſſential Parts "of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; That that Supreme "Power was diſſolv'd by the failure of two Eſſen-"tial Parts of it, *viz.* Of the King by his Subjecti-

Different Parties about the making the Prince of Orange *King or Protector.*

† *Propoſals offer'd to the Convention containing Reaſons to place the Prince of* Orange *ſingly on the Throne.*

"on

1688/9. "on to the Biſhop of *Rome*, his uſurping an Arbi-
"trary Power, and afterwards by his Perſonal
"withdrawing of himſelf; and of the Houſe of
"Commons, which could not ſo be call'd accord-
"ing to the Conſtitution, the King being gone,
"and the Freedom of Election being deſtroy'd by
"the King's Encroachments; That the *Supreme*
"*Power Real* remain'd in the Community, who
"might Act by their Original Power; That tho'
"every particular Perſon was, notwithſtanding
"ſuch Diſſolution, ſubject to the Laws which
"were made by the *Supreme Power Perſonal*, when
"in Being; yet the Community's Power was not
"bound by them, but was Paramount to all Laws
"made by the *Supreme Power Perſonal*: and had a
"full Right to take ſuch Meaſures for ſettling the
"Government as they ſhould think moſt ſure and
"effectual, for the laſting Security and Peace of the
"Nation; ſince it was the Community of *England*,
"which firſt gave Being to both King and Parlia-
"ment, and to all the Parts of the Conſtitution.
They urg'd, "That the Acts done and executed by
"the *Supreme Power Perſonal* had ſo modelled the
"Parts and Perſons of the Community, that the
"Original Conſtitution was the beſt, juſteſt, and the
"moſt deſirable: That the *Royal Family* afforded a
"* Perſon that both Heaven and Earth pointed
"out for *King*; That there were Lords whoſe *No-*
"*bility* was not affected by the Diſſolution of the
"Government, and were the ſubject matter of a
"*Houſe of Lords*; And that there were Places,
"which by Cuſtom or Charter, had Right to chuſe
"Repreſentatives of the Commons; That there
"were inextricable Difficulties in all other Me-
"thods, for there being no Demiſe of the King,
"neither Civil nor Natural, there was conſequent-
"ly no Deſcent, and the Community only had a
"Right to take advantage of the King's Forfeiture
"or Deſertion; That whatever other Power might
"be imagin'd in the two Houſes, as Houſes of
"Parliament, it could juſtifie it ſelf to the Reaſon
"of any who underſtood the bottom of the *Eng-*
"*liſh* Conſtitution; That by this Method all *Popiſh*

"Succeſſors

* *The Prince of* Orange.

"Succeſſors might be excluded, and the Govern- 161⅝.
"ment ſecur'd, in caſe all the *Proteſtants* of the
"Family died without Iſſue; and this by the very
"Conſtitution of *England*: That it would be moſt
"adviſable, not only for the Security and Welfare
"of the Nation, but for the Intereſt of their Royal
"Highneſſes to limit the Crown as follows. To
"the Prince of *Orange* during his Life, (yet with
"all poſſible Honour and Reſpect to the Princeſs)
"Remainder to the Princeſs of *Orange*, and the
"Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Princeſs
"of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body, Re-
"mainder to the Heirs of the Body of the Prince
"of *Orange*; Remainder as an Act of Parliament
"ſhould appoint. In which Method they found
theſe Conveniences among others, *viz.* "That
"Husband and Wife being but one Perſon in Law,
"the Prince's Honour would be her Royal High-
"neſſes; That it put the Kingly Power into the
"beſt Hand in the World; That it aſſerted the
"Power of the Community; That it would be
"ſome Acknowledgement to the Prince for what
"he had done for the Nation; Concluding, that
"it was worthy Obſervation, that before the *Theo-*
"*cracy of* the *Jews* ceas'd, the manner of the Di-
"vine Deſignation of their Judges, was by God's
"giving the People ſome Deliverance by the Hand
"of the Perſon to whoſe Government they ought
"to ſubmit; That ſince that *Theocracy* ceas'd, there
"was no Inſtance of a Deſignation of any Perſon
"to any Government, more viſibly Divine and
"Miraculous than that which they now admir'd;
"That if *the Voice of the People be the Voice of God*,
"that Voice never ſpoke louder; That if a Nati-
"on of various Opinions, Intereſts and Factions,
"from a turbulent and fluctuating State, fell into
"a ſerene and quiet Calm, and Men's Minds
"were ſtrangely united on a ſudden, it ſhew'd
"from whence they were Influenc'd: In a Word,
"that if the Hand of God was to be ſeen in Hu-
"man Affairs, and his Voice to be heard upon
"Earth, they could not any where, ſince the cea-
"ſing of Miracles, find out a clearer and more

"remarkable

1688/9. "remarkable Inſtance, than was to be obſerv'd in "the preſent *Revolution.*

Beſides the foremention'd Reaſons, they alledg'd, "That the placing the Prince of *Orange* ſingly on "the Throne, would be a Caution to ſucceeding "Kings, of what fatal Conſequence a general De- "rogation may be, when they found, by this In- "ſtance, the Exerciſe of the Kingly Office in dan- "ger, not only with Reference to themſelves, but "likewiſe precarious to their Families. That the "Princeſs of *Orange* would ſhare in all the Glory of "a Crown, without the trouble of it, and would be "free from all *Popiſh* Reflections that ſhe ſate on her "Father's Throne whilſt he liv'd; And that there "was no room for the Princeſs of *Denmark* to think "her ſelf neglected, the Exchange being attended "with many Advantages, by the Poſtponing of "the Prince of *Wales.* That if the Prince of "*Orange* were not King in his own Right, his In- "tereſt could not be entirely the Nation's; for tho' "his Bravery was an Aſſurance of his Sincerity "to us, yet if there remain'd any probability of "his returning to *Holland*, as upon the Death of "his Queen, if ſhe only were Sovereign, his Inte- "reſt muſt be divided. That it was dangerous to "the Government it ſelf, to veſt the Exerciſe of "the Soveraignty in both, for they might differ "in Sentiments of Things: That it was repug- "nant to Grant the Crown to both, and fix the "Adminiſtration in one, ſince the Adminiſtration "was an Incident inſeparable from the Sovereign- "ty. Laſtly, that it ſupported the noble Maxim, "*That a Neighbouring Nation may take Arms, to reſcue* "*a People oppreſs'd by Tyranny*; *and that* Foreign "Princes *would be apt to look to themſelves, when* "*they heard, by our Nation's Example of Gratitude,* "*That they are no longer ſafe, than while juſt to their* "*Subjects.*

This Project being, in a great meaſure, derogatory to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Denmark*, 'twas fear'd her Highneſs, who had a conſiderable Party in both Houſes, would hardly Conſent to it: But however this Obſtacle was ſoon after remov'd.

Her

Her Royal Highneſs preferring the Publick Good before her private Intereſt, both out of the great Concern ſhe ever had for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, and by the Mediation of the Lady *Churchill*, a Perſon no leſs diſtinguiſh'd by her prevailing Wit, than by thoſe perſonal Accompliſhments, on which principally the fair Sex value themſelves, and for which they are generally admir'd. Beſides this Difficulty, they were apprehenſive of another Party, which, 'twas ſuppos'd, would be headed by a * Man of great Sway, and which conſiſted of thoſe who deſign'd to continue proviſionally the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Revenue in his Highneſs's hands; and to Impower him to make War againſt *France*, (a Point wherein all Parties concurr'd) to ſee old Treaties executed, and, in caſe of need, to make new Alliances. 1688. * *Sir E— S—*

As for the Lords, tho' they were for keeping out the late King, yet there was a conſiderable Party amongſt 'em, who, to ſave the Honour of the Church of *England*, and the Prerogatives of Monarchy, were for ſending his Majeſty an Invitation to return; but upon ſuch hard Terms, as, in all probability, he would never condeſcend to; of which Party were the Earls of *N*——, *C*——, and *R*——, and moſt of the Biſhops. As for the Affair of the Titular Prince of *Wales*, the Generality were of Opinion, that it ought to be left undecided, and not ſo much as mention'd. Tho' it was ſtill doubtful what Reſolutions the *Convocation* would take, yet the Prince of *Orange* thought fit to ſend for his Royal Conſort, and order'd Admiral *Herbert* to attend her in her Paſſage, with a Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, and ſome *Engliſh* Yatchs.

The two and twentieth Day of *January* being come, both Houſes of the *Convention* met at *Weſtminſter*, and immediately proceeded to the Choice of their Speaker. In the Houſe of Peers, the Marquiſs of *Halifax* carried it againſt the Earl of *Danby*; and in the Lower Houſe Mr. *Powle* was unanimouſly Choſen, tho' 'twas thought that Sir *Edward* *The Convention meets, Jan. 22.*

1688/9. *ward Seymour*, who had early join'd the Prince at *Exeter*, would ſtand in Competition with him. The Chairs being thus fill'd, a Letter from the Prince of *Orange* was Read in both Houſes, wherein his Highneſs told them: "That he had endeavour'd, to "the utmoſt of his Power, to perform what was de- "ſir'd from him, in order to the publick Peace "and Safety: And that he did not know that a- "ny Thing had been omitted, which might have "tended to the preſervation of them, ſince the "Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into his hands: "That it now lay upon them to lay the Founda- "tions of a firm Security for their Religion, their "Laws, and their Liberties: That he did not "doubt, but that by ſuch a full and free Repre- "ſentation of the Nation, as was now met, the "Ends of his Declaration would be attain'd. And "ſince it had pleas'd God hitherto to bleſs his "good Intentions with ſo great ſucceſs, he truſted "in him, that he would compleat his own Work, "by ſending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influ- "ence their Counſels, that no Interruption might "be given to a happy and laſting Settlement. That "the dangerous Condition of the Proteſtants in *Ire-* "*land* requir'd a large and ſpeedy Succour. And "that the preſent State of Things abroad oblig'd "him to tell them, that next to the Danger of *unſea-* "*ſonable Diviſions* among themſelves, nothing could "be ſo fatal as too great *Delays* in their Conſulta- "tions. *That* the *States*, by whom he had been "enabled to Reſcue this Nation, might ſuddenly "feel the ill Effects of it; both by being too long "depriv'd of the Service of their Troops which "were then here, and of the Conventions early "Aſſiſtance of them, againſt a powerful Enemy, "who had declar'd War againſt them. And that "as *England* was, by Treaty, already engag'd to "help them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo he was con- "fident that their chearful Concurrence to pre- "ſerve this Kingdom, with ſo much hazard to "themſelves, would meet with all the Returns of "Friendſhip, as *Proteſtants* and *Engliſh*-Men, when- "ever their Condition ſhould require it." After the

The Prince of Orange *his Letter to the* Con- vention.

the Reading of this Letter the Speaker of the House of Commons, represented to the Assembly, the dangerous state of the Nation, and the fatal Consequences of Anarchy; the deplorable Condition of the Protestants of *Ireland*, and how much *England* might be affected by the loss of that Kingdom; And lastly, the Growth of the Exorbitant Power of *France*, and the vast Designs of that turbulent and aspiring Monarch, not only the Persecutor of the Protestant Religion, but likewise the Sworn Enemy of *England*; exciting the Assembly to put the Nation into a Posture, not only to secure themselves against all his Attempts, but also to make such a powerful Diversion in the very Bowels of his Dominions, as that they might recover their first Conquest of *France*, and reunite to the Imperial Crown of *England* the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, which, by an undisputable Right belong to it. This Speech was receiv'd with universal Applause, and was seconded by several Members, who, at the same time, under a deep Sense of their past Dangers, and present Deliverance, mov'd that a Day of *Publick Thanksgiving* to the Almighty should be Appointed throughout the Kingdom, which was accordingly done: And to his Highness they Voted the following Address, to which the Lords gave their unanimous Concurrence, and which was presented to him that very Day. 1688/9.

The Convention Address of Thanks to his Highness.

We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster, *being highly sensible of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from* Popery *and* Arbitrary Power; *and that our Preservation is, next under God, owing to your Highness, do return our most humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to your Highness, for the* Glorious Instrument *of so great a Blessing. We do further Acknowledge the great Care your Highness has been pleas'd to take, in the Administration of the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, to this Time: And we do most humbly desire your Highness, that you will take upon you the Administration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the disposal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preservation of our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the*

1688/9. *Nation. And that your Highneſs will take into your particular Care the Preſent State of* Ireland, *and endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual means to prevent the dangers that threaten that Kingdom. All which we make our Requeſt to your Highneſs to undertake and execute, till further Application ſhall be made by Us, which ſhall be expedited with all convenient ſpeed. And we ſhall alſo uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to give diſpatch to the Matters recommended to us by your Highneſs's Letter.*

The Prince of *Orange* did not immediately return an Anſwer to the Convention's Addreſs, but the next day he ſent them that which followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Highneſs's Anſwer. Jan. 23. "I am glad, that what I have done has pleas'd "you. And ſince you deſire me to continue the "Adminiſtration of Affairs, I am willing to accept "it. I muſt recommend to you the Conſideration "of Affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to "expedite your Buſineſs; not only for making a "Settlement at home, upon a good Foundation; "but for the Safety of all *Europe*.

The Houſe of Commons appointed the 28th of *January* to take into Conſideration the Condition and State of the Nation, on purpoſe to give time to the reſt of their Members to come up to Town, but the Peers continued ſitting every day.

The late K James's *Letter to the Privy Council,* Jan. 4. The late King *James* foreſeeing what Advantage the Nation would take of his withdrawing himſelf out of the Kingdom, his Majeſty wrote a Letter from St. *Germains*, directed to the Lords and others of his Privy Council, wherein he ſays, "That he had taken away not only all juſt Cauſes, "but even Pretentions of Diſcontent, and redreſs'd "all thoſe things that were ſet forth as the Cauſes of "the Invaſion; That the Prince of *Orange* ſeeing all "the ends of his Declaration anſwer'd, the People "beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning apace "to their Duty, and well foreſeeing, that if a Free-"Parliament ſhould meet at the time appointed, "ſuch a Settlement, in all probability, would be "made both in Church and State, as would totally "defeat his ambitious Deſigns, reſolv'd by all means

"poſſible

"poſſible to prevent the meeting of the Parlia- 168$\frac{8}{9}$.
"ment; That to do this the moſt effectual way,
"the Prince thought fit to lay a Reſtraint upon his
"Royal Perſon; for as it were abſurd to call that
"a Free Parliament where there is any Force on
"either of the Houſes, ſo much leſs can that Parli-
"ament be ſaid to Act freely, where the Sovereign,
"by whoſe Authority they meet and ſit, and from
"whoſe Royal Aſſent all their Acts receive their
"Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement.
"That the ſenſe of the Indignities he had ſuffer'd,
"both in his own, and in the Perſon of the Earl
"of *Feverſham*, and the juſt apprehenſion of far-
"ther Attempts, by them who already endeavour'd
"to murther his Reputation by infamous Calum-
"nies (as if he had been capable of ſuppoſing
"a Prince of *Wales*) together with a ſerious Re-
"flection on a Saying of his Royal Father, when
"he was in the like Circumſtances, that *There is*
"*little diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of*
"*Princes*; (which afterwards prov'd but too true
"in his Caſe) could not but perſwade him to make
"uſe of that Right which the Law of Nature
"gives to the meaneſt of his Subjects, of freeing
"himſelf from that unjuſt Confinement; That
"this he did not more for the Security of his own
"Perſon, than that thereby he might be in a bet-
"ter capacity of tranſacting and providing for
"every thing that might contribute to the Peace
"and Settlement of his Kingdoms; That as no
"change of Fortune ſhould ever make him con-
"deſcend to any thing unbecoming his Royal
"Station, ſo neither the Provocation or Ingrati-
"tude of his own Subjects, nor any other Conſi-
"deration ſhould ever prevail with him to make
"the leaſt ſtep contrary to the true Intereſt of the
"*Engliſh* Nation, which he ever did and ever muſt
"look upon as his own. That he requir'd them of
"his Privy Council to make theſe his Intentions
"known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
"the Lord Mayor and Commons of the City of
"*London*, and to all his Subjects in General, and
"to aſſure them, that he deſir'd nothing more than

1688/9. "to return and hold a Free Parliament, wherein "he might have the beſt opportunity of undeceiving his People, and ſhewing the ſincerity of "thoſe Proteſtations he had often made, of preſerving the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects and the Proteſtant Religion, more eſpecially the Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſh'd; That in the mean time they ſhould ſend "him their Advice, what was fit to be done by "him towards his returning, and the accompliſhing of theſe good Ends; and that he requir'd "them to endeavour to ſuppreſs all Tumults and "Diſorders, that the Nation might receive the leaſt "prejudice from the preſent Diſtractions that was poſſible. This Letter was publickly Printed in *London*, but being Counterſign'd by the Earl of *Melfort*, a *Roman* Catholick, it did King *James* more harm than good, among thoſe who ſtill retain'd an Affection for him. Whilſt the Convention was ſitting, his Majeſty writ another Letter, addreſs'd to the Houſe of Lords and Commons, wherein he tells them;

K. James's Letter to the Lords and Commons, dated Feb. 3. N. S.

"That he thought himſelf oblig'd in Conſcience "to do all he could to open his People's Eyes, that "they might ſee the true Intereſt of the Nation in "this important Conjuncture; That finding he "could no longer ſtay with Safety, nor act with "Freedom, he had left the Reaſons of his with-"drawing from *Rocheſter* under his own Hand; "That underſtanding that Letter (which he repeated here at length) "was not taken to be his, "but was maliciouſly ſuppreſs'd by the Prince of "*Orange*, he writ to ſeveral of his Privy Council, "and directed Copies thereof to divers of them, "the Peers of the Realm, believing none durſt intercept or open any of theſe Letters; That of "all theſe he had no account, nor did he wonder "that all Arts were us'd to hinder them from "knowing his Sentiments; That he was reſolv'd "nothing ſhould be omitted on his part, that could "contribute towards the Redreſs of all former Errors, or preſent Diſorders, or add to the Securing "the *Proteſtant Religion*, or the *Property* of the Subject, intending to refer the whole to a Parliament

"legally

"*legally Call'd, freely Elected, and held without Con-* 1688.
"*ſtraint*; And that none might deſpaer of his
"*Mercy*, he declar'd on the Word of a King, that
"his *Pardon* ſhould be extended even to thoſe that
"betray'd him, (ſome few excepted) reſolving
"in that Parliament, by an Act of Oblivion, to
"cover all Faults. This Letter the Lord *Preſton* ſent to the Houſe of Commons, directed to their Speaker; but the Houſe being inform'd that it came from the late King, they did not think fit to take notice of it, and rejected it unopen'd. A Copy of the ſame Letter being ſent likewiſe to the Houſe of Lords, addreſs'd to the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, ſome of that Aſſembly were for opening it, but others oppos'd it; and 'twas reſolv'd, that the Lord *Preſton* ſhould be ſent for. His Lordſhip appear'd accordingly, own'd that the Letter was brought to him by a *Scotchman*, and was order'd to attend the Houſe with the Bearer; but his Lord- * Feb. 4
ſhip was never call'd in on the * day appointed, nor any farther notice taken of the Letter.

The Commons being met on the 28th of *January*, they proceeded to take into Conſideration the State and Condition of the Nation, and the Houſe reſolv'd it ſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which Mr. *Hamden* was choſen Chairman. The firſt that ſtood up was Mr. *Dolbin*, Son to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, who made a long Speech, tending to prove, that the Throne of *England* was vacant, King *James* the Second, both by his Violation of the Laws, and his voluntary deſerting theſe Kingdoms, having forfeited his Right, and Abdicated the Government. A Member of the oppoſite Party made a ſmart Reply, to that unexpected Aſſertion, *That the Throne was vacant.* Whereupon Sir *Richard Temple* ask'd him, *If the Throne were not vacant, what Buſineſs they had in that place, and what need there was of calling a Convention?* Sir *Richard* made a very Eloquent Speech to back Mr. *Dolbin*'s Poſition which occaſion'd a Debate of four or five hours, which being ended, the Houſe made the following Vote, perhaps the moſt remarkable in all our Records.

1688/9.

The Throne declar'd Vacant. Jan. 28.

Reſolved, *That King* James *the Second, having endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of* Jeſuits, *and other wicked Perſons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, has Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby Vacant.*

The Party of thoſe who were for inviting King *James* to return, did not find themſelves ſtrong enough to divide the Houſe; however the chief of them, ſuch as Sir *Edward S-----r*, Sir *Robert S---r*, Mr. *F------h*, Sir *Chriſtopher M-----e*, the Lord *F----w*, *&c.* did vigorouſly oppoſe the paſſing of that Vote. Among the reſt Mr. *F---h* made a long Speech extolling, with his uſual Eloquence, the Courage, Conduct, and Magnanimity of the Prince of *Orange*, whom he compar'd to thoſe Ancient Heroes, that were contented with the Glory of freeing Nations, and deſtroying Tyrants, without any deſign upon their Crowns. But, notwithſtanding all the ſtir this Party could make, the forementioned Vote was immediately ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Debates of th Lords concerning the vacancy of the Throne.

Upon the 29th of *January* the Lords began to conſider the Vote of the Houſe of Commons, with a great deal of Circumſpection, and being reſolv'd into a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Earl of *Danby* was Chairman, the firſt Motion was made not to agree with the Commons, that *the Throne was vacant*, but only to ſuppoſe it, leaving it to be farther examined afterwards, in order to cut ſhort ſeveral other Queſtions, by determining this firſt, *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent or a King?* This Queſtion was debated with a great deal of Learning and Skill, and not a little Warmth: Among the reſt the Earl of *Nottingham* fetch'd many Arguments from our *Engliſh* Story to ſupport his Opinion for a Regency, adding a freſh Inſtance from *Portugal*, where *Don Pedro* had only the Title of Regent cor-

conferr'd upon him whilſt his Depos'd Brother was alive. This Speech of the Earl of *Nottingham* had a great influence on the Houſe, and would have been follow'd by the Majority, had not the Marquiſs of *Halifax* and the Earl of *Danby* ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it; ſo that the Queſtion being put to the Vote, 51 were for a King, and 49 only for a Regency, *viz.* The Dukes of *Sommerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; The Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Craven*, *Weſtmorland*, *Scarſdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey* Viſcount *Weymouth*; The Lords *Coventry*, *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrars*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Jermin*, *Arundel of Treviſe*, *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin*, and five more; The Archbiſhop of *York*; the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Winchiſter*, *Ely*, St. *Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, *Rocheſter*, St. *Davids*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Lincoln*. The Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the Houſe, not to be ungrateful to King *James*. My Lord *Churchil* kept at home upon ſome Indiſpoſition, or as ſome thought becauſe he would not give his Vote in ſo Critical an Affair, wherein he muſt either diſoblige the Prince of *Orange*, or the Princeſs of *Denmark*. As for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was really Indiſpos'd; but had he been in the Houſe, he would certainly have Voted for the Regency; ſo that of all the Biſhops, none but thoſe of *London* and *Briſtol* were for a King. However this Party was ſoon after fortified by four Dukes, *viz.* the Duke of *Ormond*, and the three Natural Sons of King *Charles* II. Whilſt the Lords were debating that Preliminary Queſtion, the Commons paſt a Vote, declaring that Popery was inconſiſtent with the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and excluding for ever all *Roman* Catholicks from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, to which the Houſe of Peers gave their Concurrence; and Propos'd withal to add a Clauſe, That no King of *England* ſhould Marry a *Roman* Catholick. 1688/9.

1688/9. Jan. 30. The * next day the Lords went farther upon the Vote of the House, and put this Question, *Whether or no there was an Original Contract between King and People?* which Question occasion'd many hot Disputes, not a few maintaining, that Kings held their Crowns by Divine Right; which others as warmly denied, asserting, that all Power Originally belong'd to the Community, and to the King only by Mutual Compact. Thereupon the House being divided, 53 were for this last Position and 46 only for the Negative; by which it appear'd, that the Party that were for a Regency began to lose Ground. The next Question was, *Whether King* James *had broke that Original Contract?* which after a small debate was carried in the Affirmative. The last day of *January* their Lordships took into Consideration the Word *Abdicated*, and concluded that *Deserted* was more proper. They next examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put this Question, *Whether King* James *having broke that Original Contract between him and his People, and deserted the Government, the Throne was thereby Vacant?* This Question was debated with more Heat and Contention than any of the former, and upon a Division, the High Churchmen, who maintain'd, that it being a Maxim of our Law, *That the King never dies*, and therefore *that the Throne can never be said to be Vacant*, carried the Negative of the Question by eleven Voices. From this some presently inferr'd, that the Crown was devolv'd upon the next Heir, and mov'd that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be declar'd King and Queen, which was also carried in the Negative by five Voices. The next day their Lordships agreed to Communicate their Resolutions to the House of Commons, but before they rose, several Peers, particularly the Marquesses of *Halifax* and *Winchester*, the Earls of *D--by* and *D----shire*, the Lord *D-----re*, and others, to the number of Forty, enter'd their Protestations against the Vote of the day before, *viz.* That *the Throne was not Vacant.*

Amendments made by the Lords to the Vote of the Commons.

On the 2d. of *February* the Lords sent a Message to the Commons by Sir *Miles Cook* and Mr. *Methwin*

win, two Maſters of *Chancery*, to acquaint them that they had conſider'd of their Vote of the 28*th.* of *January* laſt, to which their Lordſhips concurr'd, with theſe two Amendments; firſt, inſtead of the Word *Abdicated*, they would have *Deſerted* be put in; and theſe Words, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*, to be left out. The Commons having conſider'd of theſe Amendments, it was carried by a great Majority, that a Committee ſhould be Appointed to draw up Reaſons, why that Houſe could not concur with their Lordſhips, which were as follows: *That to the firſt Amendment the Commons did not Agree, becauſe the Word* Deſerted, *did not fully expreſs the Concluſion neceſſarily inferr'd from the Premiſes, which their Lordſhips had agreed to, viz.* That King *James* the Second had endeavour'd to Subvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the *Original Contract* between King and People, and had Violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom: *That the Word* Deſerted *reſpected only the withdrawing, but the word* Abdicated *reſpected the whole, for which purpoſe the Commons made choice of it. That the Commons could not Agree to the Second Amendment, to leave out the Words,* And that the Throne is thereby vacant, *Firſt, Becauſe they conceiv'd, that as they might well infer from ſo much of their own Vote as their Lordſhips had agreed unto,* That King *James* the Second had Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was thereby vacant, *ſo that if the Commons ſhould admit their Lordſhips Amendment, that he had only* Deſerted *the* Government, *yet even thence it would follow, that the* Throne is vacant, *as to King* James *the Second*; Deſerting *the Government, being in true Conſtruction*, Deſerting the Throne. 2*dly*, *That the Commons conceiv'd they needed not prove to their Lordſhips, that as to any other Perſon* the Throne *was alſo* vacant; *Their Lordſhips, as the Commons conceiv'd, having already admitted it, by their* Addreſſing the *Prince* of *Orange*, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, *&c. and by Appointing Days of Publick* Thanksgiving *to be obſerv'd throughout the whole Kingdom, all which the Commons conceiv'd to imply*

1685.

Reaſons of the Commons why they did not concur with the Lords Amendments.

1688/9. *imply, that it was their Lordſhips Opinion,* That the Throne was vacant, *and to ſignify ſo much to the People of this Kingdom.* And 3dly, *That it is from thoſe who are upon the Throne of* England (*when there are any ſuch*) *from whom the People of* England *ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects*; *but there being none now from whom they expected* Regal *Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they owed the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceiv'd,* the Throne was vacant. Thereupon it was reſolv'd that the Earl of *Wiltſhire* ſhould deſire a Conference with the Lords, upon the Subject Matter of the Amendments, which their Lordſhips having readily conſented to, the Commons appointed the ſame Committee that had prepar'd the foregoing Reaſons, to be the Managers of the ſaid Conference.

Febr. 5. The next * day Mr. *Hamden* reported from the Conference with the Lords, that the Earl of *Nottingham* ſpoke to this effect: "That the Lords "had deſir'd this Conference, that they might be "as happily united to the Commons in Opinion, "as they were inſeparable in their Intereſt; and "that they were at this time uneaſy, that they could "not concur with the Commons in every thing, be-"cauſe it was of ſo great a Concern to the Nation, "and from ſo great and wiſe a Body. That the "Lords did inſiſt upon the firſt Amendment, be-"cauſe they did not find that the Word *Abdicated* "was a Word known to the Common Law of *Eng-"land*; and becauſe in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdicated* was a voluntary "expreſs Act of Renunciation, which was not in "this caſe, and did not follow from the Premiſes, "*That King* James II. *by having withdrawn himſelf, "after having endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution "of the Government, by breaking the Original Con-"tract between King and People,* might be more properly ſaid to have *Abdicated* than *Deſerted.* That "the Lords alſo inſiſted on the ſecond Amendment, "for altho' their Lordſhips had agreed, that the "King had deſerted the Government, and there-"fore had made Application to the Prince of *Orange*

Reaſons of the Lords for Inſiſting on their Amendments.

"to

1688/9.

"*to take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Govern-*
"*ment*, yet there could be no other Inference
"drawn from hence, but only that the Exerciſe of
"the Government by King *James* the Second was
"ſeiz'd; ſo as the Lords were willing to ſecure
"the Nation againſt the Return of the ſaid King
"into this Kingdom; but not that here was either
"ſuch an *Abdication* by him, or ſuch a *Vacancy in*
"*the Throne*, as that the Crown was therefore be-
"come Elective, which they could not agree to.
"1ſt. *Becauſe, by the Conſtitution of the Government, the*
"*Monarchy is* Hereditary, *and not* Elective. 2dly,
"Becauſe no Act of the King can Bar, or deſtroy
"the Right of his Heirs to the Crown; and there-
"fore, in Anſwer to the third Reaſon alledg'd by
"the Houſe of Commons, if the Throne be va-
"cant of King *James* II. Allegiance was due to
"ſuch Perſon, as the Right of Succeſſion did be-
"long to.

The memorable Debate between the Lords and the Commons, relating to the Word Abdicated, *and the* Vacancy *of the Throne.*

Mr. *Hamden* having made his Report of the late Conference, the Queſtion was put, *Whether the Commons ſhould concur with the Lords?* As to the firſt Amendment, the Negative carried it with great Unanimity; but the 2d. occaſion'd a long and warm Debate, till, upon Diviſion, 151 only were found for the Affirmative, againſt 282 who were for the Negative. Thereupon Dr. *Dolbin* was Order'd to deſire a free Conference with the Lords, and the following 24 Perſons were Nominated to manage for the Commons, *viz.* Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *Polexfen*, Mr. *Paul Foley*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Holt*, Lord *Faukland*, Sir *George Treby*, Mr. *Sommers*, Mr. *Garraway*, Mr. *Boſcawen*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Hamden*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Secheveril*, Major *Wildman*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Ayres*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *Henry Goodrick*, Mr. *Waller*, and Sir *John Guyes*; all Men of known Parts and Abilities. The Lords agreed to the Conference, and Appointed for their chief Managers the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Rocheſter*, *Pembroke*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and ſome others.

Febr. 6.

The Managers of both Houſes being Met in the *Painted Chamber*, Mr. *Hamden* open'd the Confe-

Mr. Hamden.

rence,

1688/9. rence, by Saying, "That the Commons had de-
"ſir'd it, that they might make it appear, that they
"had ſufficient Reaſon to maintain their own
"Vote: That it was a Matter of the greateſt Con-
"cernment to the Kingdom, and the Proteſtant
"Intereſt, that there be a good Iſſue of the Buſineſs
"now in Debate between both Houſes. That the
"preſent Difference was only about a few Words,
"but that the Commons thought their Words ſo
"ſignificant, and ſo proper to the Caſe to which
"they were apply'd, that in ſo weighty a Mat-
"ter, as that now in Debate, they were by no
"means to be parted with: That the Word *Ab-*
"*dicated* was of larger ſignification than the Word
"*Deſerted*, but not too large to be apply'd to all
"the Recitals in the Beginning of the Commons
"Vote; and that it ought not to be reſtrain'd to
"a voluntary expreſs Reſignation, only in Word or
"Writing, there being overt-Acts that would be
"ſignificant enough to amount to it. That if the
"Common Law of *England* be not acquainted with
"the Word, 'twas from the Modeſty of our Law,
"that is not willing to ſuppoſe there ſhould be a-
"ny unfortunate Occaſion of making uſe of it.
"That as to the ſecond Amendment, the Com-
"mons conceiv'd, *That the Throne is vacant*, was
"no new Phraſe, neither did they think it charge-
"able with the Conſequences that their Lordſhips
"drew from it, *That it would make the Crown of* Eng-
"land *become Elective*. That if the Throne had
"been full, the Lords would have aſſign'd that as
"a Reaſon of the Diſagreement, by telling the
"Commons who fill'd it. That it would be known
"by ſome publick Royal Act, which might notify
"to the People in whom the Kingly Government
"reſided: Neither of which had been done, and yet
"their Lordſhips would not allow *the Throne to be*
Mr. Som- "*vacant*. Mr. *Sommers* ſpoke next, and maintain'd
mers. with a great deal of Skill and Erudition; that
"if it was an Objection againſt the Word *Abdica-*
"*ted*, its not having a known Senſe in the Com-
"mon Law of *England*, there was the ſame Obje-
"ction againſt the Word *Deſerted*, ſince there could

be

"be no Authority, or Book of Law produc'd, 1688.
"wherein any determin'd Senſe was given to the
"Word *Deſerted*; ſo that their Lordſhips firſt Rea-
"ſon had the ſame Force againſt their own Amend-
"ment, as it had againſt the Term us'd by the
"Commons. He urg'd, that the Words were both
"*Latin*, and us'd in the beſt Authors, and both of
"a known ſignification, tho' their meaning be not
"the ſame. That the word *Abdicate* did naturally
"and properly ſignify, *Entirely to renounce, throw off,*
"*diſown, relinquiſh any Thing or Perſon, ſo as to have*
"*no further to do with it*, and that, *whether it be*
"*done by expreſs Words, or in Writing*, (which was
"the Sence the Lords had put upon it, and which
"was properly call'd, *Reſignation* or *Ceaſion*) or, *by*
"*doing ſuch Acts as are inconſiſtent with the holding or*
"*retaining of the Thing*, which the Commons took
"to be the preſent Caſe, and therefore made choice
"of the Word *Abdicate*, as that which they thought
"did, above all others, moſt properly expreſs
"that meaning. That in this latter ſence it was
"taken by others, and that it was the true ſignifi-
"cation of the Word, he ſhew'd it out of * *Grotius*,
"† *Calvin*, * *Briſonius*, † *Budeus*, and * *Praleius*.
"As to the word *Deſerted* he ſaid; That it had
"not only a very doubtful Signification, but in the
"common Acceptance, both of the Civil and Ca-
"non-Law, it did ſignify only a *bare Withdrawing*,
"a *temporary Quitting of a Thing*, and *neglect only*,
"*which leaves the Party at liberty of returning to it*
"*again*; and made it appear out of *Spigelius* in his
"*Lexicon*, and * *Bartolus*, That that is call'd *De-*
"*ſertion*, which is *temporary* and *relievable*, and that
"*Dereliction*, where there *is no Power or Right to re-*
"*turn*. Further, he ſaid, that the word *Deſert* is
"us'd in the Civil Law for *Soldiers leaving their*
"*Colours*; and that in the *Cannon-Law*, to *Deſert a*
"*Benefice*, ſignified no more than to be *Non-reſident*,
"that in both Caſes the Party had not only a *Right*
"*of Returning*, but is *bound to return again*; which,
"as the Commons did not take to be the preſent
"Caſe, ſo they could not think that their Lordſhips
"did, becauſe it was expreſly ſaid in one of their
"Reaſons,

* *De Jure Belli & Pacis* l. 2. c. 4. §. 4. *and* l. 1. c. 4. §. 9.
† *Lexicon Juridicum.*
* *De Verborum ſignificatione.*
† *Comment. ad legem 2m. de origine Juris.*
* *Lexicon Juris.*
† *On the 8th. Law of the 58th. Title of the 11th. Book of the* Code.

1688. "Reaſons, given in Defence of the laſt Amendment,
"*That the Lords had been, and were willing, to ſecure*
"*the Nation againſt the Return of King* James, which
"their Lordſhips could not, in Juſtice, do, if they
"did look upon it no more than *a negligent With-*
"*drawing, which leaves a liberty to the Party to*
"*return.* That for theſe Reaſons the Commons
"could not agree to the firſt Amendment, becauſe
"the word *Deſerted* did not, in any ſort, come up
"to their ſence of the Thing, neither did it reach
"their Lordſhips meaning, as it was expreſs'd in
"their Reaſons: Whereas the word *Abdicated* did
"expreſs properly what was to be inferr'd from
"that part of the Vote to which their Lordſhips
"had agreed, *That King* James II. *by going about to*
"*Subvert the Conſtitution*, &c. had thereby renounc'd
"to be a King, according to the Conſtitution,
"by avowing to Govern by a Deſpotick Power,
"unknown to the Conſtitution, and inconſiſtent
"with it. That he had renounc'd to be a King
"according to Law, ſuch a King as he Swore to be
"at his Coronation, ſuch a King to whom the Alle-
"giance of an *Engliſh-man* is due, and had ſet up ano-
"ther kind of Dominion, which was to all intents an
"*Abdication*, or *Abandoning his Legal Title*, as fully as
Serjeant Holt. "if it had been done by expreſs Words. Mr. Serj. *Holt*
"back'd what had already been alledg'd, adding, That
"the Lords Objection, *that the Word* Abdicated
"*was not known to the Common Law of* England,
"could be of no Force, ſince we have very few
"Words in our Tongue that are of equal Antiquity
"with the Common-Law. And that the *Engliſh*
"Language was ſo much alter'd in the ſeveral Suc-
"ceſſions of Time, and the intermixture of other
"Nations, that if they ſhould be oblig'd to make
"uſe only of Words then known and in uſe, what
"they ſhould deliver in ſuch a Dialect would be
"very difficult to be underſtood. As for the Lords
"ſecond Reaſon for their firſt Amendment, *viz.*
"That *in the moſt common Acceptation of the Civil*
"*Law*, Abdication *is a voluntary expreſs Act of* Re-
"nuntiation. He own'd that to be the general Ap-
"ceptation of the Word, and that he thought the
"Commons

"Commons did ſo uſe the Word in this Caſe, be- 1688.
"cauſe it had that Signification; but that he did not
"know whether the Lords meant a voluntary ex-
"preſs Act, or formal Deed of *Renuntiation*; that
"if they did ſo, he confeſt he knew of none in
"this Caſe, but that both in the *Common Law* of
"*England*, and in the *Civil Law*, and in common
"Underſtanding, there are expreſs Acts of *Renunti-*
"*ation*, that are not by Deed; laying this down as
"a Maxim, *That the Government and Magiſtracy is*
"*under a Truſt, and that any acting contrary to that*
"*Truſt, is a* Renouncing *of the Truſt, tho' it be*
"*not a* Renouncing *by a Formal Deed:* For it is a
"plain Declaration by Act and Deed tho' not in
"Writing, that he, who has the Truſt, acting
"contrary, is a Diſclaimer of the Truſt, eſpecially
"if the Actings be ſuch as are inconſiſtent with,
"and ſubverſive of this Truſt. The firſt that
ſpoke on the Lords ſide was the Earl of *Nottin-* *Earl of*
gham, who ſaid; "That the main Reaſon of the Nottin-
"change of the Word *Abdicate*, was upon the ac- gham.
"count of the Conſequence drawn in the Conclu-
"ſion of the Vote of the Commons: *That the*
"*Throne is thereby vacant*; by which Expreſſion the
"Commons ſeem'd to mean that the Throne was
"ſo vacant as to null the Succeſſion in the Here-
"ditary Line, and ſo all the Heirs to be cut off,
"which the Lords ſaid, would make the Crown
"*Elective*; and therefore that it was fit to ſettle firſt
"what the Conſequence of the *Throne being vacant*
"meant. Serjeant *Maynard* reply'd; "That when
"there is a preſent defect of one to exerciſe the *Serjeant*
"Adminiſtration of the Government, the decla- Maynard.
"ring of a *Vacancy*, and Proviſion of a ſupply for
"it, could never make the Crown *Elective*, That
"the Commons apprehended there was ſuch a De-
"fect, and by conſequence, a preſent neceſſity for
"ſupply of the Government; That the Conſtitu-
"tion, notwithſtanding the *Vacancy*, was the ſame;
"That the Laws that are the Foundations and
"Rules of that Conſtitution were the ſame; but
"if there was, in any particular Inſtance, a breach
"of that Conſtitution, that would be an *Abdication*,

"and

1688/9. "and that *Abdication* would infer a *Vacancy*; not "that the Commons did say, That *the Crown of* "England *is always and perpetually Elective*; but on- "ly that it was necessary that there be a Supply "when there is a Defect; and that the doing of "that would be no alteration of the Monarchy "from a *Successive one* to an *Elective*. The Bishop of *Ely* objected against Mr *Sommers*'s Quoting *Grotius* for the Word *Abdicate*, and ask'd, whether "That great Author, in treating on this Subject, "did not interpose this Caution, *If there be a yield-* "*ing to the Times: If there be a going away with a* "*purpose of seeking to recover what is, for the present,* "*left or forsaken*; in plain *English*, *If there were any* "*thing of Force or just Fear in the Case, that did void* "*the Notion of* Abdication. Serjeant *Maynard* re- turn'd, "That was not any part of the Case de- "clar'd by the Commons in this Vote; That when "the whole Kingdom and the *Protestant* Religion, "our Laws and Liberties had been in danger of be- "ing Subverted, an Enquiry must be made into the "Authors and Instruments of this Attempt; and "that if he, who had the Administration instructed "to him, was found the Author and Actor in it, "what could that be, but a *Renuntiation of his* "*Trust*, and consequently his Place thereby *Va-* "*cant?* That *Abdication* was an *English* Word, and "according to the Lords, the true signification of "it is a *Renuntiation*; That they were not to go to "learn *English* from Foreign Authors, being able "without their Aid to tell the meaning of their "own Tongue; That, however for their Lord- "ships satisfaction, the Commons had shew'd its "meaning in Foreign Authors; and that it was "more than a *Deserting* the Government, or leaving "it with a purpose of returning. The Bishop re- "ply'd, "That for this very reason the Lords "would have a Word made use of which signify'd "only *the Ceasure of the Exercise of that Right*; "That if there were such a defect, as had been "spoken of, it must certainly be supply'd; That "the Lords had by another Vote declared, *That* "*it was inconsistent with our Laws, Liberties and Re-*

Bishop of Ely.

"*ligion*

"*ligion to have a* Papist *to Rule over this Kingdom,* 1688/9.
"which he took to be only as to the actual Admi-
"nistration of the the Government; That *Grotius*
"distinguish'd between a *Right* and the *Exercise of*
"*that Right*; and that as there was a Natural Inca-
"pacity for the Exercise, as Sickness, Lunacy, In-
"fancy, &c. so there was a Moral Incapacity,
"which he conceiv'd to be a full irremoveable
"Persuasion in a false Religion, contrary to the
"Doctrine of Christianity; That then there must
"be a Provision made for supplying this defect,
"and an *intermediate* Government taken care for:
"because become necessary for the support of the
"Government, if he to whom the Right of Suc-
"cession does belong, makes the Exercise of his
"Government unpracticable, and our Obedience
"to him, consistently with the Constitution of our
"Religion, impossible; but that, he took it, did not
"alter that *Right*, nor was an *Abdication* of the
"Right; That, no doubt, *Abdication* was an *English*
"Word, and well known by Men conversant in
"Books; but that in *Cicero*, it signified sometimes
"the *Renouncing an actual Exercise of a Right*, and
"sometimes the *Renouncing of the very Right*; so that
"its signification, as the Lords alledged, is dubi-
"ous, and therefore the Peers hop'd the Commons
"would think fit not to use such Words in a case of
"this Nature and Consequence. That great Inconve-
"niences would follow upon the use of this Word,
"if it meant a *Renouncing absolutely of the Right*;
"That among the Civilians there is an *Abdication*
"that *may forfeit the Power of a King only*, and there
"may be *one that may forfeit that and the Crown too*;
"That those *Abdications* that are of Power only,
"are *Incapacities*, whether Natural and Involuntary,
"as defects of Sence, Age, or Body, or the like;
"Moral and Voluntary, as Contrariety in Religi-
"on; That there was lately an Instance of the first
"in *Portugal*, which was a *Forfeiture only of the*
"*Power*, and not of the *Name and Honour of a King*;
"for tho the *Administration* was put into the young-
"er Brother's Hand, the Patents, and other Pub-
"lick Instruments run in the eldest Brother's Name.

1689. "That he did not here consider, whether the "King was gone out of the Kingdom, or staid in "it; but only whether he was fit for the Admini- "stration, which must be provided for, were he "here or gone away. That the highest Instance of "an *Abdication* is, when a Prince is not only unable "to Execute his Power, but Acts quite contrary to "it; which would not be answer'd by so bare a "Word as *Endeavour*; *(us'd by the Commons in their "Vote;)* That if this last Instance of an *Abdicati- "on of both Power and Right*, took place in *a Suc- "ceeding Monarchy*, the Consequence would be, "*That there was a Forfeiture of the whole Right*; and "then that *Hereditary Succession was cut off*, which "he believ'd was not intended by the Commons. "That by the *Original Compact* mention'd in this "Vote, must be meant the Compact made when "the Government was first Instituted, and the Con- "ditions that each Part of the Government should "observe on their part, of which this was the "Fundamental, *That King, Lords and Commons in "Parliament Assembled, should have the Power of "making new Laws, and altering of old ones:* And "that being one Law which settles the *Succession*, "it was as much part of the *Original Compact* as "any; That then if such a Case happen'd, as an "*Abdication* in a *Successive Kingdom*, the *Compact* "being made to the *King*, his *Heirs* and *Successors*, "the *Disposition of the Crown* could not fall to the "Lords and Commons till all the *Heirs* did *Abdi- "cate* too. That indeed there had been seven *In- "terruptions in the Lineal Succession of the Crown of* "England, from *William* the Conquerour to *Hen- "ry* VIII. wherein the right Heir had been put "by; but that it did not follow, that every Breach "of the *Original Contract* gave them Power to dis- "pose of the *Lineal Succession*, especially since the "Statutes of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* I. "that have Establish'd the Oath of *Allegiance* to the "*King*, his *Heirs* and *Successors*; and which ought "to be observ'd till alter'd by the *Legislative "Power*; which he thought, singly or jointly, the "Lords and Commons did not pretend to without

"the

"the *Royal* Aſſent. And that theſe Laws being "made ſince the *laſt Interruption*, they were not to "go by any Precedent that was made before the "making thoſe Laws; ſo that, all that he con- "ceiv'd ought to be meant by the Vote was, *But "a ſetting aſide the Perſon that broke the Contract*; "*and, in a Succeſſive Kingdom, an* Abdication *can "only be Forfeiture, as to the Perſon himſelf*: That "he hop'd both *Lords* and *Commons* did agree in "this, *not to break the Line of Succeſſion, ſo as to "make the Crown Elective*; and, that if that be de- "clar'd, that this *Abdication* of King *James* II. "reach'd no farther than himſelf, and that it was "to continue in the *Right Line of Succeſſion*; they "would be all of one Mind. The Earl of *Clarendon* purſued the ſame Argument, and ſaid, "That *the "breaking the Original Contract* was a Language that "had not been long us'd in that Place, nor known "in any of our *Law-Books*, or Publick Records; "That he did not deny what Mr. *Sommers* had "ſaid, *That the King is bounded by Law, and bound "to perform the Laws made, and to be made*; but that "he would take notice, that his Obligation there- unto did not proceed from his Coronation Oath, for our Law ſays, *He is as much King before he is Crown'd as he is afterwards, and there is a Natural Allegiance due to him from the Subjects immediately upon the Deſcent of the Crown upon him. That no Act of the King's alone can barr or deſtroy the Right of his Heir to the Crown which is Hereditary, and not Elective.* That if this Matter went no far- ther than King *James* II. in his own Perſon, how came the *Vacancy* and the *Supply* to be devolv'd upon the People? For if he only be ſet aſide, then it was apparent that the Crown was to go to the Perſon that had the next *Right of Succeſſion*, and conſequently that there was no *Vacancy*. The Earl of *Nottingham* urg'd; "That the Lords having declar'd, that they were willing *to ſecure the Nation againſt the return of King* James, it ſeem'd they were agreed in that Matter; and that if that were the only Point, they ſhould find Words proper ſoon enough to expreſs their meaning

1688/9.

Earl of Claren- don.

1688/9. "by; but that he found neither *Abdication* nor "*Desertion* would be allow'd, on the one side or "on the other, to signifie this meaning, therefore "they ought to think of some other that would; "and first of all to settle that Point first, *Whether* "*the Throne was vacant?* Sir *George Treby* reply'd; "That the present Debate was to begin where the "difference between the two Houses did begin, and "that was at the Word *Abdicated*; That an *Ori-* "*ginal Contract* was a Phrase and Thing us'd by "the Learned Mr. *Hooker* in his Book of *Eccleſiaſti-* "*cal Policy*; but that he had yet a greater Authori- "ty to influence this matter, and that was their "Lordships own, who had agreed to all the Vote "but this Word *Abdicated*, and the *Vacancy of the* "*Throne*. That it was very much beyond what the "Vote before them led them unto, *To talk of the* "*Right of thoſe in Succeſſion*; for that went farther "than the very laſt part of the Vote, and that it "was ſtill to lead them yet farther, to ſay any thing "about making the *Crown Elective*. He next en- "deavour'd to prove that King *James* had *Abdica-* "*ted* his Kingſhip, alledging out of *Grotius*, *That* "*if there be any Word or Action that does ſufficiently* "*manifeſt the intention of the Mind and Will, to part* "*with ones Office, that will amount to an* Abdication "*or* Renouncing. *Now*, added he, *had King* James II. "*come here into the Aſſembly of Lords and Commons,* "*and expreſt himſelf in Writing or Words to this pur-* "*poſe.* I was Born an Heir to the Crown of *Eng-* "*land*, which is a Government limited by Laws, "made in full Parliament, by King, Nobles and "Commonalty; and, upon the Death of my laſt "Predeceſſor, I am in Poſſeſſion of the Throne; "and, now I find, I cannot make Laws without "the Conſent of the Lords and Commons in Par- "liament; I cannot ſuſpend Laws that have been "ſo made without the Conſent of my People; "this indeed is the Title of Kingſhip I hold by "*Original Contract*, and the Fundamental Conſtitu- "tions of the Government, and my Succeſſion to "and Poſſeſſion of the Crown: On theſe Terms "is part of that *Contract*; this part of the *Contract*

Sir George Treby.

"I am weary of, I do renounce it, I will not be "obliged to observe it; nay, I will not execute the "Laws that have been made, nor suffer others to "be made, as my People shall desire, for their "security in Religion, Liberty and Property, which "are the two main Points of the Kingly Office in "this Nation. *I say, suppose he had so expresst him-"self, doubtless this had been a plain* Renouncing "*that* Legal Regular Title *which came to him by "Descent*; *If then*, continued Sir *George*, *by parti-"cular Acts, such as are enumerated in the Vote, he "has declar'd as much or more than those Words can "amount to, then he had thereby declar'd his Will to* "Renounce the Government. And therefore he "insisted upon the Word *Abdicated*, which did so "well correspond to the Fact of the Case, and so "well expresst the true meaning of the Commons "in their Vote. The Earl of *Nottingham* own'd, "That a King of *England* might renounce his *King-"dom and that he might do it by implicit Acts, contrary "to the Kingly Office*; for a King to say, he would "not Govern according to Law, and for a King to "Act wholly contrary to Law, and do that which "would subvert the Constitution, was, he thought, "the same thing; but then he thought also, that "there was a difference between *saying so*, and *do-"ing something* inconsistent with what the Laws "require; for every Deviation from the Law is a "kind of Breach of the Fundamental Laws; for "he knew no Laws, as Laws, but what are Fun-"damental Constitutions; but if every Violation "of the Law, by the Prince's Connivence or Com-"mand, were such a Breach of the Fundamental "Laws, as would infer an *Abdication*, that then it "were in vain to call any of his *Ministers* to Ac-"count for any such Action; That then the Acti-"on is the *Kings* and not *Theirs*, and then a-"dieu to the Maxim of, *A King's not doing wrong*. "That he took the Distinction he had made to be "so plain, that nothing could be more, and that "it had been thought so essentially necessary to "have it clear and manifest, that those two great "Instances of *Edward* II. and *Richard* II. were ex-

1689.

1688/9. "preſs Solemn *Renuntiations*, and thoſe Confirm'd "in *Parliament* by the *Lords* and *Commons*, by the "Act of Depoſing them; and therefore he could "not infer from the Facts enumerated in the Vote, "that this ſhould be an *Abdication* for himſelf and "his Heirs. Sir *George Treby* deſir'd to clear him-ſelf from the Imputation of ſuch an abſur'd Con-ceit, That *every Violation of the Law, or Deviation from it ſhould be reckon'd an Abdication of the Govern-ment*; and ſaid, "That when a King breaks the "Law in ſome particular Inſtances, it may be ſuf-"ficient to take an Account of it from thoſe Evil "Miniſters that were Inſtrumental in it; and that "in ordinary Caſes of breaking the Law, the Na-"tion may have Remedy in the ordinary Courſes "and Courts of Juſtice; but that the King having "broken not a particular Law, but all the Funda-"mentals, theſe were no ordinary Violations of "the Law, and therefore in extraordinary Caſes "extraordinary Remedies were to be recurr'd unto. "*Where*, added he, *ſhall any Man come to have Re-"dreſs in ſuch a Caſe as this, when the Offender comes "to be Party, to whom all Applications for Relief "from Injuries ſhould be made, and ſo he himſelf ſhall "be a Judge of his own Breaches of Law? This moſt "appearently was the Caſe as to the* Quo Warrantos, "*which was a plain deſign to ſubvert the Conſtitution "in the very Foundation of the* Legiſlature.

The Lords offering nothing farther upon their firſt Amendment, Mr. *Sacheveril* proceeded to the ſecond, and ſaid, "That by uſing theſe Words "*Abdication* and *Vacancy*, the Commons never "meant to make the Kingdom *Elective*, nor could "it be deducted from their Words; That admit-"ting the Lords Amendments, *that King* James "*had only deſerted the Government*, even then it "would follow, *That the Throne was vacant as to* "*King* James; That if King *James* had only left "the *Exerciſe* of his Power, as the Lords main-"tain'd, then he continued in the Office, and was "King ſtill; That then all the Acts of this *Con-"vention* were wholly not juſtifiable; That the "Lords were in no Place or Station to relieve them

Mr Sache-veril.

"ſelves

"ſelves or the Nation in this Exigence, unleſs they "would think of ſetting up another Regency by their "own Authority; that then by the Steps the Lords "and the Commons had taken they had drawn the "Nation into a ſnare, and left all in ſuch an intrica- "cy, as they had no Power, by Law, to deliver "them out of, nor could they anſwer for what "they had done, unleſs the King ſhould die, and "that would leave the Succeſſion uncertain. Mr. "*Pollexfen* inſiſted upon the ſame Argument, and "maintain'd that the Lords ſaying in their Vote, "that *the Government was deſerted*, could not mean "only the Exerciſe of it, but a *vacancy*; That the "King's Power, and the Exerciſe of that Power, "was, in conſtruction of Law, one and the ſame, "and ſo join'd, That they could not be ſever'd, "and therefore that the ſuppoſed diſtinction was "only notional, and altogether diſagreeing to the "Laws of *England*. That as it was utterly unlawful, "and as great a Crime, to take away from the King "the Exerciſe of the Government, as to take from "him the Government; it might do well for their "Lordſhips to conſider, whether they were not Guil- "ty of the ſame Crime, which they would decline "by their Amendment. That the Commons there- "fore could not admit, that there ſhould be a ta- "king away of the Exerciſe of the Government "from the King, any more than the taking away "the Government, which, the Commons ſaid, he "had himſelf given away by *Abdication*; and that "if King *James* was King ſtill, they could not by any "means agree to the keeping of him out of the "Kingdom. That to have a Regency upon "King *James* without his own Conſent, or till his "Return, whilſt the Right was ſtill in him, would "be a ſtrange and unpracticable thing, and intro- "ductive of a Common-Wealth, inſtead of our "ancient regulated Government, by a limited Mo- "narchy; and that the concluſion, That *ſuch a* "*Vacancy in the Throne would make the Crown Elective*, "had no Premiſes either from their Actions, their "Sayings, their Votes, or any thing elſe in this "caſe. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſaid, he would not

1688/9.

Mr. Pollexfen.

1688/9. "declare his Opinion about the Vacancy as to "King *James*, but desir'd to know the Meaning "of the Commons, how far the Vacancy was to "extend. This gave occasion to Mr. *Pollexfen* to "ask the Lords, Whether their Lordships did a-"gree, *That the Throne was vacant as to K.* James II? "That if so, or if they would say it was full of a-"ny body else, and would name whom it was full "of, it would then be time for the Commons to give "an Answer. The same Earl replied: That ad-"mitting, for Discourse sake, that the Throne was "vacant, as to K. *James* II. it must then be sup-"ply'd by those that should have come if he were "dead, this Government being, by all our Laws, "an Hereditary Monarchy, which is to go in Suc-"cession by Inheritance in the Royal Line. That "if the Commons said this Government was va-"cant, that would be to put all those by that should "take by Succession, which would make the King-"dom Elective for that time. That the Lords said "there was no *Vacancy*, but since the Commons "said, *the Throne was vacant*, he might very well "ask, Who had the Right of filling up that *Va-"cancy?* Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* Answer'd: That "was not the Question before them, tho' it would "come properly in Debate, when they were agreed "upon the Vacancy: That he granted the *English* "Monarchy to be *Hereditary*; but tho' it should "in an ordinary way descend to the Heir, yet as "their Case was, they had a Maxim in Law as "certain as any other, which stopt the Course; for, "said he, *No Man can pretend to be King* James's "*Heir while he is living. Nemo est hæres viventis.* "The Earl of *Pembroke* replied, That to that Point "the Lord *Clarendon* gave an Answer, *That it should "go to the next Heir in the Line, that were to take it, "if the King were dead.* And that as they should "be understood, they should make it a Case of De-"mise of our Kings, as our Law calls it, that is, "that the King was *dead in Law*, by his *Abdication* "or *Desertion.* That to answer the Question of "the Commons, who the Throne was full of? It "was sufficient to know, that there were Heirs

"who

"who were to take by Lineal Succeſſion, tho' they "did not, or could not, poſitively name the parti-"cular Perſon. The Earl of *Nottingham* urg'd: "That if the Lords ſhould grant a Vacancy as to "the King himſelf, they were then told, that the "next Heir in Succeſſion could not take, becauſe no "one could be Heir to one alive; That yet he "thought the Anſwer given by the Lords was a "very good one, That *tho' the King was not dead "naturally, yet if*, as they inferr'd, *he was ſo civilly, "the next of Courſe ought to come in as by Hereditary "Succeſſion*; for he knew not any diſtinction be-"tween Succeſſors in the Caſe of a *Natural* Death, "and thoſe in caſe of a *Civil* one: That he would "know if the next Heir ſhould be ſet aſide, and "another put in, whether that King ſhould be "King of *England* to him, and his Heirs, and ſo "being once upon the Throne, the ancient Lineal "Succeſſion be alter'd, which indeed would ſuffi-"ently make the Kingdom *Elective*, by taking it "from the Right Heir: That if it was not ſo, then "he ask'd, whether ſuch King as ſhould be put "in, ſhould be King only during King *James*'s "Life? That, he ſuppos'd, was not the Meaning "of the Commons; but, at leaſt, he muſt be made "a King during his own life; that then if there "was a diſtinction made, as to the Succeſſion, be-"tween a *Natural* and a *Civil* Death, if King *James* "ſhould die during the Life of the new King, "what would become of Hereditary Monarchy? "Where muſt the Succeſſor come in, when the "next Heir to King *James* might not be next Heir "to the preſent Succeſſor? That therefore they "muſt reduce all to this Point, whether this would "not make the Kingdom *Elective*? That if they "made it once *Elective*, 'twas enough to make it "*ever* ſo, for he would be bold to ſay, they could "not make a ſtronger Tye to obſerve that kind of "Succeſſion, than what lay upon them to preſerve "it in this Caſe. He added, that if the Throne "was vacant, he would know, whether they were "oblig'd to fill it: That if they were, they muſt fill "it either by the old Laws, or by the Humour of

1688/9.

"thoſe

1688/9 " thoſe that were to chuſe. That if they fill'd i
" by the old Laws, they declar'd that it was an He-
" reditary Kingdom, and they were to take the
" next *Succeſſor*, to whom the Succeſſion would be
" long, and there would be no need of ſtanding
" upon a Vacancy: That if they were to fill i
" according to the Humour of the Times, tha
" diverted the Courſe of Inheritance; and that he
" could not ſee by what Authority they could do
" that, or change the ancient Conſtitution, *without*
" *committing the ſame Fault they had laid upon the King*.
" But, *ſaid he*, if you pleaſe to ſuppoſe the Throne
" *Vacant* as to King *James*, that is, that he has no
" Right, then let us go on to the next ſtep. Mr. *Sa-*
" *cheveril* replied, that all their Buſineſs was to main-
" tain, *that the Throne was vacant:* And Mr. *Som-*
" *mers* added, that the Lords alledg'd as a Reaſon
" againſt the Word *Abdicate*, *that it was not a word*
" *known in our Law*, but that the word *Vacant* could
" not have that Objection made to it, ſince it was
" in our Records, and even apply'd in a parallel
" Caſe to this, in 1 *Hen.* IV. The Earl of *Rocheſter*
" Anſwer'd: That as that was the only Precedent
" for the word *Vacant*, yet it was attended with
" this very conſequence that it would make the Mo-
" narchy *Elective*; for it being there declar'd
" that the Royal Seat was Vacant, immediately
" did follow an Election of *Henry* IV. who was
" not next in the Royal Line. The Earl of *Cla-*
" *rendon* purſued this Argument and ſaid: That it
" was plain in that Caſe K. *Richard* II. had abſo-
" lutely reſign'd, renounc'd or *abdicated* in Writ-
" ting under his own Hand; that after that, the
" Parliament being then ſitting, they did not think
" it ſufficient to go upon, becauſe that Writing
" might be the effect of Fear, and be not Volun-
" tary; that thereupon they proceeded upon a
" formal Depoſition upon Articles, and then came
" in the claim of *Henry* IV. that this was undoubt-
" edly an Election; tho' he was really the next
" Heir, *viz.* The Earl of *March*, not appearing
" *Henry* IV. claim'd it as his undubitable Right
" being the next Heir that then appear'd. Tha
" a

"all the Kings that were thus taken in (or elect- 1688/9.
"ed, but the Election was not of God's Appro-
"bation,) ſcarce paſt any one Year in any of
"their Reigns without being diſturb'd in the Poſ-
"ſeſſion; that *Henry* IV. himſelf did not care to
"ow the Crown to the Election, but claim'd it as
"his Right; that it was a plauſible Pretence, and
"kept him and his Son upon the Throne; but
"that in time of his Grandſon, *Henry* VI. there was
"an utter overthrow of all his Title and Poſſeſſi-
"on too, for 1 *Edward* IV. all the Proceedings a-
"gainſt *Richard* II. as well as all the reſt of the
"Acts during the Uſurpation, (as that Record
"rightly calls it) were annull'd, repeal'd, revok'd,
"revers'd, and all the words imaginable us'd to
"ſet thoſe Proceedings aſide, as illegal unjuſt
"and unrighteous. That that Act deduc'd the Pe-
"digree of the Royal Line, from *Henry* III. to
"*Richard* II. who died without Iſſue; and then
"*Henry* IV. (ſays the Act) uſurp'd; but that the
"Earl of *March*, upon the Death of *Richard* II.
"and conſequently *Edward* IV. from him was un-
"doubted King by Conſcience, by Nature, by
"Cuſtom and by Law. * Sir *Robert Howard* re- * *Sir Ro-*
"ply'd: He would not ſay that this Record of *bert How-*
"*Henry* IV. is not a Precedent of Election; for *ward.*
"the Parliament did not much mind his Claim,
"knowing that he claim'd by Deſcent, where
"there was a Perſon that had a Title before him;
"that the Commons did not doubt but that Power
"which brought in another Line then, upon the
"*Vacancy* of the Throne by the Leaſion of *Ri-*
"*chard* II. was ſtill, according to the Conſtitu-
tion, reſiding in the Lords and Commons,
and was Legally ſufficient to ſupply the
preſent *Vacancy*; that he would ask the Que-
ſtion of any Lord there, whether had there
been an Heir to whom the Crown had qui-
etly deſcended in the Line of Succeſſion, and
this Heir certainly known, their Lordſhips would
have Aſſembled without his Calling, or would
have either Adminiſtred the Government them-
ſelves, or adviſed the Prince of *Orange* to have

"taken

1688/9. "taken it upon himself? That he doubted they "had been all Guilty of High-Treason, by the "Laws of *England*, if a known Successor of the "Throne were in Possession of the Throne, as he "must be if the Throne were not *Vacant*. That "from hence their Lordships saw, that the diffi- "culty in this matter arose from this, That they "would not agree the Throne to be Vacant, when "they knew of none that possess'd it; That some "such thing had been *pretended to as an Heir Male, "of which there were different Opinions*, and in the "mean time they were without a Government. *Must we stay*, said he, *till the Truth of the Matter be found out? What shall we do to preserve our Constitution, while we are without a safe or legal Authority to Act under the same according to that Constitution, and in a little time it will, perhaps, through the distraction of our Constitution be utterly irremediable.* He confest it would be a difficult thing to go upon the Examination who was Heir, or else their Lordships would have explain'd themselves before. *But*, added he, *it not being clear, must we always remain thus? Use what Words you will, fill up, or nominate, or elect, it is the thing we are to take care of, and 'tis high time it were done. There is no such Consequence to be drawn from this Vote, as an intention or a likelyhood of altering the Course of the Government so as to make it Elective; The Throne has all along descended in an Hereditary Succession, the main Constitution has been preserv'd. The Precedent of* Henry IV. *is not like that of Elections in other Countries; and I am sorry there should be any occasion for what is necessary to be done now; but when such Difficultics are upon the Nation, that we cannot extricate our selves out of, as to the Lineal Successor, your Lordships, I hope, will give us leave to remember,* Salus Populi est Suprema Lex. *And if neither you nor we can do any thing in this Case. We, who are met under the Notion of a* Convention *of the States, have then met to no purpose; for after* we have Voted our selves to be without a Government, *(which looks as if something were really intended as to a Settlement) all presently sinks, and we are as much in the dark as we were before. Your Lordship*

Lordſhips ſay, you will ne're make a Precedent of Election, or take upon you to alter the Succeſſion. With your Lordſhips Favour, the Settlement of the Conſtitution is the main thing we are to look after. If you provide for the ſupply of the Defect there, that point of the Succeſſion will, without all Queſtion, in the ſame Method, and at the ſame time be ſurely provided for. But, my Lords, have not you your ſelves limited the very Succeſſion, and cut off ſome that might have a Lineal Right? Have you not concurr'd with us in our Vote, That it is inconſiſtent with our Religion and our Laws to have a Papiſt to Reign over us? *Muſt we not come then to an Election, if the next Heir be a* Papiſt? *Nay, ſuppoſe there were no* Proteſtant *Heir at all to be found, would not your Lordſhips then break the Line? If your Lordſhips then in ſuch a Caſe, muſt break through the Succeſſion, I think the Nation has reaſon to expect you ſhould take care to ſupply the preſent Defect, where the Succeſſion is uncertain; or what can we do farther, but even part in Confuſion, and ſo leave the Nation to extricate it ſelf as well as it can out of this Diſtraction. But then at whoſe Doors that will lie, I muſt leave to your Lordſhips own Thoughts.* This Speech had a great Influence, and little was ſaid on the Lords ſide in oppoſition to it: And becauſe their Lordſhips has made uſe of the Record I. *Edward* IV. to aſſert the Lineal Succeſſion, Sir *George Treby* ſaid, "That it was very well known, that *Ed-*
"*ward* IV. came in Diſaffirmance of the Title of
"the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; That as thoſe times went
"whenever there was any turn in Government
"(as there were ſeveral) there were new and con-
"trary Declarations about the Title to the Crown,
"made conſtantly in Parliament; and what one Par-
"liament ſettled, another undid: But then that this
"Advantage the Commons had on their ſide; that
"as they had this firſt Precedent for them, ſo they
"had the laſt, *viz.* the Parliament Roll I. *Henry*
"VII. 12. 16. where the Record is ſet right again;
"That the Act for depoſing *Richard* II. was in-
"deed repeal'd by I. *Edward* IV. and thereupon it
"proceeds to attaint *Henry* VI. But then came in
"*Henry* VII. in the firſt Year of whoſe Reign there

"was

1683.

1688. "was an Act made that ſet aſide all the Acts and "Attainders made againſt his Line, and conſequent- "ly repeal'd I. *Edward* IV. which repeal'd I. *Hen-* "*ry* IV. That *Henry* VII. was of the Line of *Lan-* "*caſter*, and tho' he had the Heireſs of the Houſe "of *York* in his Boſom, yet when he came to the "Throne, would not endure to have his Crown "reckon'd only Matrimonial, or ſuffer the Stile "to go in the Names of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, as "he muſt have done if he had ſtuck to the Title "by the Right Line of Succeſſion. That there- "fore his Act for reſtoring the Record of I. *Hen-* "*ry* IV. again, was as good an Authority as it was "before, and ſomewhat better; for it had the laſt "Act on its ſide, which was yet unrepeal'd. The

Earl of Pembroke Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, "That *Henry* VII. had "a good Right and Title by Marriage to the "Crown, *in re Uxoris*; but that his own Title, "as Deſcended from *Henry* IV. was an Uſurpati- "on; and therefore he would not ſuffer any one "to preſcribe which was beſt, as long as it was "acknowledg'd he had one good. Sir *George Tre-* *by* return'd; "That if *Henry* VII's Title by De- "ſcent was an Uſupation, it was hard to determine "what Title he did Govern by, ſince though his "Wife was the Lineal Heir, yet ſhe had no part, "or ſo much as a Name in the Adminiſtration: "*But*, ſaid he, *if we ſhould allow none for Acts of* "*Parliament, but thoſe that were made in the Reigns of* "*Hereditary Kings, and in the right Line, I doubt we* "*ſhould want the greateſt part of thoſe Laws that* "*compoſe the Volume of Statute-Books, and the Records* "*by which we enjoy a great part of our Inheritances* "*and Poſſeſſions.* Sir *Richard Temple* alledg'd, That "if Laws made about the Succeſſion be ſo oblig- "ing, what then ſhould they ſay to the Succeſſion "of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had an Act of Parlia- "ment againſt both her and her Siſter? The Earl of *Pembroke* replied, "That to ſhew what Opini- "on ſhe her ſelf, and the wiſe Men of her Time, "had in this Point, there was an Act made in her "Reign, and yet in being, which declar'd it to "be a *Præmunire* to affirm the Parliament cannot

"ſettle

"ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, or alter it. 168$\frac{8}{9}$.
"That Entails of the Crown had been in Parlia-
"ment, both Antient and Modern; yet the Au-
"thority of another ſubſequent Act had pre-
"vail'd againſt ſuch an Entail, ſo that it ſhould
"*be done in Parliament.* Sir *Richard* return'd,
"He thought they were in as full a Capacity
"to take care of the Government as any of
"their Predeceſſors; and that if they did as
"their Predeceſſors had done before them, that
"ought not to be call'd changing of the Mo-
"narchy from an Hereditary to an Elective.
"The Earl of *Nottingham* immediately reply'd,
"He could not imagine how a Kingdom could be
"Hereditary, and that the King who had Chil-
"dren in Being (at the time of his forſaking the
"Government) could have the Throne vacant,
"both of him and his Children. That the courſe
"of Inheritance, as to the Crown of *England*, was
"by our Law a great deal better provided for
"than that of any other Inheritance. *That no At-*
"*tainder of the Heir of the Crown would bar the*
"*Succeſſion to the Crown*, as it did the Deſcent to
"any common Perſon; and that the very Deſcent
"by order of Birth would take away any ſuch
"defect. That this was the Opinion of the great
"Lawyers of *England*, in the Caſe of *Henry* VII.
"And therefore he could not apprehend how
"any Act of the Father could bar the Right of
"the Child; ſince even the Act of the Son which
"may endanger an Attainder in him, cannot do
"it, ſo careful is the Law of the Royal Line of
"Succeſſion, which was declar'd by many Acts
"of Parliament, and very fully and particularly
"by that 25 *Henry* VII. *Cap.* 22. That he deſir'd
"to know whether the Lords and Commons had
"Power by themſelves to make a binding Act or
"Law; and whether according to our Legal
"Conſtitution every King of *England* by being
"ſeated on the Throne, and poſſeſs'd of the Crown,
"was not thereby King, to him and his Heirs?
"And that without an Act of Parliament he knew
"not what determination they could make of his
"Eſtate;

1688/9. "Eſtate; That 'twas urg'd indeed, that the Lord's "had in Effect already agreed to the *Vacancy*, by "Voting, *That it was inconſiſtent with our Religion* "*and Laws to have a* Popiſh Prince *to rule over us.* "But that a Vote of either Houſe, or both Houſes "together could not alter the Law in this or any "other Point; yet becauſe he was very deſirous "that this Vote ſhould have its Effect, he wiſh'd "that every thing of this Nature ſhould be done "in the Antient uſual Method by Act of Parlia-"ment. That ſince they were happily deliver'd "from the Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, "God forbid, they ſhould aſſume any ſuch Power "to themſelves, for what advantage ſhould they "then give to thoſe who would Quarrel with their "Settlement for the illegality of it? Would not "this, which they thus endeavour'd to cruſh, "break forth into a Viper? That in all the "Breaches that were made upon the Line of Suc-"ceſſion, ſuch was the force of the Laws, that "the Uſurpers would not take the Crown upon "them, unleſs they had ſome plain Pretence of an "Hereditary Title to it. That what he would "have avoided by all means, was the miſchievous "Conſequences that he fear'd would enſue upon "the Vacancy of the Throne, *viz.* The utter "overthrow of the whole Conſtitution, for if "the Lords and Commons only remain'd as parts "of the Government, and if the Head be taken a-"way, and the Throne Vacant, by what Laws "or Conſtitutions was it that they retain'd Lords "and Commons? That they were knit together "in their common Head; and that if one part of "the Government was diſſolv'd, he ſaw not any "Reaſon but that all muſt be diſſolv'd. He con-"feſs'd, that any Government was better than "none; but he earneſtly deſir'd they might en-"joy their Antient Conſtitution: Mr. *Paul Foley* "reply'd, He hop'd there was no danger of ſha-"king our Fundamentals in this Caſe; that they "were purſuing thoſe Methods which agreed with "our Laws and Conſtitution, for tho' the Monar-"chy of this Nation be Hereditary in the Ordina-"ry

Mr. **Paul Foley.**

"ry courſe of Succeſſion, yet there might fall "out a Caſe wherein that could not be compli- "ed with, and a plain *Vacancy* might enſue. *For* "(ſaid he) *put the Caſe the whole Royal Line ſhould* "*fail, ſhould we in that Caſe have no Government* "*at all? And who then ſhall we have but the Lords* "*and Commons? And I think that comes neareſt to* "*the Caſe in Queſtion, where the Succeſſor is not* "*known; for if he had been, we ſhould have heard of* "*him before now. And what is the Reaſon that it* "*ſhould then in the former Caſe devolve to the Lords* "*and Commons, but that there is no King? And they* "*being the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdom, are* "*the only remaining apparent Parts of the Government,* "*and are only to ſupply the defect by providing a* "*Succeſſor.* To this another Gentleman ſubjoin'd, "That they were led out of the Way, hunting af- "ter the Conſequences of a Vote not yet ſettled "or agreed unto; that they had made a right "and apt Concluſion from the Premiſes, otherwiſe "all the Vote was Hiſtorical: *We Declare*, added "he, *the late King* James *has broke the Original* "*Contract, has violated the Fundamental Laws, and* "*has withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, that he* "*has* Abdicated *the Government. What Occaſion* "*was there for ſuch a Declaration as this, if nothing* "*were concluded from it? That were only to give the* "*Kingdom a Compendious Hiſtory of thoſe Miſeries* "*they have too well* Learnt by feeling *them. There-* "*fore there was a neceſſity to make ſome Concluſion;* "*and none ſo Natural as this. That we are left with-* "*out a King, that* the Throne is thereby Vacant, "*which it may be as to the Poſſeſſion, and yet the* "*Right of Succeſſion no way prejudic'd. But my Lords,* "*we are come here, by the Commands of the Houſe* "*of Commons, to Debate the Reaſons of their Vote* "*and your Amendments, not to Diſpute what will be* "*the Conſequences, which is not at preſent our Pro-* "*vince.* And ſo concluded the moſt memorable "Conference that ever was held between the Peers "and Commons of *England.*

1688. *Mr.* G---- E----e.

The Managers of the Lords having made their Report to the Houſe, there was a long Debate whe-

1688/9. ther or no they ſhould inſiſt upon their Amend ments? By this time ſeveral of the Chief Mem bers who were before for a Regency, were com over to the Party that ſtood up for a King, whic was alſo increas'd by the late arrival of ſome Lords inſomuch that the two Queſtions about the word *Abdicated* and *Vacant* were carried in the Affirma tive. The Earl of *Danby* made a fine Speech t prove the *Vacancy* of the Throne, and the neceſſi ſity of Supplying it by the Prince of *Orange* wherein he was ſtrongly ſupported by the Mar quiſs of *Hallifax*, who taking advantage of thi favourable Opportunity, immediately put thi Queſtion, Whether their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhould be declar'd King and Queen? Thoſe who were for the Affirmative car ried it by Twenty Voices, being Sixty Five a gainſt Forty Five, ſo that this Vote paſt.

The P. and Princeſs of Orange *Voted King and Queen,* Feb. 6.

"Reſolv'd, by the Lords Spiritual and Tempo "ral, aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, That the Prince "and Princeſs of *Orange*, ſhall be declar'd King "and Queen of *England*, and of all the Dominions "thereunto belonging.

On the 7th of *February*, the Lords explain'd this Reſolution by Voting, That *the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be King and Queen of* England, &c. *for their Natural Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them, and that the ſole and full Regal Power be in the Prince only, in Name of both. And that after their Deceaſes the Crown ſhould belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princeſs; and for default of ſuch Iſſue to the Princeſs* Anne *of* Denmark, *and the Heirs of her Body; and for default of ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Prince of* Orange; *and for default of ſuch Iſſue to the Perſon that ſhould be nam'd, and in ſuch manner as ſhould be limited and regulated by Act of Parliament; and for default of ſuch Limitation and Regulation, to the Lawful Heirs of the ſaid Prince of* Orange. In this Vote all the Degrees of Lineal Succeſſion, (the *Roman* Catholick Branches excepted) ſeem'd to be comprehended; but yet 'twas certain, that by the laſt Clauſe, *viz.* That in Caſe the Crown ſhould not be further limitted

mitted by Act of Parliament, it ſhould devolve on the Lawful, that is, collateral Heirs of the Prince of *Orange*, Her Electoral Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Hanover* was left unregarded, tho' in the courſe of the *Proteſtant* Line ſhe had an undoubted Right to the Crown of *England*, as being Deſcended from *James* I. 1688/9.

The ſame day the Lords acquainted the *Commons*, that they had agreed to the Vote ſent them up of the 28th of *January* laſt, without any alterations: And deſir'd their Concurrence to their own Vote, Declaring the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, King and Queen; to which after a ſhort Debate, and with ſome Amendments the Commons agreed. They alſo communicated to the Commons the Oaths which the Lords thought fit to be taken inſtead of thoſe of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and which were readily approv'd by the Commons, tho' proteſted againſt in the Upper Houſe by Eleven Biſhops, and Twelve Lords; whoſe Number two or three Days after, encreas'd to Thirty Seven; and who not only declar'd againſt the Oaths, but alſo againſt the *Abdication* and *Vacancy*. All this while a Committee of the Houſe of Commons was buſie in drawing up a Declaration containing the Reaſons why King *James* had forfeited his Crown; aſſerting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject; ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, and appointing the new Oaths; which Declaration being ſent up to the Lords on the 11th, was after ſome Debates agreed unto the day following.

The Princeſs of Orange *arrives from* Holland, Feb. 12.

In the mean time her Royal Highneſs, who on the 10th had left *Holland* under the deepeſt Affliction, for the loſs of ſo Excellent and ſo Univerſally belov'd a Princeſs, arriv'd on the 12th at *Graveſend*, from whence ſhe went to *Whitehall* amidſt the loud Acclamations of Huzzaing Throngs, doubly Rejoicing for her ſafe Arrival, and for her being declar'd Queen. And the next day ſhe was welcom'd by the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation, with no leſs a Preſent than the Three Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, which was done in this manner.

1688/9. On the 13th of *February* the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* being ſeated on two Arm-Chairs under a Canopy in the Banqueting-Houſe, both Houſes of the *Convention* waited upon their Highneſſes in a Body, and cauſed the Clerk of the Crown to Read with a loud Voice the following *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter.

"Whereas the late King *James* the Second, by "the Aſſiſtance of divers Evil Counſellours, Judges, and Miniſters Employ'd by Him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Proteſtant "Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this "Kingdom; by Aſſuming and Exerciſing a Power "of Diſpenſing with, and Suſpending of Laws, "and the Execution of Laws, without Conſent "of Parliament. By Committing and Proſecuting "divers Worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning "to be excuſed from concurring to the ſaid aſſumed Power. By iſſuing and cauſing to be Executed, a Commiſſion under the Great Seal, for "erecting a Court called, *The Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.* By Levying Money "for and to the Uſe of the Crown, by pretence "of Prerogative, for other time, and in other "manner, than the ſame was granted by Parliament. By raiſing and keeping a Standing Army "within this Kingdom in time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law. By cauſing ſeveral good "Subjects, being Proteſtants, to be Diſarm'd at "the ſame time, when Papiſts were both Armed "and Imploy'd contrary to Law. By violating "the Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve "in Parliament. By Proſecutions in the Court of "*Kings-Bench* for Matters and Cauſes cognizable "only in *Parliament*; and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courſes. And whereas of late "Years, Partial, Corrupt, and Unqualified Perſons, have been return'd and ſerv'd on Juries "in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High Treaſon, which were not Freeholders; And Exceſſive Bail hath been requir'd

"of

" of Perſons committed in Criminal Caſes, to e- 1688.
" lude the benefit of the Laws made for the Li-
" berty of the Subjects. And Exceſſive Fines have
" been impos'd. And Illegal and Cruel Puniſh-
" ments inflicted. And ſeveral Grants and Pro-
" miſes made of Fines and Forfeitures before any
" Conviction or Judgment againſt the Perſons upon
" whom the ſame were to be levied. All which are
" utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws
" and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

" And whereas the ſaid late King *James* the Se-
" cond, having Abdicated the Government, and
" the Throne being thereby vacant, his Highneſs
" the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleaſed Al-
" mighty God to make the Glorious Inſtrument
" of Delivering this Kingdom from Popery and
" Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the
" Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers prin-
" cipal Perſons of the Commons) cauſe Letters to
" be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
" being Proteſtants, and other Letters to the ſeve-
" ral Counties, Cities, Univerſities, Burroughs, and
" Cinque-Ports, for the Chuſing of ſuch Perſons
" to repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to
" Parliament, to Meet and Sit at *Weſtminſter* upon
" the 22d day of *January* in this Year 1688, in or-
" der to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that their Reli-
" gion, Laws and Liberties, might not again be
" in danger of being Subverted: Upon which
" Letters, Elections having been accordingly made;
" And thereupon the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-
" ral, and Commons, purſuant to their reſpective
" Letters, and Elections, being now Aſſembled in
" a Full and Free Repreſentative of this Nation,
" taking into their moſt ſerious Conſideration the
" beſt Means for attaining the Ends aforeſaid, do
" in the firſt place (as their Anceſtors in like Caſe
" have uſually done) for the Vindicating and As-
" ſerting their Ancient Rights and Liberties, De-
" clare, 1. That the pretended Power of Suſpen-
" ding Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Re-
" gal Authority, without Conſent of Parliament,
" is Illegal. 2. That the pretended Power of Diſ-

1688. "penſing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws, "by Regal Authority, as it hath been aſſumed and "exerciſed of late, is Illegal. 3. That the Com- "miſſion for erecting the late *Court of Commiſſi-* "*oners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Com- "miſſions and Courts of the like nature, are Illegal "and Pernicious. 4. That levying of Money for "or to the Uſe of the Crown, by pretence of "Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for "longer time, or in other manner than the ſame is "or ſhall be granted, is Illegal. 5. That it is the "Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and "all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch Peti- "tioning, are Illegal. 6. That the raiſing or "keeping a ſtanding Army within the Kingdom "in time of Peace, unleſs it be with Conſent of "Parliament, is againſt Law. 7. That the Sub- "jects which are Proteſtants may have Arms for "their Defence ſuitable to their Condition, and as "allowed by Law. 8. That Elections of Mem- "bers of Parliament ought to be free. 9. That "the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Pro- "ceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeach- "ed or queſtion'd in any Court or Place out of "Parliament. 10. That Exceſſive Bail ought not "to be required, nor Exceſſive Fines impoſed, "nor cruel and unuſual Puniſhments inflicted. "11. That Jurors ought to be duly empannell'd "and return'd, and Jurors which paſs upon Men "in Trials of High-Treaſon ought to be Free- "holders. 12. That all Grants and Promiſes of "Fines and Forfeitures of particular Perſons be- "fore Conviction, are Illegal and Void. 13. And "that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the "amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving of the "Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently. "And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon all "and ſingular the Premiſes, as their undoubted "Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarati- "ons, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to "the prejudice of the People in any of the ſaid "Premiſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn here- "after into Conſequence or Example. To which

"Demand

"Demand of their Rights they are particularly "encouraged by the Declaration of His Highneſs "the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only means "for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy there-"in. 1688.

"Having therefore an intire Confidence, that "his ſaid Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* will per-"fect the Deliverance ſo far advanvced by Him, "and will ſtill preſerve them from the violation of "their Rights, which they have here aſſerted and "and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, "Rights and Liberties, The Lords Spiritual and "Temporal aſſembled at *Weſtminſter* do reſolve: "That *William* and *Mary* Prince and Princeſs of "*Orange* be, and be declared, King and Queen of "*England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions "thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and "Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms and Domi-"nions, to Them the ſaid Prince and Princeſs du-"ring their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor "of them; and that the ſole and full Exerciſe of "the Regal Power be only in, and executed by, the "ſaid Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the ſaid "Prince and Princeſs during their joint Lives; "and after their Deceaſes, the ſaid Crown and "Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms and "Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body "of the ſaid Princeſs; and for default of ſuch "Iſſue, to the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark*, and "the Heirs of Her Body; and for default of "ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid "Prince of *Orange*. And the ſaid Lords Spiritual "and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the ſaid "Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to accept the ſame "accordingly. And that the Oaths hereafter men-"tion'd be taken by all Perſons of whom the Oaths "of Allegiance and Supremacy might be required "by Law, inſtead of them; and that the ſaid "Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be Abroga-"ted.

1688/9

"I A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, That I* "*will be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to Their* "*Majeſties King* WILLIAM *and Queen* "MARY.

So help me God.

"I A. B. *do ſwear, That I do from my Heart Ab-* "*hor, Deteſt, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical,* "*this Damnable Doctrine and Poſition,* That Princes "Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, or "any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be De-"poſed or Murthered by their Subjects, or any "other whatſoever. *And I do declare, That no Fo-* "*reign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate,* "*hath, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Su-* "*periority, Preeminence, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or* "*Spiritual, within this Realm.*

So help me God.

After the Reading of this Declaration the Marquis of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, made a Tender of the Crown to their Highneſſes, in the Name of both Houſes, whereupon the Prince of *Orange* return'd the following Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THis is certainly the greateſt proof of the Truſt you have in Us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes Us value it the more; and We thankfully Accept what you have Offered. And as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preſerve your Religion, Laws and Liberties; ſo you may be ſure, That I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in My Power to Advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

The Prince and Princeſs of Orange *Proclaim'd King and Queen,* February 13.

The Shoutings of the People in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, upon the Concluſion of this Auguſt Ceremony, were immediately ecchoed by Multitudes without; and the ſame day their Majeſties being Solemnly Proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, *France*

France and *Ireland*, first at *Whitehall*, then at *Temple-Bar*, and last of all before the *Royal-Exchange*, by the Names of *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, the whole City and the Suburbs rung with Peals of Joyful Acclamations. 1688/9.

Thus was accomplish'd the greatest *REVOLUTION* that ever befel this Powerful Nation; a *Revolution* which, if well consider'd in its Circumstances, is scarce to be parallel'd in all the Histories of other Countries, and which reads an important Lesson both to the Kings, and to the People of *England*. The first may learn from this Awful Event how religiously they ought to observe the Laws, maintain the Establish'd Religion, and preserve the Rights and Liberties of their Subjects; since a Derogation from these Duties cost the unfortunate King *James* no less than his Crown: And by the slow and deliberate Proceedings of the *Convention* in this arduous Juncture, Posterity may see that like Wise and Skilful Surgeons, both *Lords* and *Commons* were unwilling to have Recourse to *Amputation*, till they had found all other Methods unpracticable to keep the whole Body Politick from Ruin. And therefore their Example ought not to be drawn into a Precedent for breaking the *Lineal Succession*, but rather to be a Caution against all rash and precipitate Innovations in the Constitution.

Revolution accomplish'd.

Reflections upon it.

FINIS.


G.R. III.

THE APPENDIX.

The Earl of Sunderland's *Letter in Juſtification of himſelf.*

TO comply with what you deſire, I will explain ſome things which we talked of before I left *England*. I have been in a Station of a great Noiſe, without Power or Advantage whilſt I was in it, and to my Ruin now I am out of it. I know I cannot juſtifie my ſelf by ſaying, though it is true, that I thought to have prevented much Miſchief, for when I found that I could not, I ought to have quitted the Service; neither is it an excuſe that I have got none of thoſe things which uſually engage Men in Publick Affairs: My Quality is the ſame that it ever was, and my Eſtate much worſe, even Ruin'd, though I was Born to a very Conſiderable one, which I am aſham'd to have ſpoiled, though not ſo much as if I had encreaſed it by indirect means. But to go on to what you expect: The pretence to a Diſpencing Power being not only the firſt thing which was much diſliked ſince the Death of the late King, but the Foundation of all the reſt, I ought to begin with that which I had ſo little to do with, that I never heard it ſpoken of till the time of *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, when that the King told ſome of the Council, of which I was one, that he was reſolved to give Employments to *Roman Catholicks*, it being fit that all Perſons ſhould ſerve who could be uſeful, and on whom he might depend. I think every

body

body advis'd him againſt it, but with little effect, as was ſoon ſeen: That Party was ſo well pleaſed with what the King had done, that they perſwaded him to mention it in his Speech at the next Meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many Debates whether it was proper or not: In all which I oppoſed it, as is known to very conſiderable Perſons, ſome of which were of another Opinion; for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give ſuch offence to the Parliament, that it was thought neceſſary to Prorogue it; after which the King fell immediately to the ſupporting the Diſpenſing Power, the moſt Chimerical thing that was ever thought of, and muſt be ſo till the Government here is as Abſolute as in *Turkey*, all Power being included in that one. This is the Sence I ever had of it, and when I heard Lawyers defend it, I never changed my Opinion or Language; however it went on, moſt of the Judges being for it, and was the chief Buſineſs of the State, till it was looked on as ſettled. Then the Eccleſiaſtical Court was ſet up, in which there being ſo many Conſiderable Men of ſeveral kinds, I could have but a ſmall part, and that after Lawyers had told the King it was Legal, and nothing like the High Commiſſion Court. I can moſt truly ſay, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended *Magdalen College* purely by Care and Induſtry, and have hundreds of times begged of the King never to grant *Mandates*, or to change any thing in the Regular Courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which he often thought reaſonable, and then by perpetual Importunities was prevailed upon againſt his own Senſe, which was the very Caſe of *Magdalen College*, as of ſome others.

Theſe things which I endeavoured, though without Succeſs, drew upon me the Anger and Ill-will of many about the King. The next thing to be tried, was to take off the Penal Laws and Teſts, ſo many having promiſed their Concurrence towards it that his Majeſty thought it Feaſible; but he ſoon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the *Catholicks* deſire it might be

Diſſolved,

Diſſolved, which I was ſo much againſt, that they complained of me to the King, as a Man who ruin'd all his Deſigns by oppoſing the only thing could carry them on; *Liberty of Conſcience* being the Foundation on which he was to build.

That was firſt offered at by the Lord *Clifford*, who by it had done the Work in the late King's time, if it had not been for his Weakneſs, and the Weakneſs of his Miniſters; yet I hindred the Diſſolution ſeveral Weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in being would do every thing he could deſire, but the taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, or the allowing his *Diſpenſing Power*, and that any other Parliament, though ſuch a one could be had as was propoſed, would probably never Repeal thoſe Laws; and if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the Support of the Government, whatever Exigency it might be in. At that time the King of *Spain* was Sick, upon which I ſaid often to the King, That if he ſhould die, it would be impoſſible for his Majeſty to preſerve the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, that a War muſt be expected, and ſuch a one as would chiefly concern *England*; and that if the preſent Parliament continued, he might be ſure of all the Help and Service he could wiſh; but in caſe he Diſſolved it, he muſt give over all thoughts of Foreign Affairs, for no other would ever aſſiſt him, but on ſuch Terms as would Ruin the Monarchy; ſo that from abroad or at home, he would be deſtroy'd, if the Parliament were broken, and any Accident ſhould happen, of which there were many, to make the Aid of his People neceſſary to him. This and much more I ſaid to him, ſeveral times, privately, and in the hearing of others. But being over powered, the Parliament were broke, the Cloſetting went on, and a new one was to be choſen. Who was to get by Cloſetting I need not ſay, but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them ſuffer'd, who I would fain have ſaved, and yet I muſt confeſs with grief, that when the King was reſolved, and there was no Remedy, I did not quit as I ought to have done, but

ſerved

ſerved on in order to the calling another Parliament. In the midſt of all the Preparations for it, and whilſt the Corporations were Regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be read in all Churches, of which I moſt ſolemnly proteſt I never heard one Word till the King declar'd it in Council: That drew on the Petition of my Lord the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords the Biſhops, and their Proſecution, which I was ſo openly againſt, that by arguing continually to ſhew the Injuſtice and Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman Catholicks* upon me to ſuch a degree, and ſo unanimouſly, that I was juſt ſinking, and I wiſh I had then ſunk: But whatever I did fooliſhly to preſerve my ſelf, I continued ſtill to be the Object of their Hatred, and I reſolved to ſerve the Publick as well as I could, which I am ſure moſt of the conſiderable *Proteſtants* then at Court can teſtifie; and ſo can one very Eminent Man of the Country, I would have perſwaded to come into the Buſineſs, which he might have done, to have helped me to reſiſt the Violence of thoſe in Power. But he deſpaired of being able to do any good, and therefore, would not engage. Sometime after came the firſt News of the Prince's Deſigns, which were not then look'd on as they have proved, no body foreſeeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct and Courage, for the greateſt thing which has been undertaken theſe Thouſand Years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till ſeen nearer hand. Upon the firſt thought of his coming I laid hold of the Opportunity to preſs the King to do ſeveral things which I would have had done ſooner; the chief of which were to reſtore *Magdalen College*, and all the *Eccleſiaſtical Preferments*, which had been diverted from what they were intended for, to take off my Lord Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion, to put the Counties into the ſame Hands they were in ſometime before, to annul the Eccleſiaſtical Court, and to reſtore intirely all the Corporations of *England*. Theſe things were done effectually by the help of ſome

about

about the King, and it was then thought I had deſtroyed my ſelf by enraging again the whole *Roman Catholick* Party, to ſuch a height as had not been ſeen: They diſperſed Libels of me every day, told the King that I betrayed him, that I ruined him by perſwading him to make ſuch ſhameful Condeſcentions; but moſt of all by hindering the ſecuring the chief of the diſaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was propoſed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Meaſures, and by adviſing His Majeſty to call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon any Foreign Aſſiſtance. It is true, I did give him thoſe Counſels, which were called weak, to the laſt Moment he ſuffer'd me in his Service; then I was accuſed of holding Correſpondence with the Prince, and it was every where ſaid amongſt them, That no better could be expected from a Man ſo related as I was to the *Bedford* and *Leiceſter* Families, and ſo allied to Duke *Hamilton*, and the Marquis of *Hallifax*. After this, Accuſations of High Treaſon were brought againſt me, which, with ſome other Reaſons relating to Affairs abroad, drew the King's Diſpleaſure upon me, ſo as to turn me out of all without any Conſideration, and yet I thought I eſcaped well, and expected nothing leſs than the loſs of my Head, as my Lord *Middleton* can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwiſe; Nor had it been otherwiſe if my Diſgrace had been deferr'd a day longer, all things being prepared for it. I was put out on the 27th of *October*, the *Roman Catholicks* having been two Months working the King up to it without Intermiſſion, beſides the ſeveral Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unuſual Aſſiſtance they obtain'd to do what they thought neceſſary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time, as may be remembred by any who were then at *London*. But you deſired I would ſay ſomething to you of *Ireland*, which I will do in very few Words, but exactly true.

My

My Lord *Tirconel* has been ſo Abſolute there, that I never had the Credit to make an Enſign, or to keep one in, nor to preſerve ſome of my Friends, for which I was much concern'd, from the leaſt Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, though I endeavoured it to the utmoſt of my Power. But yet with Care and Diligence, being upon the Place, and he Abſent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was deſigned to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Juſtice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice* were ſent over with a Draught of an Act for that purpoſe, furniſhed with all the preſſing Arguments could be thought on to perſwade the King; I was offer'd 40000 *l.* for my Concurrence, which I told to the King, and ſhewed him at the ſame time the Injuſtice of what was propoſed to him, the Prejudice it would be to that Country, with ſo good ſucceſs that he reſolved not to think of it that Year, and perhaps never. This I was help'd in by ſome Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin*, who knows it to be true, and ſo do the Judges before named, and ſeveral others.

I cannot omit ſaying ſomething of *France*, there having been ſo much talk of a League between the two Kings. I do proteſt I never knew of any, and if there were ſuch a thing, it was carried on by other ſort of Men laſt Summer. Indeed *French* Ships were offered to joyn with our Fleet, and they were refuſed; ſince the noiſe of the Prince's Deſign more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they ſhould be Commanded if ever deſired. I oppoſed to Death the accepting of them, as well as any Aſſiſtance of Men, and can ſay moſt truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of ſome Lords with whom I conſulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great Prejudice, if not Ruinous to the Nation; if the Report is true, of Men, Ships and Money intended lately for *England* out of *France*, it was agreed upon ſince I was out of Buſineſs, or without my Knowledge, if it had been otherwiſe, I believe no body thinks my Diſgrace would have hapned. My greateſt Misfor-

and

tune has been to be thought the Promoter of those things I oppoſed and deteſted, whilſt ſome I could name have been the Inventers and Contrivers of what they have had the art to lay upon others; and I was often fooliſhly willing to bear with what my Maſter would have done, though I uſed all poſſible Endeavours againſt it. I lie under many other Misfortunes and Afflictions extreme heavy, but I hope they have brought me to reflect upon the occaſion of them, the looſe, negligent, unthinking Life I have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good Thoughts, by Pleaſure, Idleneſs, the Vanity of the Court, or by Buſineſs. I hope, I ſay, that I ſhall overcome all Diſorder my former Life had brought upon me, and that I ſhall ſpend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God, that he will pleaſe either to put an end to my Sufferings, or give me ſtrength to bear them; one of which he will certainly grant to ſuch as rely on him, which I hope I do, with the ſubmiſſion that becomes a good Chriſtian. I would enlarge on this Subject, but that I fear you might think ſomething elſe to be the reaſon of it, beſides the true ſenſe of my Faults, and that obliges me to reſtrain my ſelf at preſent: I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this Account, but I cannot forbear the doing of what you deſire me.

A Liſt of ſuch Members of the CONVENTION *as were againſt making the Prince of* Orange KING, *to the Prejudice of the Princeſs* ANNE *of* Denmark, *now our Moſt Gracious* QUEEN.

Berks.

LORD *Norris.*
The Hon. *Montague Bertie*

Bucking.

Sir *Ralph Verny;*

Cambridge.

Sir *Levinius Benett Bar,*
Sir *Robert Cotton.*
Sir *Robert Sawyer.*

Cornwal.

Sir *Bourcher Wry*, Bar.

Fran. Robarts
Sir John St. Aubyn, Bar.
Charles Godolphin
Nich. Glyn.
John Tanner
Alexander Pendarves
James Pread
John Raſhleigh
Fran. Vivian
John Specot.
Sir Joſ. Tredenham
Hen. Seymour
Sir John Coriton, Bar.
John Prideaux.

Cumberland.

Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Bar.

Derby.

John Coke.

Devonſhire.

Sir Edw. Seymour, Bar.
Chriſto. Bale.
Sir John Fowell, Bar.
Rawlin Mallack
William Cary
Henry Nortleigh.
Sir Arthur Chicheſter, Bar.
Edm. Walrond
Will. Hayn
Will. Coleman.

Dorſetſhire.

Tho. Strangways
John Pole
Sir Robert Nappier, Bar.
Edw. Nicholas
Rich. Fowns
Will. Okeden.

Durham:

Will. Lampton.
Robert Byerly
George Morland:

Glouceſterſhire.

Will. Cook
Tho. Maſter.
Sir Fra. Ruſſel, Bar.

Herefordſhire.

Hen. Cornwal.

Huntingtonſhire.

John Bigg.

Kent.

Sir John Banks, Bar.
Sir Roger Twiſden, Bar.
Kaleb Banks

Lancaſhire.

Francis Cholmondley.
Sir Edward Chiſnal.

Leiceſterſhire.

Sir Tho. Halford, Bar.
Tho. Babington.

Lincolnſhire.

Charles Bertie
Sir John Brownlow, Bar.

Middleſex.

Sir Charles Gerrard, Bar.
Ralph Hawtrey.

Monmouth.

Charles Marq. of Worceſter.

Norfolk.

Sir William Cook, Bar.
Sir Nevil Catlyn
Sir John Turner
Sir Fran. Guybon.

Northamptonſhire.

Edw. Mountague
Gilbert Dolben
Sir Juſtinian Iſham, Bar.
Richard Lord Wenman.

Northumberland.

Will. Foſter
Philip Bickerſtaff
Sir Ralph Car
Roger Fenwick.

Nottingham.

Will. Lord Eland.

Oxon.

Sir Robert Jenkinſon, Bar.
Sir Tho. Clarges

Hen.

Hen. Bertie
Sir *John Doyly*, Bar.

Rutland.

Sir *Tho. Mackworth*, Bar.

Salop.

Edw. Kynaſton
Andrew Newport
Sir *Fran. Edwards*, Bar.
Sir *Edward Acton*, Bar.
George Weld.

Somerſet.

Sir *Rich. Hart*
Sir *John Knight*
Edward Berkley
Sir *Will. Baſſet*
Sir *Will. Portman*, Bar.
John Sandford
Sir *Fran. War*, Bar.
Fran. Lutterel
Nathan Palmer
Sir *Edward Wyndham*, Bar.
Will. Helyar
John Hunt
Tho. Saunders.

Southampton.

Fran. Morley
Sir *Ben. Newland*
Sir *Robert Holms*
Rich. Earl of *Ranelaugh*
Tho. Done
Fran. Guin
William Etrick
John Pollen

Staffordſhire.

John Gray
Rob. Burdet
John Chetwind
Sir *Hen. Gough.*

Suffolk.

Sir *John Cordell*, Bar.
Sir *John Rous*, Bar.
Sir *John Barker*, Bar.
Tho. Glemham
Sir *Hen. Johnſon*
William Johnſon
Sir *John Poley*
Tho. Knyvet
Henry Pooley
Sir *Rob. Davers*, Bar.
Sir *Tho. Harvey.*

Surrey.

John Weſton
White Tichburn.

Suſſex.

Sir *Will. Morley*
John Alford
Charles Goring, Jun.
Will. Morley

Warwickſhire.

Sir *Richard Verny*
Sir *Geo. Cave*, Bar.
Will. Lord *Digby*
Will. Colemore.

Weſtmorland.

Rich. Lowther
William Cheyne.

Wiltſhire.

Edward Lord *Cornbury*
Rob. Hyde
Richard Lewis
Peregrine Bertie
Hen. Chivers
Walter Grub
Charles Fox
Sir *Edm. Warnford*
John Dean
Sir *John Ernle*
Sir *George Willoughby.*

Worceſterſhire.

Hen. Parker
Sir *John Matthews.*

Yorkſhire.

Viſcount *Dumblaine*
Sir *Jonathan Jennings*
Chriſtopher Tancred.

Brecon.

E. Jones of Buckland.

Denby.
Sir *Rich. Middleton*, Bar.
Edw. Brereton.

Glamorgan.
Tho. Manſell.

Pembroke.
Sir *William Wogan.*

King James's Commiſſion *for* Eccleſiaſtical *Cauſes.*

JAMES the II. by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the moſt Reverend Father in God, our Right Truſty, and Right well Beloved Councellor *William*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and *Metropolitan*; and to our Right Truſty and Right well belov'd Chancellor *George*, Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; and to our Right Truſty and well-Belov'd Couſin and Councellor *Lawrence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; and to our Right Truſty and Right well Belov'd Couſin and Councellor *Robert*, Earl of *Sunderland*, Preſident of our Council, and our Principal Secretary of State; and to the Right Reverend Father in God, and our Right Truſty and well-Belov'd Councellor *Nathaniel*, Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*; and to the Right Reverend Father in God, our Right Truſty and well-Belov'd *Thomas*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and to our Right Truſty and well-Belov'd Councellor Sir *Edward Herbert*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Pleas*, before us to be holden, Aſſign'd, Greeting. We do for divers good weighty and neceſſary Cauſes and Conſiderations, Us hereunto eſpecially moving of our meer Motion. and certain Knowledge, by Force and Virtue of our Supream Authority and Prerogative Royal, Aſſign, Name and Authorize by theſe our Letter Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, you the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Lord Preſident of our Council, Lord Biſhop of *Dureſme*, Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and our Chief Juſtice aforeſaid, or any Three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, from time to time, and at all times during our

our Pleaſure, to Exerciſe, Uſe, Occupy, and Execute under us all manner of Juriſdiction, Priviledges, and Preheminences in any wiſe touching, or concerning any Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions within this our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*; and to Viſit, Reform, Redreſs, Order, Correct, and Amend all ſuch Abuſes, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatſoever, which by the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm, can or may be lawfully Reform'd, Order'd, Redreſs'd, Corrected, Reſtrain'd or Amended, to the Pleaſure of the Almighty, and Encreaſe of Vertue, and the Conſervation of the Peace and Unity of this Realm. And we do hereby give and Grant unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, thus by us Nam'd, Aſſign'd, Authoriz'd and Appointed, by Force of our Supream Authority and Prerogative Royal, full Power and Authority from time to time, and at all times, during our Pleaſure, under us, to Exerciſe, Uſe, and Execute all the Premiſes according to the Tenor and Effect of theſe our Letters Patents, any Matter or Cauſe to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And we do by theſe Preſents give full Power and Authority unto you, or to any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, by all lawful ways or means from time to time hereafter, during our Pleaſure, to enquire of all Offences, Contempts, Tranſgreſſions, and Miſdemeaners, done and committed, contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this our Realm, in any County, City, Burrough, or other Place or Places, Exempt or not Exempt, within this our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and of all and every the Offender or Offenders therein; and them and every of them, to Order, Correct, Reform and Puniſh by Cenſure of the Church. And we alſo do give and grant full Power and Authority unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Chancellor to be one, in like manner as is aforeſaid, from time to time, and at all times during our Pleaſure, to enquire of, ſearch out, and

call before you all and every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon or Perſons, of what Degree or Dignity ſoever, as ſhall Offend in any of theſe Particulars before mention'd; and them and every of them to Correct and Puniſh for ſuch their Misbehaviours and Miſdemeanors, by ſuſpending or depriving them from all Promotions Eccleſiaſtical, and from all Functions in the Church, and to inflict ſuch other Puniſhments or Cenſures upon them, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm. And further we do give full Power and Authority unto you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, by Virtue hereof, and in like manner and form as aforeſaid, to inquire, hear determine and puniſh all Inceſt, Adulteries, Fornications, Outrages, Misbehaviours and Diſorders in Marriages, and all other Grievances, and Crimes or Offences which are puniſhable or reformable by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this our Realm, committed or done, or hereafter to be committed or done, in any Place Exempt or not Exempt, within this our Realm, according to the Tenor of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws in that behalf; Granting to you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, full Power and Authority to Order and Award ſuch Puniſhment to every ſuch Offender, by Cenſures of the Church, or other Lawful ways, as is aboveſaid. And further, we do give full Power and Authority to you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, to call before you, or any Three, or more of you; as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, all and every Offender, and Offenders, in any of the Premiſes; alſo and all ſuch as by you, or any Three, or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall ſeem to be ſuſpected Perſons in any of the Premiſes which you ſhall object againſt them; and to procred againſt them, and every of them, as the Nature and Quality of the Offence, or Suſpicion in that behalf ſhall require; and alſo to call all ſuch Witneſſes, or any other Perſon or Perſons that can inform you

of

of any of the Premiſes, as you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one; and them, and every of them, to Examine upon their Corporal Oaths for the better trial and opening of the Truth of the Premiſes, or any ſuch part thereof. And if you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall find any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever Obſtinate, or Diſobedient in their Appearance before you, or any three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, at your Calling and Commandments, or elſe in not obeying, or in not accompliſhing your Orders, Decrees and Commandments, or in any thing touching the Premiſes, or any part thereof, or any other Branch or Clauſe contain'd in this Commiſſion; that then you, or any three or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall have full Power and Authority to puniſh the ſame Perſon or Perſons ſo Offending, by Excommunication, Suſpenſion, Deprivation, or other Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical: And when any Perſons ſhall be convented or proſecuted before you as is aforeſaid, for any of the Cauſes above expreſs'd, at the Inſtance and Suit of any Perſon proſecuting the Offence in that behalf, that then you, or any three or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall have full Power and Authority to Award ſuch Coſts and Expences of the Suit, as well to and againſt the Party as ſhall prefer or proſecute the ſaid Offence, as to and againſt the Party, or Parties that ſhall be convented, according as their Cauſes ſhall require, and to you in Juſtice ſhall be thought Reaſonable. And further, our Will and Pleaſure is, That you aſſume our Well-belov'd Subject *William Bridgman*, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Council, or his ſufficient Deputy or Deputies in that behalf, to be your Regiſter, whom we do by theſe Preſents Depute to that Effect, for the Regiſtering all your Acts, Decrees and Proceedings, by Virtue of this our Commiſſions; and that in like manner, you, or any three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid

Lord Chancellor to be one, by your Diſcretions ſhall appoint one or more Meſſenger or Meſſengers, and other Officer or Officers neceſſary and convenient to attend upon you for any Service in this behalf. Our Will and expreſs Commandment alſo is, That there ſhall be two Paper Books indented and made, the one to remain with the ſaid Regiſter, or his ſufficient Deputy or Deputies, the other with ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Places, as you the ſaid Commiſſioners, or any three or more of you, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, ſhall in your Diſcrerion think moſt fit and meet; in both which Books ſhall be fairly entred all the Acts, Decrees, and Proceedings, made or to be made, by Virtue of this Commiſſion. And whereas our Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and divers Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Colledges, Grammar-Schools, and other Eccleſiaſtical Incorporations have been Erected, Founded, and Endow'd by ſeveral of our Royal Progenitors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, and ſome others, by the Charity and Bounty of ſome of their Subjects, as within our Univerſities, as all other Parts and Places, the Ordinance, Rules, and Statutes whereof are either Embezel'd, Loſt, Corrupted, or altogether Imperfected; we do therefore give full Power and Authority to you, or any Five or more of you, of whom we will you the aforenam'd Lord Chancellor to be one, to Cauſe and Command, in our Name; all and ſingular the Ordinances, Rules, and Statutes of our Univerſities, and all and every Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches, Colleges, Grammar-Schools, and other Eccleſiaſtical Incorporations, together with their ſeveral Letters Patents, and other Writings, touching or in any wiſe concerning the ſeveral Erections and Foundations, to be exhibited and brought before you, or any Five or more of you, as is aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, Willing, Commanding, and Authorizing you, or any Five or more of you, as aforeſaid, whereof you the ſaid Lord Chancellor to be one, upon the exhibiting, and upon diligent and deliberate View, Search, and Examination of the ſaid Statues, Rules, and Ordinances,

ces, Letters Patents, and Writings, as aforesaid, the same to Correct, Amend and Alter. And also where no Statutes are Extant in all or the aforesaid Cases, to devise and set down such good Orders and Statutes, as you, or any Five or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall think meet and convenient to be by us confirm'd, ratified, deliver'd, and set forth for the better Order and Rule of the said Universities, Cathedrals, and Collegiate Churches, Colledges, and Grammar-Schools, Erections and Foundations, and the Possessions and Revenues of the same, as may best tend to the Honour of Almighty God, Encrease of Virtue, Learning, and Unity in the said Places, and the publick Weal and Tranquility of this our Realm. Moreover, our Will, Pleasure, and Commandment is, That our said Commissioners, and every of you, shall diligently and faithfully Execute this our Commission, and every Part and Branch thereof, in Manner and Form aforesaid, and according to the true meaning hereof, notwithstanding any Appellation, Provocation, Priviledge, or Exemption, in that behalf to be made, pretended or alledg'd by any Person or Persons, Resident or Dwelling in any Place or Places, Exempt or not Exempt, within this our Realm, any Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or Grants, Priviledges, or Ordinances, which be, or may seem to be contrary to the Premises, notwsthstanding. And for the better Credit, and more manifest Notice of your doing in Execution of this our Commission, our Pleasure and Commandment is, That to your Letters Missive, Processes, Decrees, Orders and Judgments, for or by you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, to be awarded, sent forth, had, made, decreed, given, or pronounc'd, at such certain publick Places as shall be appointed by you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, for the due Execution of this our Commission, you, or some Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall cause to be put and fix a Seal, Engraven with a *Rose* and *Crown*, and the Letter J. and Figure 2. before, and the Letter R after the same, with a Ring

Ring or Circumference about the ſame Seal, containing as followeth, *Sigillum Commiſſariorum Regiæ Majeſtratis ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas.* Finally, we Will and Command all and ſingular other our Miniſters and Subjects, in all and every Place and Places, Exempt or not Exempt, within our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, upon any Knowledge or Requeſt from you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforeſaid, to them or any of them given or made, to be Aiding, Helping, and Aſſiſting unto you and to your Commandment, in and for the due executing your Precepts, Letters and other Proceſſes requiſite, in and for the due executing of this our Commiſſion, as they and every of them Tender our Pleaſure, and will Anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt Perils, *&c.*

A SPEECH *Made by the Earl of* ARRAN, *to the* Scotch Nobility *and* Gentry, *Met together at the* Council-Chamber *in* White-Hall, *on the Eighth of* January 1688, *about an Addreſs to His Highneſs the* PRINCE *of* ORANGE, *to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom of* SCOTLAND.

My Lords,

I Have all the Honour and Deference for the Prince of *ORANGE* imaginable. I think him a Brave Prince, and that we owe him great Obligations, in Contributing ſo much for our Delivery from *Popery*. But while I pay him thoſe Praiſes, I cannot Violate my Duty to my Maſter. I muſt diſtinguiſh between his *Popery* and his *Perſon*. I diſlike the one, but have Sworn and do Owe Allegiance to the other; which makes it impoſſible for me to Sign away that which I cannot forbear believing is the KING my Maſter's Right. For his preſent abſence from us, by being in *Franee*, can no more affect our Duty, than his longer abſence from us in *Scotland* has done all this while.

My

My Lords,

The Prince in his Paper desires our Advice, mine is, That we should move his Highness to desire His Majesty to Return and Call a Free Parliament, for the Securing our Religion and Property, according to the known Laws of that Kingdom; which, in my humble Opinion, will at last be found the best Way to Heal all our Breaches.

A Speech made by a Member *of the Convention of the States in* Scotland.

WE are now called together by his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, to Consult and Deliberate, what Methods will be most proper to secure Our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, in order to which, the first thing that will fall under our Consideration, is the settling the *Sovereign Power*.

I take for granted, that you are fully convinced, that King *James* VII. by his many Violations of the Fundamental Laws, by his endeavouring to establish a *Despotick* and *Arbitrary Power*, and introduce *Popery*, (though he himself had confirmed all the Laws that were Enacted in Favour of the *Protestant Religion*) has thereby subverted the *Constitution*, and (that our Miseries might have no Redress from him) has left us in a time, when we needed his Protection most. The Eyes of all *Europe* are upon us, and it is in our Power to make our *Selves*, and our *Posterity*, either *Happy* or *Miserable*, by making a choice either to call back the said King *James*, and hazard once more all that *Men account Dear*, to his Mercy; or to settle the *Government* on some other, under whom we may live Quiet and Peaceable Lives, whithout the perpetual Terror of being swallowed up by *Popery* and *Arbitary Government*, which all good Men hoped were now banished, and yet behold a new *Off spring* is sprung up, which plead eagerly for both, tho' under the mistaken Names of *Duty* and *Allegiance*. It's strange that any Man can so far *Degenerate*, as to prefer

prefer *Slavery* to *Liberty*, and that they ſhould be ſo much in Love with *Chains*, that when they were fairly ſhaken off they ſhould run furiouſly to be *Fetter'd* again; as if the *Ottoman* and *French Government* were ſo charming in our Country, that we cannot live without it, tho' we have ſo lately groaned under the diſmal Burden of it: And it might have been ſuppoſed that even thoſe, who had been *Inſtrumental* in *Enſlaving* their *Fellow Brethren*, and were grown Fat with Sucking the *Nations Blood*, would have taken another Method to reconcile themſelves, than by perſwading us to purchaſe their Safety, at ſo vaſt an Expence as the *Ruin* of more than three Parts of the Nation will neceſſarily amount to.

If we do but a little reflect on the *Motives* which theſe Men (blinded by Self-Intereſt) make uſe of to Delude the Nation into a Security that wanted very little of proving Fatal to it, and compare them with the ſtrong Reaſons, we have to diſſwade us from being ſo impoſed on, they will be found ſo *Weak* and *Impertinent*, that we muſt judge it next to *Impoſſibility*, to ſuffer our ſelves to be *twice Deceived*. But if the Experience of our former Miſeries, ſo lately hanging over our Heads, (the very thoughts of renewing which, make all good Men to tremble) has not made us *Wiſer*, and be not of *Efficacy* enough, to deter us from venturing another *Shipwrack*, and expoſing all again to the *Diſcretion* of *Roman Catholicks*: It's more than probable that GOD has abandoned us, *and given us up to believe ſtrong Deluſions.*

Firſt, They will endeavour to perſwade us, that Kings are exim'd from *Puniſhments* here on *Earth*, and nothing they do can be Quarrelled with by their Subjects, which indeed might with ſome reaſon be urged among the *Turks*, who reſerve nothing from the Power of their *Sultans*, and where it's Death to Diſpute his *Commands*, tho' never ſo *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical*: But with what Impudence can ſuch *Stuff* be impoſed on us, who never admit our *Kings* to the *Government*, till they Swear to Rule us according to *Law*, and no otherwiſe? The *Laws* are the only Security we have for our Lives and Properties, which if our *Sovereign* ſubvert, *Subjects* cannot be blamed,

blamed, for making uſe of the ordinary means to preſerve them, and ſince that cannot be done without withdrawing Obedience from ſuch a *Magiſtrate* as goes about to deſtroy them, ſuch an Act cannot properly be ſaid to puniſh him, becauſe we take nothing from him to which he has a juſt Claim, but only ſhun the occaſion of making our ſelves Miſerable. The *Speculative Doctrine* of *Paſſive Obedience* has done too much Miſchief among us, and what has befallen the *King* may be juſtly imputed to it; for the believing that without Oppoſition he might *do what he pleaſed*, encouraged him to take ſuch Meaſures as have drawn all theſe Misfortunes on him.

Secondly, Others are ſo fond as to believe, that we may be ſecure in calling the King back, provided they ſo Limit him, that it will not be in his Power to hurt us. Theſe Men do not conſider, how ſmall a Complement this is to a Man of the *King's Temper*, from an *Abſolute Prince*, as he was pleaſed to fancy himſelf, to content himſelf with the bare Title of a *King*; and how inſupportable the Change muſt be, if from being *Maſter of all*, he muſt force himſelf to comply with a Thouſand *Maſters*, and ſee his *Throne* become his *Priſon*. But how airy is it to fancy, that any Reſtrictions of our Contrivance can bind the King? For, It's moſt certain they can never be Voluntary, and what is conſtrained and done by Force, is by *Law* declared to be void and Null; to whoſe Aſſiſtance the *Pope's Diſpencing Power* being joyned, would quickly blow off theſe *Sampſon Cords*, and the *Royal Power* would again revive all its Vigor and Luſtre.

Thirdly, The King is of a Religion that has in a Famous Council Decreed, That no Faith is to be kept with *Hereticks*, much leſs with *Subjects* whom he looks upon as ſo many *Rebels*, and will not miſs to treat them as ſuch, whenever they give him the Opportunity of doing it; for his greateſt Admirers do no run to that height of *Idolatry*, to imagine him ſo much *Angel*, as not to take all methods to revenge ſo great an Affront, and ſecure himſelf at our Coſt from ſuch a Treatment for the Future; the apprehenſions of which Reſentment will ſtrike ſuch Ter-

ror

ror in Mens Minds, that nothing will be capable to divert them from offering All for an Atonement, and *Popery* and *Slavery* will be thought a good Bargain, if they can but ſave their Lives. Then we may lament our Miſeries, but it will not be in our Power to help them; for a *Prince of Orange* is not always ready to reſcue us, with ſuch vaſt Expence and ſo great hazard to his Perſon; and if our Madneſs hurry us ſo far, we deſerve rather his Pity than his Reſentment.

Fourthly, What Arguments has the King given ſince he left us, to perſwade us he will be more faithful in obſerving his Words and Oaths, than hitherto he has been? Does he not in a Letter lately Printed here, expreſly ſay he has Ruled ſo, as to give no occaſion of Complaint to any of his Subjects? Is not the ſame Letter Signed by one who Sacrificed both *Conſcience* and *Honour* to *Intereſt*, whoſe pernicious and headſtrond *Counſels* has poſted him to his Ruin, tho' all that has been done cannot make him ſenſible of it? Sure the reducing *Hereticks* to the See of *Rome* is not leſs Meritorious than before, nor King *James* VII. by breathing the *French Air*, become leſs *Bigot?* It were a Dream to fancy it. For ſo long as the *Vatican* thunders Excommunications againſt all ſuch as do not uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to extirpate *Hereſie*, a *Roman Catholick* muſt have no Religion at all, if that be not terrible to him.

The Fourth Argument they made uſe of to perſwade ſuch as are and ſhall be choſen Members of the *Convention*, That the Peace and Happineſs of the Nation cannot be otherwiſe ſecured, nor Factions or Diviſions extinguiſhed. But what Factions do you obſerve, but ſuch as they themſelves do foment, on purpoſe to diſturb our Harmony? All which would immediately die, if the Government were once ſetled on thoſe who deſerve it beſt; for then, if theſe Fops continued ſtill fond of *Popery* and *Tyranny* they would be Chaſtiſed as Diſturbers of the Publick Peace. The Argument may very juſtly be retorted; for if the King return, we will burſt out into a Flame, and *England*, which has already declared, will quickly be on our Top, an Enemy too

Potent

Potent and too Numerous for us, tho' we were all United; beſides the Danger to which ſuch a Procedure will expoſe us, we cut off all hopes of an Union with that Nation, and thereby deprive our ſelves of an unſpeakable Advantage, which would redound to all ſorts of People, and would be the only means to ſupport an impoveriſh'd and ſinking Nation. Neither is this the only Inconveniency, tho' it be a very great one; for if we ſtate our ſelves in oppoſition to *England*, by *Reſtoring* the *King* whom they *Rejected*, it is not to be doubted but he will uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to recover that Kingdom, the loſs of which is ſo conſiderable. Now, ſeeing it were vain to ſuppoſe that the *Scots* alone were able to ſecond his Deſires, he muſt needs have Recourſe to the *French* and *Iriſh*, whoſe Religion will procure a more intire Confidence than His Majeſty can repoſe in any others. 'Theſe therefore muſt be received into our Boſom; and becauſe *Scotland* is the moſt proper place for Invading *England*, it muſt be the Scene of all the Blood and Confuſion that this melancholly Thought gives us a proſpect of. And what treatment can ſuch *Sham-Proteſtants* expect from theſe, who otherwiſe would have become their Friends and Allies? And what Figure will they pretend to make when they ſet up for a ſeparate Intereſt from all the *Confederate Proteſtants* in the World beſides?

The happy Succeſs the Prince's Enterprize has met with, has made a conſiderable alteration in the Affairs of *Europe*; for the great Enemy of the *Proteſtants*, and even of *Chriſtianity* it ſelf, who had propos'd nothing leſs to himſelf than an Univerſal *Monarchy*, whom the ſtricteſt *Leagues* and *Contracts* cannot bind, but without regard to God or Man, threatens all his *Neighbours* with utter Deſtruction; by the *Scene's* being changed among us, is ſo far humbled, that from a *Proud* and *Inſulting Enemy*, he is become a Supplicant for Peace; well foreſeeing, that if *Britain* join with thoſe other *Princes*, whom his Inſolence, Cruelty, and Avarice, has ſo juſtly Armed againſt him, his Ruin is *Inevitable*: So that if we have not *Soul* enough to enjoy this great *Bleſſing*, and can eaſily part with the *Glory* of being once more the

Arbiters,

Arbiters of *Europe*, let us at leaſt have ſo much *Chriſtian Love* and *Charity* for the *Neighbouring Nations* of our own Perſwaſion, as not to expoſe them to a neceſſary *Participation* of theſe *Plagues*, which our *Common Enemies* are preparing for us, and which will certainly *Terminate* in our Deſtruction.

Laſtly, I beſeech you to conſider what *Perſons* they are who would *Inſtil* this *Poiſon* in you, and you will find them of three kinds. *Firſt*, Thoſe who *Poſtponing the Common Good* of the *Nation*, are wholly acted by *Self-Intereſt*, conſidering that in a *Government* where *Juſtice* and *Mercy* equally Flouriſh, *Virtue* and *Merit*, not *Villany*, will be rewarded. *Secondly*, They who are ignorant of the Nature of Government, and were never at the pains to inform themſelves what Meaſures the Law of Nature and Nations have ſet to Mens Obedience, but are angry at every thing that thwarts their wild Notions, and will admit of nothing, tho' never ſo Reaſonabe and Convincing, if their dull Capacities cannot reach it. The third ſort are ſuch as have been Inſtrumental in the Enſlaving their Country, and, are afraid if they be called to an Account, they may be brought to ſuffer *Condign Puniſhment*; if ſuch cannot ſucceed in their Deſign, they at leaſt hope to be overlook'd in a *General Confuſion*, ſo they leave nothing uneſſay'd that may tend to their own Safety; and if *Heaven* fail them, they ſummon *Hell* to their Aid; not *Love* to their *Prince*, but meer *Ambition* and *Intereſt* drives theſe *Criminals* to ſuch Attempts; neither are they much to blame if they are at ſuch pains to ſow Diviſions among us: But no Perſon of *Wit* and *Judgment*, nor any good Man that is truly *Proteſtant*, and minds the good of his *Country*, will ſuffer himſelf to be ſo groſly impoſed on by ſuch *Firebrands*, who would build their Future *Imaginary Greatneſs* on the Ruin of *Our Religion*, *Laws* and *Country*.

THE

THE CONTENTS OF THE First Part.

A.

ADvances *towards a Peace between* England *and* Holland, p. 40. *Between the* Dutch *and the* French, p. 92.
Allies, *angry with the* Dutch, p. 108.
Arlington *(Lord) ill Succeſs of his Negotiation with the Prince of* Orange, p. 62.

B.

Battle *of* Senef, p. 49. *Of* Mont-Caſſel, p. 89. *Of* Mons *or* St. Dennis, p. 115.
Bentinck, *his cloſe Attendance on the Prince of* Orange *during his Illneſs*, p. 67.
Bouchain *taken by the* French, p. 74.

C.

Cambray *taken by the* French, p. 88.
Charles *II. King of* England, *grows jealous of the diſcontended Party*, &c. p. 58. *And of the Prince*

of Orange's *coming over into* England, p. 65. *He is tempted with Money by* France, p. 106. *Complains of the States signing a separate Peace, and offers to make War against* France, p. 118.
Coeverden *recover'd*, p. 30.
Condé *taken by the* French, p. 74.
Congreſs *form'd at* Nimeguen, p. 71.

D.

St. Dennis, *Battle there*, p. 115.
Diſcontented *Party in* England, p. 57.
Dort, *an Inſurrection there*, p. 20.
Dover-*Treaty*, p. 16.
Dutch *War*, p. 16. *The* Dutch *encline to a ſeparate Peace*, p. 80. *They accept of the Articles offer'd by* France.

E.

Engliſh *and* French *Fleets join*, p. 32. *And fight the* Dutch, p. 33.

F.

France (*King of*) *propoſes a Truce*, p. 91. *His Project of a Peace*, p. 104. *His Letter to the States*, p. 108.
Franche-Comté *ſeiz'd by the King of* France, p. 45.
French, *their Progreſs in the* Netherlands, p. 17. *repulſed before* Ardemburgh, p. 22. *Leave their Conqueſts in* Holland, p. 35, 44, 88.

G.

Ghent *beſieg'd and taken by the* French, p. 103.

H.

Henry Frederick *of* Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange, p. 7.

L.

Limburgh *taken by the* French. p. 68.
Luxemburgh *(Duke of) his unſucceſsful Expedition*, p. 29.

M.

Maeſtricht *beſieg'd and taken by the* French, p. 32.
Maurice *of* Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange, p. 6.
Mons *block'd up by the* French, p. 112.
Munſter, *the Biſhop of that Place beſieges* Groninguen *without Succeſs*, p. 22, *Makes Peace with the Emperor*, p. 44.

N.

Naerden *taken by the Prince of* Orange. p. 33.
Naſſau, *Conſiderableneſs of that Houſe, and Antiquity of its Name*, p. 1.
Nimeguen *choſen for the Place of Treaty*, p. 67.

O.

St. Omer *taken by the* French, p. 89.
Orange, *Princes of, their Pedigree*, p. 2. *See* William.

P.

Peace *between* England *and* Holland *concluded*, p. 42.
General Peace *obſtructed*, p. 63. *Signed between* France *and* Holland, *tho' proteſted againſt by the Allies*, p. 114. *Between* France *and* Spain, *and between the Emperor and* France, p. 119.
Philip William *of* Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange, p. 6.

S.

Scheme *of a Peace agreed on between King* Charles *II. and the Prince of* Orange, p. 99.

Senef, *the Battle fought there*, p. 49.
States *of* Holland, *their Anſwer to the King of* France's *Letter*, p. 108. *They order their Plenipotentiaries to ſign the Peace*, p. 109.
Steps *made by King* Charles *II. for the Reſtoration of the Prince of* Orange, p. 11.

T.

Temple (*Sir* William) *goes over Ambaſſador to* Holland, p. 43. *His Negotiation*, p. 46. &c. *He makes Overtures of Peace to the Prince of* Orange, p. 56.
Treaty *carried on at* Nimeguen, p. 76, 77, 78. *Between* England *and* Holland, p. 110.
Truce *of Six Weeks*, p. 108.

U.

Valenciennes *taken by the* French, p. 88.

W.

William *I. of* Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange, p. 3.
William *II. of* Naſſau, *Prince of* Orange, p. 8.
William *III.* (Henry) *Prince of* Orange, *and King of* England, *his Birth*, p. 8. *He is depriv'd of his Predeceſſors Dignities*, p. 9. *His noble Inclinations*, ibid. *His Sufferings*, p. 10. *His unfortunate Education*, ibid. *He is made Captain and Admiral General*, p. 19. *He repairs to the Army*, p. 20. *He is made Stadtholder at* Dort, p. 21. *And by the States General*, p. 22. *He beſieges* Woerden, *without Succeſs*, p. 27. *He compoſes the Differences in* Friezland *and* Zealand, p. 31. *He beſieges and takes* Naerden, p. 33. *As alſo* Bonn, p. 34. *He is made Hereditary Stadtholder*, p. 36. *He beſieges* Oudenarde *unſucceſsfully*, p. 54. *Takes* Grave, p. 55. *He refuſes the Soveraignty of* Gelderland, p. 63. *He falls ſick of the Small-Pox*, p. 69. *He opens to Sir* William Temple *his Deſign of Marrying the Lady* Mary, p. 72.

p. 72. *He beſieges* Maeſtricht, p. 75. *Raiſes the Siege*, p. 76. *He declares againſt a ſeparate Treaty*, p. 82. *His Project of a General Peace*, p. 83. *He makes a vain Attempt upon* Charleroy, p. 94. *He lands at* Harwich, p. 95. *His Match with the Lady* Mary *declar'd*, p. 97. *And conſummated*, p. 98. *He returns to* Holland, p. 101.
De-Wits, *their Tragical End*, p. 23.

Y.

Ypre *beſieg'd and taken by the* French, p. 103.

The Appendix.

THE *Letter of the States-General to King* Charles II.
The Spaniſh *Ambaſſador's Memorial to King* Charles II.
His Majeſties Anſwer to the ſaid Memorial.
Treaty of Alliance between England *and* Holland.

THE CONTENTS OF THE Second Part.

A.

ADdreſs *from the* Middle-Temple *to King* James, p. 8. *From the* Quakers *to the ſame*, p. 10. *From the Houſe of Commons*, p. 45. *Of Thanks for Liberty of Conſcience*, p. 92. *Of the* Papiſts, p. 95. *Of* Glocester *and* Scarborough, p. 132. *Of* Carliſle, p. 166. *Of the Clergy of* Cheſter, p. 184. *Of the Commons to the Prince of* Orange, p. 307. *Of the City of* London, p. 207. Affairs *of* Scotland, p. 47. *Of* Ireland, p. 153. *Of* Europe, p. 190. *Adminiſtration of* Affairs *given to the Prince of* Orange, p. 305.

Alarm *(falſe) throughout all* England, p. 290.

Albyville *(Marquis of) his Memorial to the States*, p. 203.

Argile, *his Riſing and Defeat in* Scotland, p. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Army *modell'd*, p. 166. *Refuſes to forward the* Popiſh *Deſigns*, p. 185. *New modell'd*, p. 309.

Aſſizes *in the Weſt*, p. 32.

Arguments *againſt a Standing Army*, p. 42.

Aſſociation *at* Exeter, p. 251.

B.

Biſhop *of* London, *his Character*, p. 76. *Proceedings againſt him*, p. 77. *King* James's *Letter to him*, ibid. *His Letter to the Earl of* Sunderland, p. 78. *He is ſuſpended*, p. 83.
Biſhop *of* Cheſter *his Speech*, p. 115, 121. *The Seven* Biſhops *Petition the King*, p. 160. *Are ſummon'd before the Council*, p. 161. *Committed to the Tower*, p. 162. *Tried*, p. 166. *Set at Liberty*, p. 171. *And acquitted*, p. 182.
Biſhop *of* Rocheſter *refuſes to act in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, p. 185. *The* Biſhops *Advice to the King*, p. 207.
Biſhops *expoſtulated with about the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration*, p. 229.
Biſhop *of* Exeter *made Archbiſhop of* York, p. 240.
Bonrepos *arrives at* London, p. 196. *His Negotiation is croſs'd*, p. 197.

C.

Camp *on* Hounſlow-Heath, p. 84.
Charles *II. his Death*, p. 3.
Charters *renew'd*, p. 70.
Chetwood *(Dr.) gives good Advice to King* James, p. 248. *Refuſes the Biſhoprick of* Briſtol, p. 313. *And the Peerage of* Woodhill, p. 314.
Churchill *(Lord) goes over to the Prince of* Orange, p. 250.
Clarendon *(Earl of) made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, p. 56. *His Speech to* Tyrconnel, p. 62.
Cloſettings, p. 38, 165.
Coke's *bold Speech*, p. 46.
Commiſſion *for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, p. 74.
Conferences *between* Proteſtants *and* Papiſts, p. 86, 96. *At* Minden, p. 191.
Conſultation *held in the* Savoy *by the* Papiſts, p. 59. *At* Lambeth *by the Proteſtant Clergy*, p. 156.
Convention *meets*, p. 319. *Their Addreſs of Thanks to the Prince of* Orange, p. 321.
Corniſh *executed*, p. 36.

D.

Dangerfield *is try'd and ſentene'd*, p. 34. *And kill'd*, p. 35.
D'Avaux, *(Count) his Memorial to the States*, p. 199. *Diſown'd by King* James, p. 200.
Debates *about King* James's *Speech in Parliament*, p. 41.
Declaration *for Liberty of Conſcience*, p. 90, *and* 154. *Of the Lords and Commons aſſerting the Rights of the* Engliſh *Nation*, p. 354.
Denmark, *ſee Princeſs.*
Differences *among the* Papiſts, p. 146, &c. *About making the Prince of* Orange *King or Regent*, p. 315.
Dutch *Guards take Poſſeſſion of* Whitehall, p. 296.

E.

Effects *of the Declaraoion for Liberty of Conſcience with the* Presbyterians *and the Church of* England, p. 93.
Embaſſie *to* Rome, p. 87. *Coldly receiv'd*, p. 88.

F.

Fagel *(Penſioner) his Letter to Mr.* Stuart, p. 136. *To the Marquis of* Albyville, p. 140.
Feverſham *(Earl of) arreſted*, p. 295.
French *Proteſtants bountifully reliev'd by King* James, p. 102.
French *Ambaſſador retires*, p. 308.

G.

George *(Prince of* Denmark*) leaves the King*, p. 251.

H.

Herbert *(Admiral) his Letter to the Fleet*, p. 233.
Hough *(Dr.) depriv'd; his Proteſtation*, p. 117. *He is expell'd*, p. 123.

I.

James II. *his Acceſſion to the Throne*, p. 5. *His firſt Speech to the Council*, p. 6. *His Speech to the Parliament*, p. 11. *His Deſign of making himſelf Abſolute, and ſetting up Popery*, p. 37. *Good Advice given him*, p. 38, *and* 248. *He caſts off the Mask*, p. 39. *He makes a Speech to the Parliament in another Strain*, p. 40. *His Letter to the* Scotch *Parliament*, p. 48. *Character of his Miniſters*, p. 68. *He ſets up a Diſpenſing Power*, p. 70. *His Letter to the Biſhops againſt Preachers*, p. 74. *His Speech to the Council*, p. 89. *Goes on his Progreſs*, p. 128. *His Anſwer to the Petitioning Biſhops*, p. 160. *His Conſternation*, p. 204. *He has Recourſe to the Biſhops*, ibid. *His Anſwer to the Lords. He goes to the Army*, p. 245. *Comes to* Salisbury, p. 249. *His Letter to the Earl of* Feverſham, p. 267. *He is taken at* Feverſham, p. 293. *returns to* London, p. 295. *His Order to ſuppreſs Diſorders*, p. 296. *Goes to* Rocheſter, p. 297. *Embarks for* France, p. 300. *His Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from* Rocheſter, p. 301. *His Character*, p. 303. *His Letter to the Privy-Council*, p. 322. *And to the Lords and Commons*, p. 324.

Jefferies, *his Cruelty and Avarice*, p. 33. *He is made Lord Chancellor*, p. 34. *Vain Endeavours to ſupplant him*, p. 149. *He is apprehended*, p. 291. *His Character*, ibid.

Jeſuits, *their School in the* Savoy, p. 96.

Johnſon, *his Advice to the Army*, p. 84. *Sentence againſt him*, p. 86.

Ireland, *a View of the Affairs there*, p. 53, 312.

L.

The Lords *Petition for a Parliament*, p. 244.

Letter *from the Council of* Scotland, p. 89. *Threatning* Letters *ſent to Perſons of Quality by the Papiſts*, p. 146.

M.

Magdalen-*College*, *Proceedings againſt it*, p. 105. *and* Seqq.
Mayor *of* Scarborough *toſs'd in a Blanket*, p. 201.
Methods *us'd to obtain a complying Parliament*, p. 165.
Monmouth's *Rebellion*, p. 21. *Proceedings of the Court and Parliament againſt him*, p. 25. *He marches from* Lyme *to* Taunton, p. 26. *He is routed*, p. 28. *His Letter to King* James, p. 29. *He is beheaded*, p. 31. *His Character*, ib.
Morray *(Earl of) his Speech to the Parliament of* Scotland, p. 48.

N.

Norfolk, *(Duke of) his Speech to the Mayor of* Norwich,

O.

Oates's *Sentence and Sufferings*, p. 10.
Orange *(Prince of) offers to come to King* James's *Aſſiſtance*, p. 26. *His Offer is refus'd*, p. 27. *His Opinion concerning the Repealing of the Teſt*, &c. p. 135. *He makes Alliances to countenance his Deſign upon* England, p. 189. *Certain News of his Deſign*, p. 204. *His Declaration*, p. 221. *Addition to his Declaration*, p. 225. *He takes leave of the States*, p. 226. *Puts to Sea*, p. 227. *Meets with a Storm*, ibid. *His Letter to the* Engliſh *Army*, p. 232. *His* Compoſedneſs *and* Intrepidity, p. 234. *He puts to Sea again*, p. 235. *He lands at* Torbay, p. 236. *Comes to* Exeter, p. 240. *His Speech to the* Somerſet *Gentry*, p. 241. *Leaves* Exeter, p. 252. *His Third Declaration, dated at* Sherborn, p. 258. *His Anſwer to King* James's *Propoſals*, p. 272. *His Declaration*, p. 292. *He comes to* Windſor, p. 294. *His Meſſage to King* James, p. 296. *His Speech to the Commons*,

mons, p. 303. *His Anſwer to the Lords and Commons*, p. 308. *His Letter to the Convention*, p. 320. *His Anſwer to the Convention's Addreſs. He and his Princeſs are voted King and Queen*, p. 252. *The Princeſs arrives from* Holland, p. 253. *They are proclaim'd King and Queen*, p. 358.
Order *to read the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in Churches*, p. 156.
Order *of the Peers*, p. 294. *For the Quartering of Soldiers*, p. 310.
Ormond *(Duke of) recall'd from* Ireland, p. 53. *Leaves King* James, p. 251.

P.

Papiſts *rejoice at the Prince of* Orange's *meeting with a Storm*, p. 228.
Pardon *(general)* p. 37. 206.
Parliament *gives King* James *a great deal of Money*, p. 12. *Is ſurpriz'd at his Speech*, p. 41. *Is Prorogued*, p. 47. *Is diſſolv'd*, p. 127. *Deſign to call another*, p. 196.
Penn (William) *his Letter to Dr.* Baily, p. 114.
Popery, *Growth of it*, p. 73.
Popiſh *Plot*, p. 10.
Popiſh *Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants*, &c. p. 126.
Prince *of* Orange. *See* Orange.
Prince *of* Wales. *See* Wales.
Prince George. *See* George.
Princeſs *of* Denmark *retires from Court*, p. 163, 255.
Proceedings *of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners againſt the Univerſity of* Cambridge, p. 104. *And againſt* Magdalen *College in* Oxford, p. 105, &c.
Proclamation *for Liberty of Conſcience in* Scotland, p. 51. *To regulate the Preſs*, p. 135. *Recalling the* Engliſh *and* Scotch *from* Holland, p. 145. *Againſt the Prince of* Orange, p. 205, *and* 239.
Propoſals *ſent by King* James *to the Prince of* Orange, p. 272.
Proteſtants *turn'd out of Employment*, p. 94, 201.

Q.

Queen (*King* James's) *is ſaid to be with Child. Diſcourſes about it*, p. 130.

R.

Revolution, *Preparations towards it*, p. 188. *Accompliſh'd*, p. 359. *Reflections upon it*, ibid.
Riſings *in ſeveral Counties*, p. 252.
Rocheſter (*Earl of*) *perſeveres in the Proteſtant Religion, and ſurrenders his Place*, p. 87.

S.

Scotland, *Affairs in that Kingdom*, p. 47, 310.
Severities *againſt the Proteſtant Clergy in* Ireland, p. 68.
Sharp (*Dr.*) *Proceedings againſt him. His Character*, p. 77. *His Petition*, p. 78. *He is ſuſpended*, p. 83.
Sheridon, *his Fall*, p. 149.
Skelton *his Advices to King* James, p. 27, 193. *Committed to the* Tower, p. 200.
Skirmiſh *at* Wincaunton, p. 250.
Sommerſet (*Duke of*) *his Diſgrace*, p. 125. *His Character*, p. 126.
Sunderland (*Earl of*) *his Diſgrace*, p. 220.

T.

Talbot (*Colonel*) *new-models the Army*, p. 55. *Made Earl of* Tyrconnel, p. 56. *Made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, p. 61. *His Anſwer to the Earl of* Clarendon, p. 63. *Vain Endeavours to ſupplant him*, p. 149.
Tenniſon (*Dr.*) *his Piety and Charity. He founds St.* Martin's *School. His Conference with* Pulton, *a Jeſuit*, p. 96, &c.
Throne *declar'd vacant by the Commons*, p. 326. *Debates about it*, ibid. *and* 327, 328, 329, &c.

Treby

Treby *(Sir* George*) his Speech to the Prince of* Orange, p. 298.
Tyrconnel. *See* Talbot.

W.

Wales, *(Titular Prince of) born*, p. 164. *His Birth ſolemniz'd*, p. 186. *He is named* James, Francis, Edward, p. 211. *Extraordinary Council held about him*, p. 212. *Depoſitions in his Favour*, p. 213. *Is convey'd into* France, p. 265.
Writs *for the Meeting of a Parliament ſtopt*, p. 206.

The Appendix.

THE Earl of Sunderland's *Letter in Juſtification of himſelf.*
A Liſt of ſuch Members of the Convention as were againſt making the Prince of Orange *King, to the Prejudice of our preſent Gracious Queen* ANNE.
King James's *Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*
A Speech made by the Earl of Arran *to the* Scotch *Nobility and Gentry.*
A Speech made by a Member of the Convention in Scotland.

FINIS.

Books

BOOKS printed for A. Roper, *at the* Black Boy *in* Fleet-Street.

I. THE Works of the Learned and Valiant *Joſephus* epitomiz'd from the Greek Original, and the Hiſtory preſerved in what is material and ſubſtantial, only by contracting Things of leſſer Moment, digeſting the Matter cloſer, and avoiding uſeleſs Repetitions. To which is added *Joſephus* Two Books againſt *Appion*; his Rule of Reaſon, or the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*; and the Embaſſie of *Philo Judæus* to the Emperor *Caligula*. The Second Edition.

2. The Second Edition of the Hiſtory of *England* faithfully extracted from Authentick Records, approved Manuſcripts, and the moſt celebrated Hiſtories of this Kingdom in all Languages, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil. With the Effigies of all the Kings and Queens of *England*, from the *Norman* Race, to the preſent time; curiouſly engraven on Copper Plates, from Original Medals and Pictures. In Two Volums. The whole corrected, with the Addition of the Foundation and Order of the ſeveral Religious Houſes in *England*, as they hapned in each King's Reign.

3. The

3. The Turkiſh Hiſtory, comprehending the Origin of that Nation, and the Growth of the *Ottoman* Empire. With the Lives and Conqueſts of their ſeveral Kings and Emperors. Written by Mr. *Knowles*, and continued by Sir *Paul Rycaut* to 1699. by Mr. *Savage*. Reviſed and Approved by the late Sir *Paul Rycaut*, adorned with Copper Plates.

4. A Compleat Hiſtory of the Empire of *Germany*, from its Origin to this Time, Comprehending the Lives aad Reigns of all its Emperors, the reſpective Hiſtories of the Electorates, *&c.* and the Ancient and Preſent State both of the Empire, and all its Dependencies. Extracted from the beſt Authors, and private Memoirs by Mr. *Savage*. To which are added, A new and exact Map of *Germany*, by Mr. *Moll*, and the Effigies of the Emperors, curiouſly engraven on Copper Plates from Original Medals. In Two Volumes, the like not Extant in any Language: *London*.